

THE MOSLEM WORLD

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THE MOSLEM WORLD FELLOWSHIP

For thirty years THE MOSLEM WORLD quarterly has been the active instrument of a great cause—the winning of the world of Islam for Christ. It has served both to express and to promote an expanding enterprise. Only those readers who are familiar with every one of its thirty volumes can realize fully how varied have been its contributions. It has roused the Christian constituency in home lands to the need for evangelizing the Moslems and has stirred them to give help. It has kept the workers in one field fully informed of the progress of missions to Moslems in all the other fields, so that all might feel themselves part of one great movement and so that enlightenment, encouragement, and warning might be everywhere shared. It has been a medium for the exposition and discussion of missionary problems, policies, and methods. It has drawn upon the wisdom and skill of scholars to interpret the history, theology, and practice of Islam. In so doing it has gone far to realize the ideal that workers among Moslems should have a rich knowledge of the thought and life of the people whom they seek to serve. As a journal of scholarship it has found at the same time a welcome among many outside the limits of evangelical circles. Its editorial policy has always been broad-minded, so that its contributors have included Moslems, both converted and unconverted, and Christians, both conservative and liberal, representing very many branches of the Christian Church. In spirit and temper THE MOSLEM WORLD has achieved

rare success in combining ardor and fairness, zeal and generosity.

Because of these moral and intellectual virtues THE MOSLEM WORLD long enjoyed a larger list of subscribers than would have been prophesied for so specialized a journal. But the years of the depression, followed by the last two years of warfare and international disorder, have so gravely diminished the number of its supporters that for some time it has seemed that its publication must cease. To avoid what many would view as a missionary disaster, two meetings were held in March and May by a group of men and women deeply concerned with the progress of missions to Moslems—missionaries, board secretaries, writers, teachers, and others. The outcome of their conferences was the organization on May 23 of the Moslem World Fellowship—"a Christian organization to promote mutual understanding, respect, and good will between Christians and Moslems, and to interpret to the Moham-medan world the Gospel and spirit of Christ". Though this new Fellowship in course of time will "conduct meetings, conferences and other activities to promote interest in the world of Islam", its chief aim is to "support the publication of THE MOSLEM WORLD and its distribution among missionaries, Moslems, students of Islam, and others".

Membership is open to all annual contributors of \$3.00 or more who are interested in its purposes and methods; and such membership carries with it, of course, a subscription to THE MOSLEM WORLD. Those who contribute more may designate (in proportion to the amount) other persons to whom THE MOSLEM WORLD shall be sent. General confidence in the Fellowship will be furthered by the news that the officers elected are: Dr. Fred Field Goodsell, President; Dr. J. Lovell Murray, First Vice-President; Dr. J. Christy Wilson, Second Vice-President; Miss Florence G. Tyler, Secretary; and Miss May S. Blauvelt, Treasurer. These officers, constituting the Executive Committee, are aided by a Council of at least nine other members including the editors of THE MOSLEM WORLD. Any Christian organization contributing \$50 or more annually to the Fellowship

will be entitled to name a representative on the Council. Dr. Zwemer and Dr. Calverley continue as editors, resolved to improve the already high standards of the quarterly and to maintain unchanged its fundamental aims.

Now is the time for all of us who believe in THE MOSLEM WORLD to come forward and make our contribution. If we are convinced that a great cause will be retarded if this long-tried instrument of service can no longer be used; if we are ready and willing to do our share in "interpreting to the Mohammedan world the Gospel and spirit of Christ"; if we believe that we are called in an hour of storm and darkness not to retreat but to advance; let us join this new Moslem World Fellowship and make for its success as generous provision as we can.

New York City.

JAMES THAYER ADDISON.

The Aim of Our Quarterly

A verbatim reprint from the first editorial in our Quarterly in January, 1911 (Vol. 1: No. 1):

"Its aim is to represent no faction or fraction of the Church, but to be broad in the best sense of the word. Its columns are open to all contributors who hold the 'unity of the faith in the bond of peace and righteousness of life'. It is not a magazine of controversy, much less of compromise. In essentials it seeks unity, in non-essentials liberty, in all things charity. We hope to interpret Islam as a world-wide religion in all its varied aspects and its deep needs, ethical and spiritual, to Christians; to point out and press home the true solution of the Moslem problem, namely, the evangelisation of Moslems; to be of practical help to all who toil for this end; and to awaken sympathy, love and prayer on behalf of the Moslem world until its bonds are burst, its wounds are healed, its sorrows removed, and its desires satisfied in Jesus Christ.

"To this end we invite the cordial cooperation of all those who have made special study of any phase of Islam, or who can from their experience show others how to win Moslems to Christ."

PREPARATION FOR A MISSIONARY TO MOSLEMS

As this article is being prepared the Moslem lands again are being overrun by the armies of Europe—thought of by the Moslems as a Christian continent. It is only as one considers the Near East from the historical perspective that one sees in the appalling scene of unChristian bloodshed and destruction any reason for giving serious thought to the best possible training a missionary to Moslems should have. As previous periods of war destruction have been followed by decades of Christian reconstruction, with faith we can anticipate such a period again.

Looking toward such a period in the not too far distant future of the going out of new missionaries to Moslem lands, and the necessity of their securing the best possible training in advance, it would seem wise to contemplate first of all some of the earlier study done on this subject; then consider current developments; and finally approach realistically the question of what can be done at this time by responsible groups who look toward sending missionaries to Moslem lands in the future.

One must, of course, assume in the whole contemplation of the ideal training for the missionary to Moslems that certain basic characteristics are present in the candidate who is to be given the special preparation. Perhaps as happy a way as possible to suggest the traits which are necessary as foundation for the training is to paraphrase a well-loved passage of Scripture as follows:

- "A missionary to Moslems is patient and kind;
- A missionary to Moslems knows neither envy nor jealousy;
- A missionary to Moslems is not forward and self-assertive, nor boastful and conceited;
- A missionary to Moslems does not behave unbecomingly, nor speak to aggrandize himself, nor blaze out in passionate anger, nor brood over wrongs;

A missionary to Moslems finds no pleasure in injustice to others, but joyfully sides with the truth;

A missionary to Moslems knows how to be silent;

A missionary to Moslems is full of trust; full of hope, full of patient endurance.

A missionary to Moslems never fails other persons, for Love never fails.”¹

Then, too, one must assume certain special preparation which should be that of every missionary whether working among Moslems, Buddhists, or any other religious group.

I.

At the Edinburgh Conference in 1910 considerable time and attention was given to the whole subject of the Preparation of Missionaries. In the report of this historical gathering one finds that “there are five departments of study which no missionary candidate, man or woman, can afford to neglect, and provision for which should in consequence be made in any complete scheme of specific missionary preparation. They are:

“A. The Science and History of Missions.

B. The Religions of the World.

C. Sociology.

D. Pedagogy.

E. The Science of Language, and the languages required on the field.”²

The above are self-explanatory with the exception that the reader of this article may be surprised to see Pedagogy listed. In the discussions of the Conference one finds by way of explanation that “it has been reiterated again and again that every missionary is a teacher whose purpose is to instruct his hearers, whether in class-room, hospital or chapel, so as to convince them and lead them to apply these truths to their lives. Hence the need of giving to each missionary, “whether he is an educationist or not, a minimum of training in the science, art and practice of teaching.”³

At the same Conference one finds Rev. C. G. Mylrea of

¹ I Cor. 13:4-8.

² World Missionary Conference, 1910. Report of Commission V—The Preparation of Missionaries. Revell Company, New York. p. 161-2.

³ World Missionary Conference, 1910. Report of Commission V—The Preparation of Missionaries. Revell Company, New York, p. 325.

the Church Missionary Society, Lucknow, urging the establishment of a special school for the training of missionaries to Moslems, as follows:

"I would in particular like to see a training school at Cairo for the study of Arabic and Islamic literature. It would include (1) the teaching of the Arabic language, (2) the special study of the Koran, and the traditions which more than anything else contain the spirit of Islam, (3) a comprehensive grasp of such religious literature as reveals the inner thought and philosophy of Islam, (4) special study of the sects of Islam. Much of this would be outside the curriculum of the Oriental College in London, and yet it is study of this kind that the worker among Moslems specially needs."⁴

In 1916 the noteworthy report of the special committee of the Board of Missionary Preparation on "The Presentation of Christianity to Moslems" was published. This should be required reading for every board secretary and board member contemplating work among Moslems. It is significant to note that with a few noteworthy exceptions practically every member of this committee has left active service either because of death or retirement.

The climax of this volume deals with the preparation of the missionary to Moslems, recognizing that such a missionary will not be dealing with a simple people, ready easily to discard their superstitions in favor of Christianity but rather will face a people who are, in their way, scholarly and sincere. One of the most significant paragraphs in this document is as follows:

"A life of prayer should characterize every prospective missionary to Islam. It is of little value to criticize the formality of Moslem prayer unless over against it is set a really adequate devotion to prayer. The prospective missionary may well ask himself whether his prayer life, if laid bare (and its ultimate discovery to others is not likely to be long delayed), might fairly claim, in its measure as well as its character, to illustrate the higher gospel which he preaches of God's readiness to draw near unto men. Furthermore, there is no world to which a missionary may go where the difficulty, the apparent impossibility of his missionary task, constitutes so distinct a challenge to prayer as in the Islamic fields."⁵

Since copies of the report of this special committee are practically unobtainable it would seem justifiable to include

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 331.

⁵ The Presentation of Christianity to Moslems—Report of a Committee appointed by the Board of Missionary Preparation. December, 1916.

for the reader of this article the careful outline of studies having special value to one who is a missionary to Moslems, as prepared by that group:

"1. Subjects to be pursued at college or at a training school.

Public speaking and debate.—Moslems, especially in India, like public discussion. Every aggressive missionary is drawn into it more or less. He is wise who becomes able to stand on his feet and think and argue.

Formal logic.—The Moslem teacher has a logical mind and uses closely reasoned argument.

Psychology, Philosophy and Ethics.—The average Moslem learned man is very much like a mediaeval schoolman. Where a course on Mediaeval Psychology is offered, it will be worthwhile to take it.

German and French.—One who dwells in the Near East finds these languages of great value, French for speaking, German for studying. To the serious student of Islam they are almost indispensable.

Ethnology.—This will introduce the student to the mixed Moslem world of today.

2. Subjects to be pursued at the professional or graduate training school.

Hebrew and New Testament Greek.—The Mohammedan scholar has a greater respect for the missionary who knows his own Scripture in the original tongues. Moreover, Hebrew affords a natural introduction to the study of the Semitic mind and of the Arabic language.

The principles and methods of the historical study of the Bible.—These will have an important bearing on the Moslem's attitude to his own scriptures.

Early Church History through the Great Christological controversies and the development of the Eastern Church.—To understand the beginnings of Mohammedanism the student must be acquainted with the history of the first six centuries.

Christian Apologetics.

The History of Christian Missions.

Mysticism: Christian and Non-Christian.—A grounding in Christian mysticism with a study of the mystical consciousness will prepare the student to understand the Moslem mystic.

The Comparison of Religions.—Islam is a very complex affair and needs to be studied in the light of all religious phenomena.

3. Subjects to be pursued during the period of specialization.
 - Classical Arabic with some reading in the Koran.
 - Phonetics with especial reference to the Semitic languages.
 - The Koran in English compared with the New Testament.
 - The antecedents and early history of Islam.
 - The comparative study of Christian and Moslem theology.
 - The comparison of the religious thinking of Islam with that of the Roman System of Aquinas, and of Islam and Calvinism will be especially helpful to the student of Moslem theology.
 - The political and social problems of the Moslem land to which the candidate is to go.
 - Modern developments in Islam; tendencies, sects, and religious orders.
 - The missionary approach to Islam: points of contact, divergence, etc.
 - The history of Christian missions in the country to which the candidate is to go.
4. Subjects to be pursued during the first period of active missionary service.
 - The thorough mastery of the vernacular of the people in the district to which the missionary goes.
 - The reading of periodical and popular literature in this vernacular.
 - The study of the Koran in the Arabic.
 - The literature of Islam.
 - The intensive study of the Islam of the missionary's own field.—A study which takes into account the modifications due to environment and the development due to surrounding religions.
 - The study of the Moslem controversy with Christianity.
5. Subjects to be pursued during the first furlough.
 - Reading in the standard Arabic grammarians and interpreters and in literature.
 - Exercises in writing Arabic.
 - A study of the leading Moslem creeds.
 - Hebrew and Rabbinical history and thought from 500 B.C. to 550 A.D.
 - A comprehensive survey of worldwide Mohammedanism.
 - A survey of missionary methods used with Moslems.
 - A review, as far as feasible, of philosophy, ethics and theology, so as to become adjusted to their progress.
6. Themes for the permanent attention of a missionary to Moslems.

The accurate rendering of the Koran into the vernacular of his district.

The adaptation of the essential Christian message to the Moslem mind and heart.

The vital forces in Islam and its future contribution to Christianity.

Islam as a true Moslem sees and feels it.

The animistic element in Islam.

The attitude to Mohammed of the Christian convert.

The development of Moslem society.”⁶

While the Jerusalem Conference findings give valuable help on the relation of Christianity and Islam, especially the need of strengthening the witness of the Oriental Christian groups to supplement the work of the missionary, very little by way of specific discussion of the preparation or training of the missionary to Moslems is found.

The Fact Finder's reports of the Laymen's Inquiry stress the tragic weakness of missionaries in Moslem lands as far as their knowledge of the vernacular is concerned and thus underlines this all-important point of language proficiency.

At Madras in 1938 one commission devoted itself exclusively to the Place and Training of the Missionary. The findings fail to give detailed suggestions for the preparation of missionaries to different areas. Recommendations adopted by the conference did include the following, however:

“That the mission boards require of each candidate, in addition to adequate professional training, specific training for his work as a missionary, and that this should apply to medical, rural, agricultural and social workers, teachers and ministerial candidates.

“That the national and regional Christian councils of the receiving countries explore ways of providing supplementary missionary training on the field. That, where language schools exist, their curricula be enriched by the addition of courses and contacts designed to introduce the missionary to the life of the people; that, where language schools do not exist, means be found to accomplish the same end through reading courses or other methods; that opportunities be devised for new missionaries to live in close association with Christian nationals and to meet and know non-Christian people, especially leaders. . . .

⁶ The Presentation of Christianity to Moslems—Report of a Committee appointed by the Board of Missionary Preparation. December, 1916. p. 110-2.

"That we call the attention of all theological and missionary training institutions to the importance for missionaries of the study of Church history—for guidance and warning from the past, for the development of a right church-consciousness in the younger church and for the approach to church union."⁷

II.

Turning now to a consideration of whether any developments in the immediate past or likely developments in the future have bearing upon the studies made in the past of the preparation needed for a missionary to Moslems, one first of all should note with gratitude the training institutions both in the West and in the East which are actively carrying out the principles reiterated. Notable among these are the Newman School at Jerusalem, The American University at Cairo, The Henry Martyn School of Islamic Studies at Aligarh, The Kennedy School of Missions at Hartford, Princeton Theological Seminary, etc.

With war conditions as they are likely to continue in the immediate future, it would seem only logical that sending societies in England, Canada, and the United States would have to think of preparation at home for the missionary to Moslems rather than to take any extensive advantage of the increasingly good facilities offered overseas. To understand the problems that the missionary going to Moslem lands must face, one may again look backward at the situation when Islam made its great growth.

"Enthusiasm is always infectious, and the Christian world met in Islam a body of people wildly enthusiastic for their religion. The ringing note of reality that must have met Christian populations weakened by schism, inert through ignorance and priestly rule, and often exploited by the wealthy few, was a challenge to the Church. The struggle between the two faiths was one of vitality, and in pre-Reformation days Islam won practically every time because it stood for personal religion, which was the heritage of all. To this must be added the fact that the absence of any priesthood in Islam, the entirely voluntary system upon which it worked, and the easily grasped creed all made the process of Islamization simple. Brotherhood was not an organization with rules and regulations but was rather due to an underlying sense of unity in the faith that did

⁷ The Life of the Church. Volume IV of the Madras Series, Meeting of the International Missionary Council, Tambaram, Madras, India, December 1938. p. 241-2.

transcend the differences of divided sects. The Shiah and the Sunnis, the Wahhabi and the Ahmadi may attack one another bitterly, but they all display a common enthusiasm for Islam."⁸

Would this not be a strategic time to concentrate the training of missionaries to Moslems, who may be sent out in the next few years, at some one or two institutions so that there might be a real spirit of unity and brotherhood among the missionaries as they go to the field, stimulated by their common preparation and mutual understanding. If the Moslem World is to be won for Christ there must be not only this unity on the field but also an infectious enthusiasm rather than a defeatism in the homeland.

"The hint given us by Islam can be spiritually fulfilled, and Church members, whether they be administrators, or soldiers, or merchants, or mechanics, or clerks, are 'dismissed' to their spheres of work to make them into spheres of service, places where, directly or indirectly, they will do all they can, be it little or be it much, to forward the conscious end, shared by them with the whole Church, of 'making Jesus King' over all, and though 'Islam defies your King,' King over Islam."⁹

As one considers the recommendations of the Edinburgh Conference they would all seem pertinent especially the emphasis on Pedagogy. In every Moslem land one finds a governmental system of education with a strong nationalistic program. This is very different from the situation in 1910 or even in 1920. But while it is still true that every missionary must in one sense of the word be a teacher, in many cases the missionary today finds the teaching of English, either to private pupils or even in government schools, to be a means of initial contact which offers an opportunity for direct witness as acquaintance grows.

With increasing literacy in Moslem lands the use of Christian literature is becoming an increasingly effective means of evangelism. The Near East Christian Council has recognized this new opportunity by an active committee devoting itself to the preparation of literature for Moslems in various languages and dialects. The new missionary should be thoroughly informed not only of such

⁸ "The Expansion of Islam, An Arab Religion in the Non-Arab World", by W. Wilson Cash, DSO, O.B.E. London, Edinburgh House Press, 1928. pp. 278-9.

⁹ "The Reproach of Islam." W. H. T. Gairdner. Christian Literature Society for India, Madras, 1912. p. 198.

existing literature but of the wisdom of using this means of approach.

If under the heading of the History of Religions the student were to study the history of Christianity as well as the history of Islam we would find that Madras had little new to offer at this point. Presumably sociology would now be broadened to include Anthropology.

In the course of study outlined by the special committee on the Presentation of Christianity to Moslems in 1916, the initial place is given to public speaking and debate, not so that the missionary may convincingly present why he is a Christian but so that he may argue with Moslems, using controversy as a method of approach. While controversy has had an important place in the development of missions to Moslems and while it is true that some of the most successful missionaries in the Near East and India have been earnest controversialists, it is doubtful whether such an approach should be urged on the new missionary of the future. It must be recognized that the controversialists of the past have often accomplished other than their intention.

"Because of the stress they laid on 'reason' and 'argument' there have been converts from Islam who have entered the Church rather as intellectual advocates of the superiority of Christianity over Islam, than as witnesses of the grace of God and as evidence of the power of His redeeming love in Christ. In this way the Church in India has suffered a certain loss.¹⁰

Another major change in the missionary situation in the Moslem World from the days of the Edinburgh and Jerusalem Conferences is that in certain areas such as Iran and India there are actual congregations of converts from Islam. In working with the national church the missionary to Moslems must adopt a different technique than is used in going into a hostile community and beginning from the beginning. Thus it would seem highly advisable to add to the training procedure in the sending land a period of "internship" or practical experience in as comparable a situation as possible.

¹⁰ "The People of the Mosque." L. Bevan Jones. Association Press, Y.M.C.A. Calcutta, 1932.

The Presbyterian Board this past year sent a young ordained man and his wife who are sailing this summer to work with the Moslem Moros in the Philippine Islands for a period of such internship in Utah among the Mormons there. What was thought to be the case has proven to be true, i.e., that work in a Mormon community has many similarities to work among Moslems. Just as the Moslem affirms that the Koran supersedes the Old and New Testament, so the Book of Mormon is supposed to supplement the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament. There are numerous other ways in which the two religions resemble each other, especially as to the practical working out of the doctrines in the lives of the people.

Even if such practical experience after the period of special study is not possible in a Mormon area, there are invaluable benefits for the new missionary as a result of first-hand contact with human frailties as found in a local parish. The writer will never forget escorting to the Mediterranean a missionary who was suffering from a nervous breakdown as a result of the shrinkage of a congregation under his ministry, following a more popular missionary pastor. The writer was constantly asked, "Is this my fault or would I find that Christians were fickle in the homeland? If I only had had a parish before I came to the field I would have a basis for judgment."

III.

Turning finally to the question of what should be done in the immediate future by responsible groups sending missionaries to Moslems, one must first and foremost plead for a long-term strategy that will result in the training of a large group of missionaries for a major Christian impact on the Moslem World when the present war is over.

The sheer difficulty of the task should be the challenge. The youth of today are not interested in easy tasks. As they catch a vision of something of major importance, they are not deterred by difficulty. It would seem to be the responsibility of those who are informed to present the

challenge and then plan a means of preparing a group of new missionaries for the field.

It is most encouraging to realize that the mission boards and agencies at work in the Moslem world are becoming increasingly aware of the challenging new opportunity that confronts them. For years evangelistic work among Moslems has been a heart-breaking endeavor. However, there is no question but that at present there are many Moslems who are secretly Christians and many others who are preparing themselves to take the final step for an out-and-out acceptance of Christianity. Those who become discouraged about missionary work among Moslems in certain bigoted and fanatical sections of the Moslem world should take courage from other sections of the Near East where great progress is being made.

One of the most heartening developments in missionary work in the near East is the Near East Christian Council, including representatives of almost forty foreign organizations. Christian work in the Near East today has two major tasks. The first is to bring new vision and vitality into the ancient Oriental churches which form great potential allies in bringing the good news of Christ and His salvation to that part of the world. The second major task is to bring Christ to the millions of Moslems whose homes are in the Near East.

Would it not be advisable to ask the Near East Christian Council to map out a program of study of greatest pertinency for those coming to Moslem lands? Then would it not be wise strategy to concentrate in one or two institutions the implementing of such a program, to be followed by brief periods of practical experience in fields either in the Mormon area or elsewhere in the sending country, so that when the hour comes there can be a major advance?

New York City.

HERRICK BLACK YOUNG.

REFERENCES TO JESUS IN PRE-ISLAMIC ARABIC INSCRIPTIONS

In the year 1844 a French naval doctor named Gauld-
raud discovered amid the ruins of Abyan¹ in the Yemen
seven Himyaritic inscriptions, four of which contained
references to a god *Yth'm*.² Although *Yth'm* had appeared
in an inscription from 'Amrān (C 76)³ as the name of a
Himyarite chieftain, and although proper names like
Yth'mr and *Yth'l* were already well known from in-
scriptions, the Abyan texts furnished the first certain
evidence that the Himyarites worshipped a god named
Yth'm.⁴ But neither Lenormant who first published the
inscriptions in the *Comptes rendus de l'Académie des
Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* in 1867 (pp. 96-99) and 1868
(pp. 63-71) nor any of those who followed him⁵ saw
anything particularly significant in this newly found god.
They seem to have regarded him as just another in the
long list of gods and goddesses of pre-Islamic Arabia. A
brief article was devoted to him by the editors of the
Corpus inscriptionum semiticarum, Part IV, vol. 2, p. 315,
in which they drew attention to early Sabaeen names con-
taining the element *Yth'*, thereby implying that the wor-
ship of this god went back to the earliest historical period.
They vocalized the name as *Yath'*, comparing Heb. *yeshā'*,
"salvation", but were able to throw no light on the identity
or character of the god.

The publication in 1901 of a collection of Safaitic in-
scriptions gathered by Dussaud and Macler in the vicinity

¹ Abyan lies northeast of Aden. Cf. the introduction to C 550 and Rhodokanakis, *Studien*, II, 114.

² *Viz.*, C 550, 561, 700, 737.

³ 'Amrān lies northwest of Ṣan'ā.

⁴ The final *m* in South Arabic represents the *mimation* which corresponds to the North Arabic *nūnātion*.

⁵ For later treatments of these inscriptions, see the references in the *Corpus*.

of Damascus revealed that the god *Yth'* was worshipped in Syria as well as in the Yemen.⁶ The significance of the geographical distribution of the references to this god escaped scholars at the time. Of course, since the Safaitic tribes are said to have been of Southern origin, there might seem to be nothing surprising in the occurrence of a South Arabian god in the Safaitic area. But the striking fact remains that, if they did come from the South, they brought no other South Arabian gods with them!⁷ Not even 'Athtar appears in the Safaitic texts.⁸ In the god *Yth'* we are confronted, therefore, with a divinity of unusual prestige and popularity.

Now the fact that South Arabic and Safaitic *yth'* = Heb. *ysh'*⁹ raises the possibility that the god *Yth'* is none other than Jesus (Heb. *yēshûa'*, Aram. *yeshû'*). Such an identification would at once account for the widely separated references to this god, for we know that Christianity had a foothold in both North and South Arabia.

The chief objection that will be raised against this identification is that the element *yth'* is found in South Arabic names long before the dawn of Christianity. As far back as 715 B.C. Sargon of Assyria refers to tribute from "the Sabaean It'i-amara (var. It'i-amra)", a name which is almost certainly to be identified with Sabaean *Yth'mr*.¹⁰ The same name is borne by two early Sabaean rulers, *Yth'mr Byn* (*Mkrb* no. 2) and *Yth'mr Wtr* (*Mkrb* no. 9). When the references to a god *Yth'* were discovered in the Abyan inscriptions, Lenormant jumped to the conclusion that the early *Yth'*-names like *Yth'mr* were further testimony to the worship of this god. Thus he interprets *Yth'mr* as *quem Yat'â (deus salutaris)*

⁶ Dussaud and Macler, *Voyage archéologique au Šafâ et dans le Djebel ed-Drâz*, Paris, 1901. Another collection of Safaitic texts was published by them in their *Mission dans les régions désertiques de la Syrie moyenne (Nouvelles Archives des Missions scientifiques, vol. 10)*, 1903. Still more were published by Littmann, *Semitic Inscriptions*, but all he says of *Yth'* is, "Very little is known of the nature of this god". Dussaud says that at first it was thought that Safaitic *Yth'* was connected with Palmyrene 'ty, 'th (Atargatis) (*Les Arabes en Syrie*, p. 151).

⁷ If they had actually migrated from the South, would they have left all their gods behind?

⁸ On the other hand, a few Northern divinities (Allah, Allat, and Ba'l Samin) appear sporadically in Southern inscriptions of late date.

⁹ This is admitted by all scholars. Cf. also S.Ar. *dth'* = Saf. *dth'* = Heb. *dsh'*.

¹⁰ Cf. Hommel in Nielsen, *Handbuch*, p. 75.

sustulit.¹¹ In this view he was followed by the editors of the *Corpus*. If this theory be correct, it at once disposes of any attempt to identify *Yth'* with Jesus.

But there are good grounds for denying that the *Yth'*-element in these early names is a god-name. In the first place, apart from the *Yth'*-names, there is no evidence that a god *Yth'* was worshipped in South Arabia in early Sabaean times. All the texts in which *Yth'* definitely appears as a god seem to be late, well within the Christian period. A god whose existence is attested only by supposedly theophoric names is a very hypothetical entity, considering the abundance of the epigraphical material at our disposal. Secondly, it is to be noted that *yth'*-names are borne only by royalty in the early period, which suggests that the *yth'*-element denoted some quality or function peculiar to kingship. The names of the gods were employed by all classes of the population in name-composition. Dussaud¹² suggested that the use of *yth'* as a royal epithet¹³ was modelled on the use of *Sôtēr*, "saviour", by some of the Hellenistic kings (*e.g.*, Ptolemy Soter). But if 'byd' *yth'*, king of Ma'in, is to be dated as early as 343 B.C., the practice must be of pre-Hellenistic origin.

Inscriptions Referring to Yth'

I. Sabaean

(1) C 550

1. 'Abdshams^m A(ḡ)lam, the eunuch (?) of our lord (?)
2. Tubba' (?) Sharahbi'il, king of Saba, and his brother
3. Marthad^m, the slave of (the) king, sons of Wa'il, the servant
4. and slave of two kings of Saba, erected the wall of the church (bayt) of Jesus
5. and built the altar (mdhbht) of Jesus on a special (?) day in
6. the year of S-m-h'-l-y son of Ilsharah son of S-m-
7. h'-l-y as Jesus commanded them by an oracle
8. because he has protected them and will protect (them). This
9. is his promise. And they have presented to Jesus of Aden, their
10. patron and shft a talent ('dhnt) of gold (dhhb) and a brr of

¹¹ *Comptes rendus*, 1867, p. 259.

¹² *Les Arabes en Syrie*, p. 151.

¹³ Cf. the Minaean royal names 'byd' *yth'* 'lyf' *yth'*, wqh'l *yth'* 'bkrb *yth'*, hfnm *yth'*.

11. *gold-dust (ktm) and gold-leaf (wrq) for their own welfare and the welfare of the city of Aden*
12. *and the two houses of Abyan^m and its lords and their king*
13. *and their good fortune. By 'Athtar and by Haubas and by Ilmaqah and*
14. *by Jesus and by Dhāt H-m-y^m and by Dhāt Ba'dān^m and by the*
15. *gods and by the goddesses of the city of Aden.*

Gauldraud's copy of this inscription seems to be defective in spots, particularly at the beginning. The Sharaḥbi'il referred to must be either Sharaḥbi'il Y'fr who was reigning in 439-440 A.D. (*cf.* C 540) or Sharaḥbi'il Ykf who was reigning in 467-470 A.D. (*cf.* C 537, 644). The eponym, Smh'ly son of Ilsharaḥ son of Smh'ly, is otherwise unknown. A king of Saba by the name of Ilsharaḥ son of Smh'ly Dhrḥ appears in C 374, an inscription which has a very curious resemblance to C 550.

The authenticity of the inscriptions from Abyan has been doubted. See the arguments of D. H. Müller in his *Die Burgen und Schlösser Südarabiens*, II, pp. 996-1001¹⁴ and the *Répertoire d'épigraphie sémitique* (RÉS), 2705, 2706. The editors of the *Corpus* (s.v. C 550) regard Müller's arguments as of little weight (an opinion in which I heartily concur). Nevertheless they are influenced by them to the extent that they regard the latter part of C 550 as an addition made by Lenormant himself and offer no translation of it. What possible motive he could have had in making such an addition or from what source he could have derived it they do not attempt to explain. Their own treatment of the first part of the inscription can only be described as a mutilation. It is true that the Abyan inscriptions show peculiarities, but so do many of the late texts.

(2) C 561

'Amhūs^m the son of 'Ākân, the servant of Jesus, presented a flock of sheep (r't).

The names are not met with elsewhere in Arabic. Perhaps they are the Biblical names 'Āmōš or 'Amōš

¹⁴ *Sitzungsberichte der Phil.-hist. Classe der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, Wien, Bd. 97, 1880.

(‘Amôṣ in Syriac) and ‘Ākân. The editors of the *Corpus* take the final word as the name of a divinity, *Ra’at*, but no such god is known. Lenormant, observing that the stone on which the inscription is found has been roughly carved to resemble the head of an animal with two horns, rendered *r’t* by “the herd”. Cf. Syr. *rêitâ* “sheep, cattle”. Were the animals sacrificed to Jesus? Cf. the reference to sacrifice in the Safaitic inscriptions below.

(3) C 700

The tombstone (nfs) and tomb of ‘Abdyth^m son of Marthad^m son of ‘Abdyth^m son of Marthad^m son of Smh’ly.

The name ‘*Abdyth^m*, “Servant of Jesus”, marks its bearer as a Christian. The fact that his grandfather bore the same name shows that Christianity had been established at Abyan for at least two generations. Unfortunately the date of the inscription is unknown.

(4) C 737

Gauldraud’s copy of this inscription, as reproduced by Lenormant, is so imperfect that a translation is impossible. But the element *yth’* occurs. Cf. RÉS 2717.

(5) C 549

‘Ihmw son of ‘l (of) Qn’w presented two watering-places (?) to Jesus. By ‘Athtar and by Ilmaqah and by Dhāt Ḥmy^m and by Dhāt Ba’dân and by Karib’il

This is not one of the Abyan inscriptions. Its provenance is unknown. The meaning of the word *wrdnhn* is uncertain. I have followed the rendering of the *Corpus*, *aquaria*.

(6) Sabaeans with the name of *Yth^m* appear in C 76 (from ‘Amrân) and SE 115 (= RÉS 4367), a fragment of unknown provenance. For a possible reference to Jesus under the form *hys’*, see my forthcoming article “A Monotheistic Himyarite Inscription” in the *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*, 1941.

II. Safaitic

(1) D 55

ldrh bn ysl bn bn ndm whyth’ rwh m

“By *D-r-h* son of *Y-s-l* son of son of *Nadm*. And, O Jesus, grant relief from”

The inscription probably ended with a word like "sickness" as in the following text and in Wd 190.

(2) D 133 = Hal 187 = V 203 = W 125

lmfny bn msh'r hnšb fyth' flt mn sqm

"The stele is by Mufni son of Mush'ir. And Jesus has delivered (him) from an illness."

The modern counterpart of such a *nšb* is the advertisement in the Personal column of the daily newspaper giving thanks to some saint for a favour received.

(3) D 403

lgrm bn 'qn(y) w(h)yth' y

"By G-r-m son of 'q-n-y. And O Jesus"

The inscription is enclosed by a line beneath which is a magical sign composed of seven radiating lines. A similar seven-lined sign appears in DM 786 and 887 (no. 13 and 14 below). For these signs, cf. the remarks in my *Study of the Lihyanite and Thamudic Inscriptions*, p. 6f.

(4) DM 23

l's bn 'ky wh'th' qyt lrhy khlh

"By Aus son of 'k-y. And O Jesus (grant) protection to R-h-y, his maternal uncle."

(5) DM 160

l'nf bn grm'l wdhbh fh' (th)' slm

"By Anf son of Garam'il. And he has offered a sacrifice. So, O Jesus, keep (him) safe."

This Christian Arab had three sons, Garam'il, Ḥannay, and An'am. Garam'il has left two inscriptions, DM 156, 158; Ḥannay has left three, DM 157, 180, 186; An'am has left one, DM 159.

(6) DM 158

lgrm'l bn 'nf bn grm'l wdhbh fh' (th)' slm mb's

"By Garam'il son of Anf son of Garam'il. And he has offered a sacrifice. So, O Jesus, keep (him) safe from harm!"

(7) DM 156

lgrm'l bn 'nf bn grm'l w(h)'(th)' slm bldhgh

"By Garam'il son of Anf son of Garam'il. And, O Jesus, keep (him) safe in"

The reading of the last word is uncertain.

(8) DM 157

lhny bn 'nf bn grm'l w(dhb)h fh' (th)' slm

"By Ḥannay son of Anf son of Garam'il. And he has offered a sacrifice. So, O Jesus, keep (him) safe."

(9) DM 180

lhny bn 'nf bn grm'l wh'th' slm.

"By Ḥannay son of Anf son of Garam'il. And, O Jesus, keep (him) safe."

Ḥannay has left another inscription, DM 186, which makes no reference to Jesus but informs us that the writer "herded the camels". Evidently Ḥannay, his brothers, and their father Anf were true sons of the desert.

(10) DM 185

l'tm bn '(n)'m bn 'tm bn 'n'm bn ghyr'l bn sr bn bdh bn hn bndhrt bn 'mrn bn s'd'(l) w(h)'th' sl(m) wl'n dhy'w(r) hsfrr

"By Atm son of An'am son of Atm son of An'am son of Ghayyar'il son of Sarr son of Bida(di)hi son of Ḥann son of Dharrat son of 'Imrān son of Sa'd'il. And, O Jesus, keep (him) safe and curse him who mutilates this inscription."

The long genealogy, carried back ten generations, is not without interest. For similar cursing formulae, cf. DM 164, 173, 242, etc.

(11) DM 274

lkhb(l)t bn t̄lt wh(yth)' s'dh mb's hsnt w̄nqmt mdhbhr(h) ml'

"By Khablat son of Tuḥaylat. And, O Jesus, deliver him from the mischance of the road and (exact) vengeance in full measure (?) from him who has accused him falsely."

I have taken *snt* as Ar. *sunnah*, "path, road". Dussaud and Grimme (*Texte und Untersuchungen*, p. 42) take it as Ar. *sanah*, "year".

(12) DM 772

lbm' bn z(h)k bn 'krd hyth' fl̄h

"By B-m-' son of Zāḥik son of 'k-r-d. O Jesus, save him".

Fl̄ = Syr. *pallēt*, "to save" rather than Ar. *falaṭa*, "to overlook, neglect". Safaitic verbs often have a Syriac flavor, which is not surprising. Cf. *rwh* in D 55 above.

(13) DM 786

lbq bn 'ny whyth' nqmt mdhb(h)rh fhr̄dw fl̄h

"By Baqq son of Anay. And, O Jesus, (exact) vengeance from him who has accused him falsely and, O Ruḏaw, save him."

The inscription is protected by an enclosing line through which runs the magical power generated by a seven-line magic sign (see on D. 403 above).

Ruḍaw was the Syrian Arab name for *al-‘Uzzā*, the planet-goddess Venus (see my article "The Daughters of Allah" in *THE MOSLEM WORLD*, 1940, p. 123). We shall see Jesus and *Ruḍaw* associated in a "Thamudic B" inscription below.

(14) DM 887

l'bgr bn n'mn bn 'bgr bn nṣr bn grm'l

888

nṣr'l sh'hqm (w)'l 'th' w(gf)'n'l whlt fhyrt b.lth wqyt mb's ll

"By *Abgar* son of *Nu'mān* son of *Abgar* son of *Naṣr* son of *Garam'il*. He looked (for help?) to *Shai' ha-Qaum* and to *Jesus* and . . . and, O *Allat*, (grant) enrichment . . . and protection from the evil of night."

These two inscriptions were found on the same stone and are believed by *Dussaud* to form one text. The seven-line magic sign accompanies the first part. The writer has left two other inscriptions, DM 165 and 830. It is interesting to observe that *Jesus* here occupies a secondary position to *Shai' ha-Qaum*, a god whose precise character has yet to be determined (*cf.* *Littmann*, *Semitic Inscriptions*, p. 113; *Ryckmans*, *Les noms propres sud-sémitiques*, I, 34).

(15) W 251

lmsk whyth' s(lm)

"By *Masik*. And, O *Jesus*, save (him)."

(16) W 376

hm(h)r - - hyth' slm

"The colt - - - O *Jesus*, keep (it) safe."

A picture of the colt appears after the first word.

(17) L 134

lnṣr'l bn gmr hkhṭt whḍr hḍr fh'th' slm wkhrṣ q'sn wfr

"By *Naṣr'il* son of *Gamar* is the inscription. And he was present at the place. So, O *Jesus*, keep (him) safe and"

(18) Wd 235

hyth' s'd grh bn 'hl bn 'lg bn hrr

"O *Jesus*, grant good luck to *G-r-h* son of *'-h-l* son of *'-l-g* son of *H-r-r*."

(19) There are a number of other references to the god *Yth'* in unpublished inscriptions collected by *Dunand*

(see Ryckmans' note on Wd 235 in *Le Muséon*, lii, 1939, p. 138).

(20) Safaitic Arabs with the name of *Yth'* (Jesus) appear in D 227 = V 119, Hal 105, W 212, and Wd 109b.

III. Greek

Wetzstein 19 = Waddington 2209

hoi apo kōmēs Eglon theō autōn Ethaō anestēsan dēmosian tēn oikodomēn

"The people of the village of Eglā erected for their god Etha this public building."

Eglā is the mod. al-Agailat on the eastern slope of the Gebel Hauran where the inscription was found. The god *Etha* is the Safaitic *yth'* - '*th'*', as Dussaud (*Les Arabes en Syrie*, p. 150-2) recognized.

IV. Dedanite, Lihyanite, Thamudic.

The element *yth'* is found not only in South Arabic and in Safaitic but also in the Dedanite, Lihyanite and Thamudic inscriptions from north-western Arabia where, however, it is frequently written *yś'*.

In Dedanite we find the names *yś''mr* (= S Ar *yth''mr*) in JS 130, '*lyś'*' (cf. S Ar *yth''l*) in JS 174, *whbyś'* in JS 325, *r'nyś'* in JS 142. Whether a Christian content is to be read into the last three names remains uncertain. Certainly a name like *whbyś'* looks suspiciously like "Gift of Jesus"; cf. Wabh'il and Wahballah, "Gift of God". The occurrence of a cross below JS 150 supports a belief that the Dedanites were acquainted with Christianity and incidentally forces me to revise my previous notions as to their date.¹⁵

In Lihyanite we find the n.pr.f. '*mtys'n* in JS 73, the bearer of which was almost certainly a pagan, and *yś'hñ* (or *bn*) *mlk* in JS 192 who was probably a Christian. A more interesting text is JS 278, *ghmh bn gblddn hyn yś' hyzw* "G-h-m-h from Gebel Dedan. Preserve me, living (?) Jesus." *Bn* = "from" as in Sabaeen.

In "Thamudic A" we find *yś''mr* in JS 379, 526, and *byś'(h)lq* in JS 454.

¹⁵ Cf. my *Study of the Lihyanite and Thamudic Inscriptions*, p. 49f. Evidence for my identification of the ś-sign will have to await my forthcoming new edition of the Lihyanite texts. I have previously confused it with *thā*.

"Thamudic B" yields the name *yth'* in JS 396, 598, Hu. 481, (3), and *cf.* 516, 19; *yhth'* in JS 236, 343, 1 (= Hu. 480, 2), 347, 389, Hu. 284, 39; 400, 2; 481, (1); 645, 14; *ywth'* in JS 491; *yth't* in Hu. 283, 24; 389, 3. I am inclined to regard only the name *yth'* as Christian. *Yhth'* is probably formed from the fourth conjugation of the verb, like Sabaeen *yhyth'*. The most interesting inscription in "Thamudic B" from our present point of view is JS 396, *lwħbrđw:yth'* "*By Wahbrudaw-yth'*". We found Jesus and the star Ruḏaw associated in the Safaitic inscription DM 786 above. The two gods seem to be either equated here or coupled as a pair. The association of the star with the crescent in so many inscriptions might suggest that Jesus has been here turned into a moon-god.

V. Nabataean

(1) L 53

Hānī' son of Taim-yt'w

Since in name-composition the element *taim*, "servant", is usually followed by a god-name and since Nabatean *t* takes the place of Arabic and Safaitic *th*, it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that *yt'w* = Saf. *yth'*. The final *w* is, of course, only the final *u* vowel which was usually represented in Nabataean spelling. The fact that the inscription was found in the Hauran, and therefore near the Safa, favors the proposed identification.

(2) The name *Taimyt'w* is said to recur in either RÉS 2073 or 2075 (*cf.* Cantineau, *Le Nabatéen*, II, p. 105, 156) in another Hauran inscription.

(3) the n.pr. *yt'* is found in a number of Nabataean graffiti from Sinai (CIS II 491, 1016, 1393, 2571, 2748, 2988, 3162—all apparently by members of the same family). This family was no doubt Christian.

The Spelling and Pronunciation of the Name "Jesus" in Arabic

The origin of the Koranic spelling 'Īsā has long been a source of speculation. Western scholars have been

divided between two theories: according to one the Arabs derived this erroneous spelling from the Jews who maliciously called Jesus "Esau". According to others the form has been shaped by a desire to get an assonance with *Mūsā*. Neither theory is very satisfactory. Some light on the problem is shed, I believe, by the pre-Islamic inscriptions.

None of the early Arabic scripts represent vowels fully so that we cannot be absolutely certain how a vocable like *yth'* was pronounced. But the Assyrian spelling *It'i-amara* (var. *It'i-amra*) suggests that the name *Yth'nr* was pronounced *Yithi'amara* or, in view of the 'ayin-guttural, *Yitha'amara*. In Syria the name was transcribed in Greek by *Ithamaras* (Lidzbarski, *Ephemeris*, I, 220) which again suggests an Arabic *Yitha'amara*. We also find the name *Ithaēs* (*Princeton Expedition*, III, no. 369) which Littmann¹⁶ regards as an abbreviated form of a *Yth'*-name. The combined Assyrian-Greek testimony is strong evidence that the South Arabian vocable *yth'* was pronounced *yitha'*.¹⁷ This corresponds so closely to the Heb. noun *yesha'*, "salvation", that it must be the Arabic counterpart of it.

In the Safa, as we have seen, the name was written either *yth'* or *'th'*.¹⁸ The double spelling is an additional argument in favor of an identification with Jesus, which also had a double spelling in Syriac, either *Yeshû'* or *Īshô'*. The vocalization *Etha* in the Greek inscription given above shows us how the Safaites pronounced the form *'th'*. The *yth'* form was doubtless pronounced *yetha'*. A noteworthy feature of the Safaitic pronunciation is the final syllable in "a" rather than in "û" or "ô" as in Syriac. I would suggest that this change came about through assimilation to the word *yitha'*, long current in South Arabic and Safaitic as an element in proper names. It is of considerable interest too, to discover that in the Dedanite, Lihyanite and "Thamudic A" inscriptions the element *yth'* is written *ys'*

¹⁶ *Nabataean Inscriptions*, No. 53.

¹⁷ In spite of this evidence the *Corpus* vocalizes it as *Yath'*, Ryckmans as *Yathi'*, Grimme, however, gives *Yitha'*.

¹⁸ Cf. Saf. *yth't* in D 122, and *'th't* in V 220.

and no doubt pronounced *yīsaʿ*. Under Safaitic influence there may well have been a pronunciation *īsaʿ* as well. This brings us within a reasonable distance of the Koranic form *ʾĪsā*. It is still necessary to account for the hardening of the initial *hamzah* to *ʿayin*. That this is a phenomenon not without parallel was shown by Vollers in *ZDMG*, xlv, 352ff. Among the examples which he mentions are: *ʿasqalān* for Heb. *ʾashqelôn*, Ar. *ʿamrūs* for Syr. *ʾamrūsā*: O'Leary, *Comparative Grammar of the Semitic Languages*, p. 34f., says that the tribe of the Banu Tamim pronounced *ʿanna* as *ʿanna*.

Early Arabian Christianity according to the Inscriptions

The new Christian documents which we believe to have identified do not enable us to choose between the Greek tradition which attributed the introduction of Christianity into South Arabia to a certain Theophilus¹⁹ in the reign of Constantine (324-337) and the Syriac tradition which attributes it to a certain Ḥayyan of Nagran in the reign of Yazdigird. Whether this was Yazdigird I, II, or III is not said. Moberg takes it to be Yazdigird I (399-420) but this seems to be too early in view of the statement of the martyr Ḥabsa who perished in the Nagran persecution of 523 that Ḥayyan was her grandfather. Yazdigird II reigned from 440 to 457: Yazdigird III is too late to be considered. In all probability it is unnecessary to choose between the Greek and Syriac traditions. Tradition tends to simplify complex historical processes. The Christianity of Aden and other coastal cities may well have been introduced from the sea rather than from Nagran.

However introduced, Christianity soon gained a considerable foothold. The Greek tradition speaks of churches, even bishoprics at Aden, Zafar, and Nagran. The headings of chapters 8, 30, 31, and 32 of the Book of the Himyarites show that there were also churches in Marib, Hadramaut, and at (Ha)jaren in the Wady Doan. The Sabaeen inscription C 550 refers to a church at Abyan

¹⁹ According to Zwemer, *Arabia: The Cradle of Islam*, p. 307, he was a deacon of Nicomedia; according to Moberg, *The Book of the Himyarites*, p. li, he was from Socotra.

and implies that Christianity was at that time well established in Aden. Jesus is called "Jesus of Aden".

The chief value of the inscriptions given above is that they give us our first glimpse of early Arabic Christianity from the inside. We are immediately struck by the fact that it is anything but an orthodox Christianity. Perhaps this should not surprise us. What we behold is a fusion of Christianity and Arabic paganism. Jesus has not displaced the old gods. He has simply been added to the pantheon. In Syria he seems to have occupied a more unique position, although even there we have found him associated with Ruḍaw (DM 786), Shai' ha-Qaum and Allat (DM 888). In the South he has sunk even lower. Cf. the end of C. 550, "By 'Athtar and Haubas and Ilmaqah (Venus, Sun and Moon), Jesus, Dhāt Ḥmy^m, Dhāt Ba'dān^m and the gods and goddesses of the city of Aden." This is nothing but rank polytheism.

Attention has been drawn above, too, to the indications that animal sacrifices were offered to Jesus (cf. C 561, DM 160, 158, 157). The petitions addressed to him are the same as those addressed to all the other gods. In other words Jesus had been absorbed into the fold of Arab polytheistic paganism. But along with him there must have been absorbed a certain amount of Biblical doctrine and terminology, and in estimating the forces that played upon Mohammed we should not overlook this Arabic Christianity, however diluted it may have become.

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THE EYE OF THE NEEDLE

In his recent edition of the Quran, Professor Richard Bell calls attention, in a footnote, to verse 38 of Surat al-A'raf and its possible origin from Matthew 19:24; the well-known passage about the camel passing through the eye of a needle.¹ The Matthean passage itself is, of course, like that of Luke, taken over from Mark; but "Matthew" seems to have been considered the most likely of the Gospels for circulation among Arabic-speaking Christians;² unless the quotation might have become known from the Gospel according to the Hebrews, which has the full story of the Rich Young Ruler, with an added detail,³ or some other source. So far as the synoptic problem is concerned, one most interesting point comes out in the Lucan version, where the Greek word for needle seems to be that employed in medical terminology.⁴ Another phenomenon is that the word translated "eye" is different in each of the synoptic parallels. A more interesting and important feature is the fact that this phrase about a camel entering the eye of a needle seems to be almost the only direct quotation in the Quran from the New Testament. While the Bible dictionaries do not make any allusion to this, it has not escaped the attention of some of the commentators. Both dictionaries and commentaries however refer to the Rabbinic form of the proverb, where an elephant is substituted for a camel. The meaning of the proverb is of course in no way affected by this change any more than it is by the suggestion, going back to Cyril of Alexandria, that "camel" should really be "cable";⁵ or that "needle" referred to the small postern gate that is still used in the

¹ The Quran Translated, Vol. 1, p. 141.

² Thirty-two of the "Gospels" in the Ecclesiastical Calendar are taken from Matthew.

³ James: Apocryphal N. T., p. 6. Huck's Synopsis at Matt. 19: 16, p. 149.

⁴ Moulton and Milligan: Vocabulary of the Greek Testament, p. 108.

⁵ i.e. *kámilos* as in some MSS. of Matthew and Luke, in an effort to "tone down"; *vide* commentaries; also Rodwell's note *ad loc.*

great doors of walled cities when the whole is not opened. It has further been suggested that the proverb may have found its way into Arabic not directly from the New Testament; but that Muhammad was using a figure of speech, just as our Lord had done several centuries previously. On the other hand, this is not the only occasion where the grotesqueness of the camel seems to have appealed to Him: the swallowing of a camel would be just as impossible a procedure as getting it through the slit in a needle;⁶ and it is surely a very reasonable piece of exegesis to suggest, since this is the only occurrence of "needle" in Holy Scripture and since the phrase itself is confined to the New Testament and the Quran, that Jesus should have changed the figure in accordance with what Palestinian hearers would most appreciate and who may never have seen the elephant that attracted Rabbinical scholarship in Iraq (Mesopotamia).

It is an interesting thing that Quranic commentators, despite Arab "camel-love," seem to have taken it for granted that the obvious meaning of the word *jamal* was cable or rope rather than the animal. The actual Quranic context runs as follows, according to the translation of Professor Bell:

"Verily for those who have counted Our signs false and been too proud to receive them, the gates of heaven will not be opened, nor will they enter the garden, until a camel passes through the eye of a needle; so do We recompense the sinners."

Commenting on this verse, Al Baidawi says that this means a rough rope of hemp, and other people say the rope of a ship.⁷ But of course he takes the needle naturally to be that of the tailor. Al Zamakhshari, from whom al-Baidawi quotes a bit, also says definitely that the rope is suitable because it goes through the eye of a needle, and the camel (*ba'ir*) is not suitable.⁸ It is not quite clear why it is that Quranic commentators rather "poohpooh" the

⁶ Matt. 23: 24, for which there does not seem a Rabbinical Parallel.

⁷ Section 3, p. 9.

⁸ Section 1, p. 486.

grotesque figure of the camel attempting the impossible. It is an open question therefore whether they accepted an already suggested explanation, or whether they came independently to the same conclusion as Cyril of Alexandria. In any case neither Baidawi nor Zamakhshari gives any credence or credit to the prophet making a quotation from the New Testament.

The actual language employed in Surat al A'raf for passing through the eye of a needle does not include any of the words in most of the Arabic versions of the Gospels. We should like to suggest that there may have been at least a couple of ways of expressing this phrase, both of them going back to fairly early times. Of the printed Arabic versions since 1591, only one, that of Nathaniel Sabat, has the reading of Surat al A'raf *sammi 'l-khiyāti*. One of the criticisms of Near East Christianity a hundred years ago with regard to this particular version was that its rather Islamic phraseology grated on the ears of Christian readers and hearers. The probable deduction is therefore that Nathaniel Sabat and Henry Martyn took the Quranic phrase, introducing it into each of the three Synoptic Gospels. In the remaining eight versions so far consulted, the variations are very few: none at all in fact in the word used for needle,⁹ which is still the familiar one, whether for the tailor or the doctor. No one seems to have tried to bring out the fact that St. Luke used in Greek the word familiar in schools of medicine. The versions however do differentiate in places in the word used for "eye". The general word is *khurm*, but in twelve passages, chiefly in Luke, the word *thaqb* is employed; and Baidawi refers to the feminine form *thuqbah* in his explanation of the meaning of *samm*. In Lagarde's version of the Gospels there is one other variation, because the text uses *khurm*, while a reference in brackets says that *thaqb* is correct.¹⁰ The general agreement however is impressive, though some of the translators may have tried to find different Arabic words for "eye" in accordance with the fact that

⁹ The differences in the Greek word perhaps point to the fact that no parallel to the proverb existed in Greek. *Vide* Expositor's Greek Testament.

¹⁰ Lagarde, *Die Vier Evangelien Arabisch*, p. 26.

each Gospel uses a different word. The version of 1591 and that of Lagarde are the descendants of the Alexandrian Vulgate; and their readings, and that of other versions, are upheld by the Carshuni edition of the New Testament. The Gospels were also translated into Arabic from Syriac and Coptic.¹¹

There is however one question left unsettled. If the Quranic phraseology is found in one only of the printed editions, an edition which was severely criticized a hundred years ago because of its Islamic flavouring, because its editors advisedly employed Quranic terms for the sake of Muslim readers, is it at all possible to trace the origin of the Quranic expression itself? The answer seems to be in the affirmative, for the actual Quranic expression occurs in the Arabic translation of the Diatessaron of Tatian the Assyrian (born between A.D. 110 and 120).¹² It is well known to Christian scholarship that the work of Tatian in harmonizing the four Gospels, though it may have been made from the original Greek, is not known other than in its Armenian, Arabic and Latin dress. Tatian himself wrote in Syriac; and church history bears record that his Diatessaron had considerable vogue in those churches of the middle east which used Syriac. Not only however does Arabic "Tatian" have the actual phrase for the eye of the needle as it occurs in the Quran, but the word used for the camel "passing through" is also the identical Quranic use,¹³ whereas all the other editions, without exception, employ one of the more ordinary Arabic words for "enter" or "pass" (*dukhūl* or *murūr*). It therefore seems a reasonable suggestion both that the phrase employed by Muhammad in Surat al A'raf was a quotation from the oral, floating knowledge of Jesus' sayings based on Tatian's Syriac Diatessaron and therefore not direct from a New Testament source, translations of which did not exist till more than two centuries after Muhammad's death. Of course the Quran may have influenced the translation of Tatian,

¹¹ H.D.B., Vol. i, p. 136.

¹² Vide Ciasca's Edition, p. 110 (Arab).

¹³ *Yalija*.

but why then did it not influence the translation of the Gospels? This suggestion would further bear out that previously made that it was Jesus who changed the Rabbinical figure from the elephant to the camel. We are able to account in this way both for the differences as between the Arabic phraseology, and for the source from which Muhammad obtained knowledge of a proverb re-coined by our Lord. It is surely a much more reasonable supposition that what Christian phraseology did get into the Quran came from Syriac rather than any other source. Mingana has shown that after Islam it was thought worth while to put the Quran into Syriac.¹⁴

This however opens up a further question: if it can be substantiated that "Tatian" lies behind what little knowledge the Quran displays of the material contained in, but not originating from the Canonical Gospels, can we find any further indications of it in the Quran itself, even though actual quotations are so very sparingly scattered?

Interestingly enough, the particular chapter in Tatian in which the "eye of the needle" occurs, dealing as it does with the question of riches and the Kingdom of God, is followed by one or two quotations from the three Synoptic Gospels bearing on the same subject, after which Tatian records the so-called "parable" of Dives and Lazarus. The verses immediately previous are Luke 16:14 and 15, where it is stated that the Pharisees, who were lovers of money, scoffed at Jesus. It is therefore at least a striking coincidence that the material in Surat al A'raf that follows Muhammad's mention of the eye of the needle is immediately followed by the passage dealing with the "inmates of the Garden and the inmates of the Fire". It was this passage that Sale, two hundred years ago, compared with the Lucan story.¹⁵ The following verses in particular in Surat al A'raf bear an unmistakable comparison with at least two verses in Luke 16 (24, 25, R.V.):

"The inmates of the Fire shall call to the inmates of the Garden: 'Cause some of the water or of what Allah hath provided for you

¹⁴ "An Ancient Syriac Translation of the Qur'an," (Ryland, Reprint).

¹⁵ Note *ad loc.*

to overflow upon us'; they will reply: 'Verily Allah hath forbidden both to the unbelievers';

" 'Who have taken their religion as a pastime and a play; and whom this nearer life has deluded.' So today We forget them as they forgot the meeting of this their day, and as they used Our signs to gainsay." ¹⁶

Is it beyond the range of possibility to suggest that before producing this passage in Surat al A'raf Muhammad may have listened to the material contained in the twenty-ninth chapter of Tatian's Diatessaron, of course emanating from someone familiar with the Syriac? There is both the actual phrase about the camel and the needle, and the allusion to the two parties as in the Lucan parable, with references not only to the desire for water on the part of the inmates of the Fire, a desire they asked should be met by some of the inmates of the Garden; but as well the implication that the former were in their unenviable position partly through their gathering together of wealth and the consequent pride it entailed, and partly because of a comparative heedlessness towards others whom they thought Allah would not reach with His mercy.

Another suggestion, to which attention has already been called by Professor Bell, in *THE MOSLEM WORLD*, ¹⁷ is that the parable of the Last Judgment in Matthew 25:31 ff. may also have influenced this passage. With this is connected his theory that 'I'raf instead of 'A'raf should rightly be read, as implying "recognition" on the part of the Son of Man between the two groups.

It may therefore be worth while studying other passages in the Quran which seem to have a Christian background, to find out whether the contents of Tatian's work may not be their source. At any rate, it helps to support that side of early Islamic history concerning the "Origin of Islam in its Christian Environment", to which Professor Bell has been teaching us to do more than scant justice since the publication of his books.

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¹⁶ A'raf, 48, 49 (Bell's Translation).

¹⁷ Vol. xxii, p. 43.

THE ROSE AND ISLAM

The rose has long held its place as the one flower most dear to all human hearts. It gave inspiration to the pen of the poet literally from China to Peru, and from the days of ancient Rome to our own. One has remarked that "the history of the rose is intimately interwoven with the movements of civilization, the march of armies and the gradual knitting together by mutual needs of the countries of the world."¹ There have been Wars of the Roses but the most popular of garden flowers has also drawn mankind together and upward to God. In this fascinating story the East and the West unite and the Legacy of Islam is not to be forgotten although the subject has scant place in the volume of that title. Our word "rose" is at least related to the Arabic. According to Skeat it comes from the Latin *rosa* and this from the Greek *rodon* (Aeolic *brodon*) which is of Semitic origin and cognate to *wardah* (Arabic).²

"Oh no man knows
Through what wild centuries
Roves back the rose." (Walter de la Mare).

The history of rose-culture is intimately connected with the early Arab conquests and the history of the Caliphate. Their vast empire had grown from a series of conquests that started originally from Medina; Arabia was its center. It comprised Egypt, nearly the whole of Spain and the islands of Sicily and Crete; also Sardinia and Cyprus and the southern Italian coast. To the north of Arabia, Syria and Armenia belonged to the permanent possessions of

¹ Old Garden Roses, by Edward A. Bunyard. 1937. p. 3.

² Professor Arthur Jeffery however states: The English word "rose" is not from the Arabic "warda" but both are from the same source. The word is pure Indo-European *urdho* = spring tree and was borrowed into the Semitic languages.

Islam; further to the east, Mesopotamia with Iraq, followed by the whole of the territory of modern Persia with Afghanistan.³

This vast empire was bound together in an astonishing unity of thought and culture. "We flatter ourselves," says E. G. Browne, "on the facilities of communication in these our days, but it is questionable whether an idea, a book, or a philosophical doctrine would travel so quickly now from Tunis to Tabriz or from Seville to Samarcand as it did in the fourteenth century. So potent was the unifying effect of Islam and its Arabic language!"⁴

I. *The Rose in the Koran and Tradition.* Syria was the classic home of the rose and when the Arabs conquered it they were themselves conquered by the beauty of the flower. It soon finds its place among the Persian poets and was even cultivated in the garden oasis of Taif, the famous suburb of Mecca. Doughty at the end of his long exile in Arabia Deserta was delighted to find roses in that city. "We met some long trains of loaded camels marching upwards to et-Tayif: and out went others which descended before us to the Holy City. The most of these carried sacks—oh! blissful sweetness! in the pure night air,—of rose blossoms; whose precious odours are distilled by the Indian apothecaries in Mecca. This is the *'atar*, which is dispersed by the multitude of pilgrims through the Mohammedan world The heaven was a blue deep, all glistening with stars, that smiled to see the rich attendance of our poverty. We were guests of the Night and of the vast wilderness."⁵ "Taif! the Eden of Mecca, with sweet and cool air and running water; where are gardens of roses and vineyards and orchards."

Did the Prophet Mohammed perchance pick roses for Khadijah before he had his call? This may be doubted but his ideas of the Garden of Paradise were undoubtedly taken from the oases of Arabia and the gardens of Syria.

³ Legacy of Islam, Arnold, p. 79.

⁴ Arabian Medicine, Cambridge 1921, p. 106.

⁵ Arabia Deserta. Vol. II, pp. 527, 478. cf. Henri Lammens, *Le Berceau d'Islam*, pp. 87-90, on its ancient fertility.

The word *warda* (rose) does not occur in the Koran. But there is an indirect reference to it in Surah 55:35: "When the heaven is rent asunder and becomes rosy red—melting like grease."⁶ In the very same chapter we have, moreover, this description of Paradise: "On couches with linings of brocade shall they recline and the fruit of the two gardens shall be within easy reach . . . therein shall be damsels with retiring glances whom neither man nor jinn hath touched before them."

The popular esteem in which the rose is held found expression in a tradition ascribed to Muhammad: "The white rose was created from my sweat on the night of the nocturnal journey (*mī'rāj*), the red rose from the sweat of Gabriel and the yellow rose from that of al-Burāq". (Suyūṭī, *Husn*, Vol. 2, p. 236.) With the words "I am the king of sultans and the rose is the king of the sweet-scented flowers; each of us therefore is worthy of the other", al-Mutawakkil is said to have so monopolized the cultivation of roses for his own enjoyment that in his time that flower could be seen nowhere except in his palace." (Philip K. Hitti, *Hist. of the Arabs*, p. 352.)

Mohammed's conception of *Janna*, the Garden of Paradise, with rivers of water, of milk and wine, with perfume (of which he was so fond), of birds and lotus trees came undoubtedly from earthly gardens he had himself seen; not as Carra de Vaux imagines⁷ from "Christian miniatures and mosaics he had seen of Paradise with figures of angels." The Traditions are very specific in their description of the odors of Paradise; and the perfumes Mohammed himself used so freely doubtless came from roses and jasmine in the oasis of Taif. The use of perfume, according to the Prophet, belongs to the *sunan*, the teaching, of all the apostles. (Cf. Wensinck's *Handbook of Early Muhammadan Tradition*.)

II. *The Rose in Islamic Mysticism and Poetry.* *Wird* is the term used for the ritual of Sufism and is etymo-

⁶ *Mufradāt, al-Rāghib al-Iṣṣḥānī* (Dictionary of the Koran)—p. 541. Flowing water is the root meaning of *warda*.

⁷ *Enc. of Islam*, Vol. II, p. 1015.

logically and artistically closely related to *wardah*, a rose. This may be for the same reason that the English word *rosary* derives from rose. (See the Century Dictionary.) In the latter case rosary was first a rose-garden; then a rose-garland, then a chaplet hung in churches on statues of the Virgin and the saints and finally a portable chaplet of beads used in devotion.

By *wird* (plural *awrād*) the mystics of Islam understood the definite time of the day or night when the believer devotee engages in prayer, or the formula of such prayer, also called *hizb*. These collections of *awrād* have spread throughout the entire world of Islam,⁸ and in this connection each order of Darwishes not only has its special *wird* but its own flowerlike design of its supposed genealogy. Dupont and Coppelani give many beautiful illustrations of these *wirds* in color in their monograph.⁹ In the ecstasy of the Sufis they are supposed to enter the courts of Paradise and one of them even discerned Allah in a rose-bush even as Moses did in the burning bush of Midian! We quote the poem from Edwin Arnold's *Pearls of the Faith*:

Hath there come to ye what the Dervish said,
At Kaisareya, in the marble shrine,
Who woke from vision of the love divine?
"I have seen Allah!" quoth he—all a-glow
With splendour of the dream which filled him so—
"Yea! I have paced the Garden of Delight,
And heard and known!"

"Impart to us thy light,"

His fellows cried.

He paused, and smiled, and spake:

"Fain would I say it, brothers, for your sake,
For I have wandered in a sphere so bright,
Have heard such things, and witnessed such a sight,
That now I know whither all nature turns,
And what the love celestial is which burns,
At the great heart of all the world, ensuring
That griefs shall pass and joy be all enduring.
Yet ask me not! I am as one who came
Where, among roses, one bush, all aflame

⁸ Encyclopædia of Islam, *Wird*, by Louis Massignon.

⁹ *Les Confréries Musulmanes*.

By fragrant crimson blossoms, charged the air
 With loveliness and perfume past compare.
 Then had I thought to load my skirt with roses,
 That ye might judge what wealth that land discloses;
 And filled my robe, plucking the peerless blooms;
 But ah! the scent so rich, so heavenly, comes;
 So were my senses melted into bliss
 With the intoxicating breath of this;
 I let the border of my mantle fall—
 The roses slipped! I bring ye none at all.”¹⁰

There is no East nor West when God enters a rose-garden, for an American, Arthur F. Truex, of Tulsa, Oklahoma, exclaims: “At this season of the year, ‘heaven’ is an apt description of a rose-garden with its streets of gold and clouds of pink and pearl. To walk through one along toward evening is sort of an informal call on God.”¹¹

In the myths of many nations the rose was produced by special creation. One of the best known is that of Venus rising from the sea and the rose springing from the ground to greet her, with Botticelli’s interpretation in his famous painting. Among Turks and Arabs there is a tradition, as we have noted, that the rose owes its origin to the perspiration of the Prophet. Another story, given by the Persian poets, is that the flowers complained to Allah against the Lotus, then queen of all flowers, that she slept all night. Allah replied by creating the white rose as the new queen, and to protect her gave her many thorns. The nightingale fell deeply in love with the new flower and flying rapturously toward it was pierced by its thorns, changing its white to red.¹²

It would not be difficult to gather an anthology on the rose from Islamic literature, especially the Sufi poets of Iraq, Iran and Egypt. Here is one beautiful example from Baha-al-Din Zuhayr (d. 1258).

On a Blind Girl.

They called my love a poor blind maid;
 I love her more for that, I said;
 I love her, for she cannot see

¹⁰ Pearls of the Faith, by Sir Edwin Arnold, 1891. pp. 134-136.

¹¹ *The American Rose Magazine*, Harrisburg, 1938, p. 173.

¹² *Old Garden Roses*, p. 22.

These grey hairs which disfigure me.
 We wonder not that wounds are made
 By an unsheathed and naked blade;
 The marvel is that swords should slay,
 While yet within their sheaths they stay.
 She is a garden fair, where I
 Need fear no guardian's prying eye;
 Where, though in beauty blooms the rose,
 Narcissuses their eyelids close.¹³

The Persian poets alone, Firdausi, Jami, Hatifi, Jalal-ad-Din, Hafiz, Nizami, Sa'di and Omar Khayyam offer many examples of tributes to the rose, but as the last named declares:

"Each morn a thousand roses brings, you say.
 Yes; but where leaves the rose of yesterday."

Here is a striking anecdote by Nizami in his *Treasury of Secrets*: A rivalry between two court physicians finally reached such a point that they challenged one another to a duel or ordeal by poison, it being agreed that each should take a poison supplied by his antagonist, of which he should then endeavor to counteract the effects by a suitable antidote. The first prepared a poisonous draught "the fierceness of which would have melted black stone"; his rival drained the cup and at once took an antidote which rendered it innocuous. It was now his turn, and he picked a rose from the garden, breathed an incantation over it, and bade his antagonist smell it, whereupon the latter at once fell down dead. That his death was due simply to fear and not to any poisonous or magical property of the rose is clearly indicated by the poet:

"Through this rose which the spell-breather had given him
 Fear overmastered the foe and he gave up the ghost.
 That one by treatment expelled the poison from his body,
 While this one died of a rose from fear."¹⁴

The West was not unmindful of this legacy of the rose when a rose-tree from Omar's grave was planted at Fitzgerald's grave. Father Tabb, in his little book of poems, explained the significance in a quatrain:

¹³ H. A. R. Gibb, *Arabic Literature*, London 1926, p. 93.

¹⁴ E. G. Browne, *Arabian Medicine*, pp. 89-90.

"Alike from alien lips one music flows
 To flush the Orient Rose.
 Far-sundered spirits finding each in her
 His dream's interpreter."

III. *The Dispersion of the Rose through Commerce and Medicine.* The conquests of Islam eastward to Persia and India westward along the Mediterranean basin carried the rose as far as Spain where the Moors had famous gardens. But the spread of the rose through Europe was due perhaps more to its medicinal virtues than to its beauty; although there are good reasons to believe that one of the most beautiful of the rose-family, *Rosa damascena*, is the rose from Damascus, the rose of Omar Khayyam, brought over by the Crusaders to become the rose of the house of Lancaster.¹⁵ In Chaucer's *Romaunt of the Rose* there is mention of roses from the land of the Saracens; and a story is told of the Gallica rose brought from Palestine by Thiebault IV, Count of Champagne, on his return from the Crusade. At least five varieties of roses cultivated today trace their origin to Persia, one of them introduced as late as 1838 by Sir Henry Willcocks.¹⁶ When European explorers began to visit Persia in the seventeenth century they found new varieties of roses and brought them to Europe.

Chardin in his volume of travels, published in 1711, mentions five roses, "natural (pink), white, yellow, and red . . . and a brighter and stronger red rose which we call *ponceau*—of two colors, that is, red on one side and white or golden yellow on the other. The Persians call this rose *doufrouyeh*,—two faces." (Old Garden Roses, p. 23.) Ibn Awwam's famous treatise on agriculture and gardening of the thirteenth century, was translated into Spanish by Joseph Antonio Banqueri (Madrid, 1802) and afterwards into French by Clement-Mullet (Paris, 1864) under the title *Livre d'Agriculture d'Ibn-el-Awwam*. Chapter XXVI of the first volume is all about roses and the curious

¹⁵ *The American Rose Magazine*, Jan. 1938. pp. 116, 117.

¹⁶ Old Garden Roses, pp. 137-142.

will find here the many varieties of rose found in Persia at that period. (Vol. I, pp. 281-287.)

Ibn-al-Fasl, we are told, succeeded in grafting the rose on the apple-tree, the almond and the grape-vine with the result of larger blossoms.

After the invasion of India, the Moghul Empire carried to southern Asia the roses of the north. The Emperor Jahangir in the early seventeenth century writes of the gardens at Ahmedabad: "The plot has bloomed well, it was pleasant to see so many red roses owing to their scarcity in India." Again he speaks of "flowering shrubs and every kind of rose."¹⁷ It would be no exaggeration to state that the spread of rose-cultivation across the world is one of the legacies of Islam.

Dr. Philip K. Hitti, (*History of the Arabs*, pp. 574-579, 351) speaks of the Arab classification of plants, and new methods of grafting and cultivation introduced by them.

In the Abbasid period "Horticulture" was not limited to fruits and vegetables. The cultivation of flowers was promoted for scent and perfume. The whole district of Jur or Firuzabad was noted for its attar of red roses. Rose-water was exported as far as China eastward and al-Maghrib westward. Thirty thousand bottles of the essence of red roses were sent annually to the caliph in Baghdad.

The trade in rose-water and the use of attar of roses in medicine therefore goes back to Islam. One of the greatest constitutional lawyers, who died in Baghdad in 1058 at the age of eighty-six, took for his cognomen *Al-Mawardi* (Rosewater); while a distinguished Persian poet and an Egyptian grammarian both were called *Al 'Attar*, distiller of roses! The famous perfume was known in the Orient for many centuries. It was prepared by macerating or distilling roses, mainly the *rosa damascena*. Ibn Rashid's letters tell of his asking for "oil of Roses" from Asia Minor and "to save delay send a

¹⁷ *Idem*. p. 23. On the rose-gardens of the early caliphs in Damascus and Baghdad see A.M.A. Shustery, *Outlines of Islamic Culture*, Vol. I. p. 327, ff.

special messenger.”¹⁸ (Ibn al-Baytar’s (d. 1248) *Pharmacopeia*, the greatest Arabic book on Botany, contains a list of 1400 medicinal plants and drugs.) The essential oil obtained is very costly, often two hundred dollars a pound, as some two hundred and fifty pounds of rose-leaves are required to make a single ounce of the genuine ‘*attar*. Even today the manufacture is chiefly oriental, although also carried on in France and the Balkans.

Sir R. R. K. Porter thus described a Persian rose-garden: “On first entering this bower of fairy-land I was struck with the appearance of two rose-trees fourteen feet high laden with thousands of flowers in every degree of expansion and of a bloom and delicacy of scent that imbued the whole atmosphere with exquisite perfume. Indeed I believe that in no country in the world does the rose grow in such perfection as in Persia. In no country is it so cultivated and prized by the natives. Their gardens and courts are crowded by its plants, their rooms ornamented with vases filled with its garnered bunches and every bath strewn with the full-blown flowers plucked from the ever replenished stems.”

The export of rose-leaves and attar of roses is still of considerable commercial importance. The English language has a number of medical terms in this connection. *Julep* = *gul* + *āb*, that is, Rose-water; alembic and aludel were the upper and lower vessels used to distill medicinal plants. Syrup and alcohol are also from the Arabic. The early Arab physicians “embellished the art of dispensing by introducing scented waters such as those from the *rose* and *orange*.”¹⁹

IV. *The Rose in Islamic Art*, is a large subject and here, too, we have evidence of Arab and Persian influence on the art of Europe. Edward A. Bunyard states that “In Moslem painting, so far as my limited experience goes the rose is very seldom depicted.” Yet, as an exception, he cites a miniature of *The Physicians’ Duel* in the poem of Nizami (quoted above) where a double red rose lies on

¹⁸ Browne, *Arabian Medicine*, pp. 104-106.

¹⁹ Campbell, *Arabian Medicine*, Vol. I, p. 55.

the ground. (Old Garden Roses, p. 26.) The fact is that because Moslem art does not often depict nature save in conventional forms, the rosette and the rose as well as its foliage *do* occur in sculpture, in ceramic art, on carpets and ivory carving quite frequently.

"When we turn to the Art of Persia we find the Rose frequently used as a decorative motive on tiles and porcelain, though very frequently so conventionalized that it resembles a Zinnia more than a rose, the flower tapering to a cone and the leaves laid one over the other in the Zinnia fashion. When, however, a large number of examples are examined we can see the gradual change which has taken place from a true rose with rose leaves to the Zinnia form, which has often but one leaf. It will be noted that both in needlework and painting, the mid-rib or 'eye' of the leaf, as it is called in decorative art, was emphasized in embroidery by leaving a space clear, the 'eye of light', or in painting by a red stripe down the centre of the leaf. This seems to be a particular convention in depicting the rose leaf. The example shown in Plate 2 shows the Zinnia-like flower with a true rose leaf, pinnate as it should be, and shows, I think, that these rough Zinnia flowers on pottery and tiles are really conventionalized roses." ²⁰

In Moslem architecture we find the same conventionalized form of the rose, as, for example, in India (See our frontispiece).

In a portfolio of reproduction of Moslem art at the Louvre, we find many interesting examples of the rose as decorative motif: *e.g.*, a dish from Katayeh, Asia Minor, with a beautiful border of roses, of the sixteenth century; a Persian dish from Rhages (thirteenth century) with similar decoration; and two beautiful blue dishes from Damascus (sixteenth century) one with rose border and the other with rose-plants and blossoms. On carpets, the rose is a common design. The catalogue mentioned gives several beautiful reproductions. One is a silk carpet (No. 124) of the sixteenth century, depicting a rose-garden

²⁰ Old Garden Roses, p. 25.

with various animals in the enclosure; another, the famous woolen carpet known as of "Mantes Church", a magnificent Persian piece of tapestry, one entire side of which shows roses in bloom on a trellis. There is also an ivory plaque of the thirteenth century with a rose-bush between two erect figures of warriors. (No. 24).²¹

"The Persian rugs of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries show delicate floral stems undulating into spirals and naturalistic leaves and rosettes with serrated outlines suggesting real petals." From Persia this type of floral ornament spread to all Mohammedan countries.²²

When we recall all this about the rose under Islam—its place in literature, medicine and art as well as its dispersion through Moslem conquests and culture we can understand the curious reference in the fourth stanza of a poem by Dr. Hugh Findlay, Professor of Landscape Architecture at Columbia University—*To a Pink Rose*:

"Its soft, sweet fragrance lingers like a peace
Bestowed upon the heart when it betrays
The loneliness we feel: then the pink rose
Sprinkles the Koran's scroll with ecstasies.
What knowledge do we gain from dreams like these?"

New York City.

SAMUEL MARINUS ZWEMER
MARGARET CLARKE ZWEMER

²¹ Documents d'Art: Louvre Museum. Art Mussulman by Gaston Migeon. Albert Morancé. Paris, 1922. 2 vols.

²² M. S. Dimand's Handbook of Mohammedan Decorative Arts (Metropolitan Museum, New York, 1930). Examples of the rose in art on pp. 15, 47, 49, 174.

ISLAM AND ENGLAND DURING THE RENAISSANCE

NOTES SUPPLEMENTARY TO "THE CRESCENT AND THE ROSE"

In *The Crescent and the Rose*,¹ a study of the cultural relations of England with Islam during the Renaissance, there are certain gaps which it is now possible to fill. Of some of these gaps I was unaware at the time I wrote that book; others were due to the inaccessibility of rare volumes. Sojourns in Pasadena and Washington have opened to me the resources of the Henry E. Huntington Library and the Folger Shakespeare Library with the consequence that I have been able to assemble the following supplementary notes. They are necessarily of a somewhat heterogeneous nature, since they deal with books of widely separated dates and on different aspects of the broad subject of Islam and the Ottoman "problem". I have endeavored to shape them into as logically connected a report as may be, with indications of the places in my book to which each item should be attached if ever a revised edition is called for. The order followed is in the main chronological.

I.

The Swiss theologian, controversialist and Orientalist Theodore Buchmann (or Bibliander) attempted in 1543 to reach an English audience more directly than was possible through the medium of his Latin works. In that year there was printed at Basle² by Randolph Bonifante a treatise entitled *A Godly consultation unto the brethren and companyons of the Christen religyon. By what meanes the*

¹ New York: Oxford University Press, 1937. Hereinafter referred to as *C. & R.*

² The *Short Title Catalogue* questions Basle as the place of publication and suggests Antwerp; but elsewhere one of the editors of the *S. T. C.* says that after 1538 there was a break in English printing at Antwerp for a quarter of a century. See A. W. Pollard, "English Books printed Abroad," *Transactions of the Bibliographical Society*, III, Part ii (1896), pp. 195 f. Other books by Bibliander were printed at Basle or Zurich.

cruell power of the Turkes bothe may and ought to be repelled of the Christen people. Theodore Bibliander being the Author. Thou shalt also fynde here (most gentle Reader) *of the reasons wher wyth a firme and sure concorde and peace in the Churche and the Christen publyke weale may be constytuted and of the fyrst bigynnyng and increasements of the Turkes domynyons and also of the superstytions and damnable lawe of the Mahumetanes and of other certen thynges moste worthy truly to be red and consydered.* The colophon states that "in this troublouse tyme ragynge with warre and batayle by all the partes of Christendome" this book has been translated out of Latin. It corresponds, however, neither to Bibliander's *Confutationes Legis Machumeticæ* nor to his *Machumetis . . . Vita et Doctrina*,³ though it contains much of the material found in one or the other of those works. The translator's name is not given. The introductory Epistle is dated "from Zurich 1542."

The book contains warnings of the terrible proximity of the Turkish peril, and these are none the less sincere for being couched in rhetorical phraseology; in fact they rise occasionally to impassioned eloquence, anticipating the manner of later English writers on the same subject whose alarms and counsels I have reviewed in the third chapter of *The Crescent and the Rose*. Since Bibliander's purpose is to effect a unification of Christendom, a large part of his treatise has to do with the means of reconciling points of doctrine and differences in discipline among Christians. Not until he has set forth his ideal of a Christian Commonwealth does he come to an account of its implacable foe. This account begins with a life of Mahomet⁴ in which are once again recounted the discreditable legends which had been in circulation in the West since the Middle Ages: the false prophet's association with the renegade monk Sergius; the wealthy widow whom he tricked into matrimony; his falling-sickness; his deceits practised on the people (the dove;

³ *C. & R.*, p. 435.

⁴ Chapter VI, fol. xxiii (v) f. (References are to the copy in the Folger Shakespeare Library in which, however, the foliation is confused).—In this article, as in *C. & R.*, I use the Elizabethan form of the Prophet's name, erroneous but almost invariable.

the bull; the vessels buried in the earth); his ignominious death; the disciples who in vain expected his resurrection; his burial at Meccha (not, it is noteworthy, at El-Medina); and the coffin held in the air by powerful magnets.⁵ In Bibliander's version of the story of the plot hatched by Mahomet and Sergius a third conspirator appears—a certain archdeacon of Antioch named Matthew who is probably to be identified with the John of Antioch who is sometimes named as one of the concoctors of the Koran.⁶ It is of some interest that the report of the destruction of Mahomet's tomb, which had reached Brother Felix Fabri and Martin Baumgarten many years earlier,⁷ is repeated by Bibliander. "God," he sayd, "hath some tyme caste downe the tounge or coffyn of this cursed seductor with thonder and lyghtenyng."⁸ Following the biography of the Prophet comes a long exposition of "Turkish" doctrines, fairly accurate in the main (as might be expected from the pen of the reviser of the Latin version of the Koran), though of course derisory in tone. This is followed by a narrative of the spread of Moslem conquests. In all this there is nothing original; such interest as it possesses lies in its early date when nothing so informative had appeared in English.⁹

A similar account of Mahomet's life and teaching appears in *The poor mans Librarie* by William Alley, Bishop of Exeter (1565).¹⁰ This offers, however, one refreshing novelty: a series of fourteen riddles propounded by Mahomet—"Aenigmata Mahometis." One of them will serve as a specimen: "What grave was moved with him that was buried in it?" Answer: "The whale with the prophet Jonas in his belly." The other thirteen riddles are about on a par with this.

II.

The victory of Lepanto (October 7, 1571) directed

⁵ See *C. & R.*, pp. 402-422.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 402.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 417.

⁸ *A Godly consultation*, fol. xxxii (r).

⁹ It appeared a year before Richard Grafton's *The Order of the great Turckes court* and three years before Peter Ashton's *Shorte treatise upon the Turkes Chronicles*. See *C. & R.*, p. 106.

¹⁰ Ed. 1571, vol. II, fol. 39 (v) - 42 (r).

attention as never before to the struggle in the eastern Mediterranean; and in 1572 an English translation by William Malim appeared of the report made by Nestor Martinengo to the Doge of Venice concerning the events in Cyprus which had led to the organization of the Christian coalition against the Ottomans. The scope of this arid and somewhat belated corranto is sufficiently indicated by its title, of which I quote only a part: *The true Report of all the successe of Famagosta . . . In the which the whole order of all the skirmishes, batteries, mines, and assaultes . . . may plainly appeare. Moreover the names of the Captaines, and number of the people slaine, as well of the Christians as of the Turkes: likewise of them who were taken prisoners.* To the brief original narrative Malim added some comments of his own, a short description of the island of Cyprus, and "expositions of all the Turkish wordes herein necessary to be knowen, placed in the margent." These words are in the main military terms and titles of honor. The pamphlet is immediately contemporary with George Gascoigne's *Masque* in which occurs an account of the siege of Famagusta.¹¹

Another corranto of slightly later date is much more extraordinary. This is: *The strange and marveilous Newes lately come from the great Kingdome of Chyna, which adjoyneth to the East Indya. Translated out of the Castlyn [Castilian] tongue by T. N. Imprinted at London nigh unto the three Cranes in the Vintree, by Thomas Gardynner, and Thomas Dawson.* The only copy of this tiny tract¹² recorded as extant is now in the Folger Shakespeare Library. It is undated, but a reference in the text enables us to put it *circa* 1577. Its interest to the student of Anglo-Islamic relations is slight, such connection as it has with that subject being due to its author's wild aberrations in topography and ethnology. Regarded more generally, it is one more sign of contemporary English interest in the East, so often misguided by false report. The tract purports

¹¹ See *C. & R.*, pp. 127-8.

¹² The Folger copy has only seven leaves, but one is probably missing. The text is complete.

to be the translation of a letter sent by a Spanish merchant in the city of Mexico to a friend in Andoluzia [*sic*]. It tells of a battle with the Indians on the coast of China. It describes the city of "Anders": the double walls; the magistrates and priests; the system of religion. There are three gods: the sun, the moon, and a three-headed idol, but the people regard these three divinities as one godhead and hence have some understanding sympathy with the Christian doctrine of the Trinity. Of the women of Anders it is said that "they use to wrest one of theyr legges, whereof they ever remayne lame, because they shoulde continually kepe theyr houses"; and of the men, that they "use theyr nayles of theyr handes very long, for they fynde it a profitable thyng for the warres." These two bits of information appear to be distorted rumors of Chinese customs. Along the coasts of Anders there were constant threats from "Turkish" ships. The Indians slew "the mightie Turkish King of Brazer." They gladly exchange gold for silver, for "these Indyans esteeme Silver better than Golde." Altogether this little pamphlet is as queer a geographical hotch-potch as ever came out of the Spanish Main: China, Turkey, India, Mexico and Brazil (Brazer) are mingled in inextricable confusion.

III.

Here and there in *The Crescent and the Rose* the reader meets with Moslem visitors to England, for example, Mustapha the Turkish envoy, or the Persian merchant who died and was buried in London. Of one "Turk" I was able to give no account save that he was baptized, for at the time of writing I knew only by title¹³ Meredith Hanmer's *The Baptizing of a Turke. A Sermon preached at the Hospitall of Saint Katherine, adjoyning unto her Majesties Towre on the 2 of October 1586, at the Baptizing of one Chinano a Turke, borne at Nigropontus*. This pamphlet is undated but is almost certainly of 1586 or 1587. In his dedicatory epistle Dr. Hanmer says that he regards the conversion of this Moslem as some small compensation for

¹³ See C. & R., p. 370, note 4.

the loss of the great parts of the world which have been taken by the Turks. "The Christian religion," he goes on, "is now couched in the North partes of the world, and so far that it seemeth (if we looke for fruits) all frozen." This lamentation is much in the manner of John Foxe, the martyrologist. In the course of his sermon Hanmer takes occasion to remind his readers of the chief events—or rather, Occidental legends—of the life of Mahomet and of the chief points in Moslem doctrine. The force and fervor with which this is done evidently attracted the admiring attention of the famous preacher Henry Smith ("Silver-tongued Smith"), for in the latter's eloquent sermon *God's Arrow against Atheists*,¹⁴ preached seven years later, there are anti-Moslem passages identical with passages in Hanmer's discourse. Of more interest, however, is the account of the convert. "This silly Turke and poore Saracen" was at the time of his baptizing about forty years old. He could speak no English. Born in Negroponte, he was captured by the Spaniards when a boy and lived in great misery for twenty-five years. Sir Francis Drake found him in Carthage (which had been sacked by an English fleet under Drake in 1585) and brought him to England. Reasoned with through interpreters, he became convinced of the truth of Christianity. But how happened it that he was never converted to the Roman Catholic religion during his many years in Spain? This was because though the friars often approached him exhorting him to turn Catholic, they never tried to teach him the truths of their faith nor did the treatment accorded him by the Spaniards serve as an argument for Christianity. In England it was otherwise. "Not the learning of Clarks, but the lives of certain good Christians" persuaded him of the truth; he was won by courtesy and kindness. Scholars who could speak Spanish taught him the fundamentals of the faith. After the text of the sermon the pamphlet concludes with a singularly pleasant little narrative. The sermon concluded, the Turk confessed his faith before the congre-

¹⁴ See *C. & R.*, pp. 404, 407, 413-14, 443.

gation. Dr. Hanmer questioned him, "receiving the answers by skilfull Interpreters." This done, he was baptized at a basin on a comely table set up in the midst of the congregation. The whole episode has a charming flavor of true Christian charity, the more marked when we remember that the poor Turk had not understood the harsh and derisive things uttered in the foregoing sermon against the Prophet whom he had consented to abjure.

The case of another alien from the Levant is very different. Just when Christopheros Angelos came to England is not known. He was befriended by the Bishop of Norwich, was in Cambridge in 1608, and in Oxford in 1610. A few years later he was sufficiently well known to make it worth while for booksellers to issue an account of his "travails." The Oxford printers John Lichfield and William Wrench published in 1617 Πόνησις Χριστοφορου του Αγγέλου, a biographical sketch in Greek and English, and in the same year a separate English version entitled *Christopher Angell, a Grecian, who tasted of many stripes and torments inflicted by the Turkes for the faith which he had in Christ Jesus*. Of this the only copy recorded as extant is now in the Folger Shakespeare Library (Harmsworth collection). It was reissued in 1618 by John Lichfield and John Short; and it was still in sufficient demand two years or so later for a London printer to put out about 1620 (says the *S. T. C.*) a pirated edition with a fraudulent imprint: "Oxford, Lichfield and Short, 1618." Meanwhile in 1619 the Cambridge bookseller C. Legge printed Christopheros Angelos's *Encomion of Great Britain* in Greek and Latin, and his *Enchiridion de institutis Graecorum*. Five years later appeared his treatise Περὶ τῆς ἀποστασίας τῆς ἐκκλησίας (London, W. Stansby, 1624). The excellent standing of this alien scholar is indicated by the *Testimonials of good behaviour from the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge* (Oxford, Lichfield and Short, 1618) which were provided for him in printed form. Of this certificate a copy—a single quarto sheet—survives in the Bodleian, and another copy—a

variant in folio without date or imprint—in the Cambridge University Library.¹⁵ There are other examples of such testimonials.¹⁶

The narrative of his life may have whetted, but it could hardly have satisfied, curiosity about Angelos, for though *Christopher Angell, a Grecian* is printed with a neatness far above the usual level of contemporary English typography, its contents are not worthy of its form: it is bald in style and vague and confused in substance. One suspects that it was composed by someone who did not clearly comprehend what the foreigner had written in Greek. Where Angelos was born does not appear; he seems to have been a stranger in Greece. In youth he studied in Athens. The Turkish captain of that place was a "Hagaren," "a deadly enemy to all Christians." The Athenians made complaints against this persecutor to the Great Turk, and feeble steps were taken to remedy the state of affairs; but in the event, the captain was too wealthy and of too high a rank to be brought to punishment. Presently Angelos was accused of being a Spaniard, the fine clothes which he wore warranting the suspicion. The Moslems tried to persuade him to "turn Turk," promising him honors if he would do so, even that he should be made a "centurion." He refused. They argued with him, but he was not convinced. Then they resorted to threats, but he remained loyal to the Christian faith. "They lead me streight waies to the place of execution, and bound me hand and foot in maner of a crosse upon the earth, as appeareth by this figure." Subjoined is an illustration showing Angelos bound to a sort of rack; turbaned Turks on either side of him brandishing scourges.¹⁷ A long and harrowing account of the scourging follows; Angelos was left half-dead. The Turks offered to spare him further misery provided he would bear false witness against certain Christian merchants of the city. This he refused to do and

¹⁵ Of all these publications the only one accessible in the United States is the English narrative in the Folger Shakespeare Library. The others, existing in one, two or three copies, are in the British Museum or the Bodleian or at Cambridge. See *S. T. C.*, Nos. 635-643.

¹⁶ See *C. & R.*, p. 137.

¹⁷ *Christopher Angell, a Grecian*, Sig. A4 (r).

in consequence his goods were confiscated. In a manner which he does not make clear, he contrived to escape from Athens and made his way to England. There he was received with kindness first by the Bishop of Norwich and afterwards at Cambridge and Oxford. The narrative concludes with "An Epistle in commendation of England"¹⁸—"Thou most fertile and pleasant countrie of England"—in which Angelos rhapsodized in praise of the sister universities. At the very end¹⁹ there is a woodcut, crude in style to the point of barbarism, showing a gigantic head, crowned, with a tiny figure beside its ear. It needs the ecstatic text to inform us that this is an emblematic portrait of England with her grateful guest.²⁰

IV.

Four publications may be grouped together because of their connection with the Barbary States and with the problems of the suppression of piracy and the redemption of captives. The year 1609 was a notable one in the history of England's attempts to deal with the pirates. In January Captain John Ward was newly proclaimed an outlaw. In March an expedition under John Rander took prisoner two of Ward's chief associates, Longcastle and Taverner, and a number of other pirates. In June came the combined Franco-Spanish attack on La Goletta in Tunis. To the same year belongs the anonymous narrative of a clash with Ward entitled *Newes from Sea*. All these matters are dealt with in *The Crescent and the Rose*,²¹ but I there failed to note a pamphlet which rounds out the story of Rander's prisoners. This is: *The Lives, Apprehensions, Arraignments, and Executions, of the 19 late Pyrates, Namely: Capt. Harris, Jennings, Longcastle, Downes, Haulsey and*

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, Sig. B1 (v) f.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, Sig. B iv (r).

²⁰ In Percy Simpson, *Proof-Reading in the Sixteenth, Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries* (Oxford, 1935) the two illustrations are reproduced (Plates XI-XIV) from the πόνηρος, side by side with Angelos's original sketches for them, which are extant in the Christ Church College copy of the Greek narrative. The sketches are notably better than the woodcut illustrations. The man on the rack is evidently intended as a likeness of Angelos, but the effort at individualized portraiture has quite disappeared in the woodcut. The Turk on the left in the first drawing wears his turban and twirls his mustache quite naturalistically. In the second drawing the tiny supplicating figure by the bust of England wears a recognizably Romaic costume. Mr. Simpson reproduces the woodcuts from the Greek narrative; he makes no reference to the separate edition of the English version. Angelos's two books were the first books with illustrations to be printed at Oxford.

²¹ *C. & R.*, pp. 357-8.

their companies. As they were severally indited on St. Margrets Hill in Southwarke, on the 22 of December last, and executed the Fryday following. London. Printed for John Busby the elder, 1609.* This consists of the somewhat jejune confessions of each pirate and accounts of the edifying end of each. In some cases emphasis is laid upon the miseries suffered in Barbary and in the galleys which drove the poor wretches to desperation and to piracy.

The problem of the repatriation of renegades and of their readmission into the Christian Church, which in 1637 resulted in the *Form of Penance and Reconciliation of a Renegado* devised by Bishop Joseph Hall,²² had been acute for years. How much needed was a seemly form of service is shown, *per contra*, by a publication of the year 1628. This is: *A Returne from Argier. A Sermon Preached at Minehead in the County of Somerset the 16 of March, 1627* [i.e., 1628, n.s.] *at the re-admission of a relapsed Christian into our Church.* This little book, which despite its title consists not of one but of two sermons preached on the same occasion, makes curious and painful reading. It begins with an explanation²³ that an Englishman from Minehead was captured by Turkish pirates and made a slave in Argier (Algiers). "By frailty and weaknesse, [he] forsooke the Christian Religion, and turned Turke, and lived so some yeares; and in that time serving in a Turkish Ship, which was taken by an Englishman of warre, was brought backe again to Mynhead." There the unfortunate man was made to understand the grievousness of his apostacy. He repented him of his sin, desired to be reconciled with the Church, was enjoined penance, and at his re-admission into the Christian fold the two following sermons were delivered. That of the forenoon is by the Rev. Edward Kellet. It is a truly appalling denunciation not of the sin only but of the sinner. His heinous offence in denying Christ is declared to be worse than the sin of Cain. Kellet discusses the motives of renegades—as though they were not obvious; and he asserts that the desire to

²² See *C. & R.*, pp. 372-3.

²³ *A Returne from Argier*, Sig., A4 (v).

escape shame and humiliation and suffering and to improve one's temporal lot is no excuse for the betrayal of Christ to his enemies. Rather the sinner should have accepted gladly the glories of martyrdom. He should not have so much as consented to wear Turkish habits, nor have permitted himself to be found on board a Turkish man-of-war. Kellet takes occasion to sketch with savage satire the character of the false prophet whom the renegade had elected to follow, and the tenets of the religion he had embraced. This merciless invective continues for forty-five pages. Then, with a new title-page,²⁴ comes the afternoon sermon on the same theme and with the same title. This is by the Rev. Henry Byam. It is a little milder in tone and more general in its terms, dwelling once more on the glories of martyrdom, which the renegade had evaded, and analyzing his motives in embracing Islam. The character of these sermons, and especially the tone of personal abuse towards the penitent sinner, illustrate the need to regularize the form of service to be used on occasions such as this.

John Harrison makes one appearance in *The Crescent and the Rose*²⁵ as an English agent in Barbary for the redemption of captives and the negotiation of terms of peace; but more should have been said about him. During no less than seven visits to Northwest Africa "for the redeeming of poore Christians out of Slaverie, and other affaires," he was an eyewitness of great miseries.²⁶ In 1610 he compiled in Barbary, for the benefit of the Jews who lived there, a series of proofs of the Messiahship of Jesus. This argument he published at Amsterdam in 1613, under the title *The Messiah Already Come*. Twenty years later, while again resident in the Low Countries, he published *The Tragicall Life and Death of Muley Adala Melek the late King of Barbarie. With a Proposition or Petition to all Christian Princes, annexed thereunto: Written by a Gentleman imployed into those parts. Printed at Delph, Anno 1633*. The biography of Muley is a long catalogue of the crimes and cruelties perpetrated by that potentate,

²⁴ *Ibid.*, Sig. G4 (r).

²⁵ *C. & R.*, p. 368.

²⁶ *The Tragicall Life and Death of Muley*, Sig. C2 (v).

many of them obscene and disgusting; the "proposition" to Christian princes is that they should form an alliance against the Pope and the Great Turk.

Another Englishman associated with Barbary who makes a fleeting appearance in *The Crescent and the Rose*²⁷ is Francis Knight. In 1631, at the height of a new outbreak of piracy of exceptional violence,²⁸ Knight at the age of twenty-three was captured by corsairs and taken to Algiers. There he was sold into slavery. After his release in 1637 he composed *A relation of Seaven Yeares Slaverie under the Turkes of Argeire, suffered by an English Captive Merchant. Wherein is also conteined all memorable Passages, Fights, and Accidents, which happined in that Citie, and at Sea with their Shippes and Gallies during that time. Together with a Description of the sufferings of the miserable Captives under that mercillesse Tyrannie. Whereunto is added a Second Booke, conteining a Discription of Argeire, with its Originall, manner of Government, Increase, and present flourishing Estate* (London, 1640). This narrative is dedicated to Sir Paul Pindar, the diplomat and Orientalist. Opposite the title-page is a crude woodcut, without perspective, showing a Turk lashing a prostrate slave. This bears the legend: "The manner of Turkish tyrannie over Christian slaves." There is also a woodcut view of the city of Argiers.²⁹ The text contains the usual accounts of tribulations, indignities and sufferings, with stories of several fights at sea with the Venetian galleys and some rather confused history. The most interesting observations concern the arrival and activities of the French Redemptionists, who included, though Knight does not mention him by name, the famous, courageous Father Pierre Dan.³⁰ The description of "Argere" which forms a "Second Book,"³¹ includes a narrative of the rise of the town to greatness, with an account of its government, revenues, military forces and the like. It contains nothing very fresh and is all pretty dull.

²⁷ C. & R., p. 383, note 1. See also the article on Knight in the D. N. B.

²⁸ See C. & R., p. 369.

²⁹ *A Relation of Seaven Yeares Slaverie*, Sig. A4 (v).

³⁰ See C. & R., pp. 372-3.

³¹ *A Relation of Seaven Yeares Slaverie*, pp. 31-56.

V.

The Moslems have their part in various Elizabethan and Jacobean treatises on statecraft, society, and human destiny. Most of these things have been surveyed in *The Crescent and the Rose*, but something needs to be said of two serious books which are not there mentioned. One of these is a translation from the French: *Of the Interchangeable Course, or Variety of Things in the Whole World* (London, 1594). The author was Loys le Roy; the translator Robert Ashley. The general drift of the argument (familiar to students of Renaissance thought) does not concern us. In Book VIII we come to: "The Religion, Power, Knowledge, and other excellence of the Arabians, Saracens, and other Mahometists."³² The writer remarks (as do various other authorities on Islam at the time) that the Turks make small account of history, giving as their reason that men do not dare to write the truth about princes while they are living, and after their decease the memory of them is lost. Many legends, of the sort widely current during the Renaissance, are recited of Mahomet's ancestry and wondrous birth and of his career. A comparison is drawn of Mahomet with Lycurgus and other lawmakers. "The sequels of the Religion and power of the Mahometists"³³ carries the story beyond the primitive Arabian phase of Islam to the Tartars, Persians, and Turks; and this in turn modulates into an account of "Presbiter John."³⁴

Sir Richard Barcklay's philosophical discourse *The Felicitie of Man, or, His Summum Bonam* (1598) contains a good deal of matter connected with Islam. This interest is emphasized in the reprint of this book (1631) which is adorned with an engraved title-page. Here, as in the title-page of Michel Baudier's *Histoire de la Religion des Turcs*,³⁵ the contrast is pointed out between Christianity and Islam. On one side a Christian is portrayed standing upon a globe (the World) beneath which are a naked

³² *Of the Interchangeable Course, or Variety of Things*, fol. 97(r)f.

³³ *Ibid.*, fol. 102(v)f.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, fol. 106(v).

³⁵ Reproduced in *C. & R.*, facing p. 446.

woman (the Flesh) and the Devil. On the opposite side a turbaned Turk has his arm round the shoulder of a lady who sits at a table on which are viands and drink. In the margin of the Christian half of the design are a Cross, a Bible, the tables of the Law, a skull, and a man kneeling in prayer. In the Turkish margin are a crown, a sceptre, a naked woman, a false face or mask, a violin and other frivolous objects. Overhead on the Christian side are a burning heart and a woman crowned and holding a palm-branch marked "Vera Gloria"; above the Turkish half are the sun, the moon, and stars. This pictorial emphasis upon the contrast between Christianity and Islam promises a greater degree of emphasis upon Mohammedanism in Barcklay's text than, as it turns out, is actually given. There are only four short passages and one of moderate length that bear upon the subject. The four are on Mahomet's promises to his followers of a paradise of sensual pleasures,³⁶ on the plot of Damianus to assassinate the Sultan Solyman,³⁷ on the commendable action of the Sultan Amurath "a few yeares past" in forcing an unjust judge to relinquish money obtained in bribes,³⁸ and on the familiar story of the defeated Sultan Bajazet whom Tamburlane carried about with him, a prisoner encaged.³⁹ The longer passage, running to ten pages, is a biography of Mahomet.⁴⁰ This includes two details which, if not altogether novel, are fresher than most incidents in Occidental accounts of the Prophet's life. It is said that the Turks declare that at Mahomet's birth a thousand and one Christian churches fell to the ground. This tale is followed by that of a Jew who foretold, when Mahomet was a child, his greatness. In this story we recognize elements of one of the most beautiful traditions of Islam.⁴¹ For the rest, we have the familiar stories of the monk John of Antioch from whom Mahomet learnt how to falsify the Scriptures; of his fellow-conspirator Sergius; of the wiles wherewith

³⁶ *The Felicitie of Man*, pp. 29-30.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 81-2.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 129-130.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 176.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 218-228.

⁴¹ See *C. & R.*, pp. 400-1.

Mahomet tricked the widowed "princess" Tagida into marriage; of the falling-sickness which he ascribed to the effect of his interviews with the archangel Gabriel; of his tricks with the dove and the bull; of his death by poison; of his looked-for resurrection which did not occur; and finally of his burial at Meccha where his "body or bones lyeth, as though it did hang in the ayre." The Turks believe this to be a miracle, but actually it is accomplished by art by means of two lodestones.

There is a great deal of general Oriental lore as well as of Islamic learning in particular in an entertaining little miscellany entitled *Emblems of Rarities or Choyce Observations out of Worthy Histories . . . With Exquisite Variety . . . Collected by J. D.* (London, 1636). The compiler's name was Donald Lupton, though the extent to which he compiled and the extent to which he merely cribbed from an earlier compilation is a question which for the moment I cannot answer. I have recognized several of his passages to be *verbatim* excerpts from the English epitome of Sebastian Munster's *Cosmography* entitled *A Briefe Collection and compendious extract of straunge and memorable thinges gathered out of the Cosmography of Sebastian Munster* (1574) and I am inclined to suspect that the entire collection may be a reprint. Unfortunately no copy of the Munster epitome (which I read in London) is available for comparison in the United States. Lupton's book, though included in the Hoe Catalogue of emblem-books, is *not*, despite its title, an emblem book and has no connection whatsoever with that branch of literature. It is not divided into chapters but merely "heads," and the subjects are introduced in no sort of order. Here we may read "Of the warres and manners of the Turkes";⁴² "How the Turkes doe beleave, and how they worship God";⁴³ "The Opinion of the Turkes upon the World to Come";⁴⁴ "Of the Fasting and meats of the Turkes";⁴⁵ "Of the

⁴² *Emblems of Rarities*, pp. 8-13. (This is word for word from *A Brief Collection*; see *C. & R.*, p. 107).

⁴³ *Ibid.*, pp. 13-21.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 21-4.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 29-31.

Circumcision of the Turkes";⁴⁶ "What execution of Justice the Turkes have, what kind of marriages, what manner of apparel and living";⁴⁷ "Of the Burialls of the Turke";⁴⁸ "How the Christians taken of the Turkes in warre be handled and tormented, and how they are made free";⁴⁹ "With what burden and exactions the Christian Princes are charged and oppressed being overcome of the Turkes";⁵⁰ "Of Mahomet the false Prophet of the Saracens, of his original and perversity";⁵¹ "The manner of the Persians";⁵² "Of the birth of Mahomet";⁵³ and so forth. With such subjects are intermingled quantities of geographical and natural lore, such as a description of the Dead Sea,⁵⁴ an account of the elephant,⁵⁵ "Of certaine monstrous people in India,"⁵⁶ "Of certaine illusions of Devils about Tangut."⁵⁷ "Of Prester Johns Land,"⁵⁸ and of the unicorn.⁵⁹ There is also a lot of stuff that has no connection with the Orient. But the chief emphasis is upon the East and it goes to show the lasting popularity of such subjects.

The Moslem emphasis is again apparent in *The Pourtraictures at Large of Nine Moderne Worthies of the World* (London, 1622). This is a series of copperplate portraits. The engraver was Robert Vaughan who apparently supplied also the brief accompanying comments. The Title-page shows a half-length figure of Father Time gazing down from a cornice; below on either side are a European and a Turkish warrior. At the bottom are two tiny vignettes. To the left a Christian army drawn up in a hollow square opposes a Turkish army in crescent or "pincer" formation⁶⁰ which is drawn up before a castle. To the right is Bajazet in his cage with Tamburlane

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 32-7.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 38-45.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 152-8.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 159-169.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 169-175.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 201-216.

⁵² *Ibid.*, pp. 219-223.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, pp. 430-6.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 191-2.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 272-7.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 287-292.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 322-3. (This is *verbatim* from *A Brief Collection*; see *C. & R.*, p. 10).

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 405-9.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 414-5.

⁶⁰ For the symbol of the pincers see *C. & R.*, p. 149.

beside him, a city blazing in the distance. Four of the portraits are of Tamburlane, Mahomet the Great, Solyman the Most Magnificent, and George Castriot (Scanderbeg). The five remaining modern worthies are western Europeans.

VI.

We have now to examine some poems. Of these the earliest in date is a translation made by Joshua Silvester from the French of Du Bartas: *The Triumph of Faith* (London, 1592). This derivative from Petrarch tells of a vision shown to the poet by the god of dreams. Faith appears in a chariot drawn by an eagle through the air. Her body is full of eyes to pierce heaven and a "great store" of tongues⁶¹ with which to praise God; and she has mighty wings. Her handmaidens, Truth, Courage, and other Virtues, attend her. Before her chariot her foes are driven in captivity, chief among them a beldame, cloaked and wearing a vizard, mis-named Reason. Accompanying this hag are her victims—characters from Biblical and profane history.

But who is he that laden so with chaines,
By thousand hangmen racked with despight,
By thousand furies torturde day and night,
For godlesse deeds receives so righteous paines?
'Tis Mahomet, who more by Mavors art,
Than Alcaron (bird of a friars neast)
Hath whole subdue the welthie golden East
And wonne withal the three-fold worldes best part.

With Mahomet, likewise enchained, march Saladin, Ottoman, Bajazet, Selim and Solyman. Their conquests are recounted, and the wretched "civill rage" of Christians is deplored which has enabled the Turks to conquer. In this same throng are many heretics; and others of Faith's foes "lie groveling in the dust."⁶² In contrast to these atheists, pagans, Moslems and heretics is the noble army of saints and martyrs, champions of Faith, who accompany their

⁶¹ Iconographically this is peculiar. I know of no other instance in which Faith is "painted full of tongues." This attribute belongs to Rumor or Fame.

⁶² *The Triumph of Faith*, Sig. B3 (r).

Lady. The entire grouping—chariot, personification, captives bound or prostrate, and attendants—is in the tradition of the Petrarchan Triumph. What is remarkable is the position of bad eminence accorded to Mahomet.

Another vision-poem—native English, however, not a translation from the French—is *Britaines Glorie, or An Allegoricall Dreame: with the Exposition thereof . . . Conceived and written by Robert Carlyle, Gent. for the love and honour of his King and Countrie* (London, 1618). This poem is in forty-two six-line stanzas rhyming *a-b-a-b-c-c*. The poet tells how he was guided in a dream by an angel. First they visit a strange, remote country which is not described in any detail. Then they come to a land inhabited by “huge deformed ugly Giants,” not men but black fiends who take tobacco, “that foul stinking weed.” Thence they go to a thick-set Wood where trees of all sorts grow, some bearing sweet fruit and others bitter. The angel then guides him to “a goodly Vine-yard kept by a Tyrant.” And finally they come to a “goodly Paradise.” Appended to the poem is a lengthy commentary in prose in which Carlyle expounds the meaning of his allegory. The strange, far-off country is heathendom. The thick wood is “Protestant variety,” that is, “the confused mixture of opinions and Sects in Religion in Amasterdam.” The vineyard is the Roman Catholic Church and the tyrant ruling it is, of course, the Pope. The “goodly Paradise” is England and Scotland, “a comprehensible Type of the incomprehensible excellence of the holy Jerusalem.” The land of ugly giants is Islam or more specifically the Ottoman Empire. Here in an attack upon the Turks, is the most interesting part of Carlyle’s book.⁶³ Instead of fruitful corn, “the bread of sincerity and truth,” “these deformed Giants the Turke,” have sown tobacco, “the black seed of blasphemy.” Carlyle gives as an example of their blasphemy their custom of placing “in the Gates of their Temples” “the Image of Christ hanging upon the Crosse with his head downwards.” The Turks, he says, force Christian renegades to spurn this image. Carlyle explains that “this

⁶³ *Britaines Glorie*, pp. 7-12.

their odious blasphemie is comparied to that stinking weed Tabacco [which] causeth men to evacuate a noisome choaking smoake, and maketh the body of Man blacke and uncleane within."

In this same year, 1618, there was published a curious little play, or rather a plotless dialogue, entitled *Hans Beer-Pot His Invisible Comedie of See Me, and See Me Not. Acted in the Low Countries by an honest Company of Health Drinkers*. No author's name is on the title-page but the Epistle Dedicatory is signed Dabridgcourt Belchier. Of this gentleman of good family not much is known beyond the fact that he was for long resident in the Netherlands, probably in some military capacity, and died there.⁶⁴ It has been suspected that *Hans Beer-Pot* is a translation from the Dutch; but no original has ever been found and the number of allusions to English people and affairs and the patriotic tone of several references to English worthies make it more likely that it is an original English work. The author was a very inexperienced and inexpert writer. The conversation, in which a tavern-keeper and his wife, a country gentleman and his wife, their servant Hans, and some English soldiers stationed in the Low Countries have the major share, drifts along without ever coming to a point. Of action there is none. The most interesting character is Abnidaraes Quixot, "a Tawnie Moore," who appears on but two occasions.⁶⁵ On each of his appearances he sings some songs in gibberish. He informs the audience that he is "a Spaniard Moore, halfe Turke, half Christian," for though born in Numedia his father was a noble Spaniard. Love of his father drew him to Spain, but his ship took him to Constantinople. Escaping thence, he passed through Germany and so found himself in the Low Countries. In the Epistle Dedicatory Belchier explains that "in the Moore [is set out] a Man that had taste [d] the inconstancy of Fortune, one that bare his crosses bravely and stoutly, and in despite of For[t]une, would

⁶⁴ See Felix E. Schelling, *Elizabethan Drama*, II, 256, and the article on Belchier in *D. N. B.*

⁶⁵ *Hans Beer-Pot*, Sig. D4 (v) f; Sig. G f.

bee merrie, and sing while others wept." In line with this characterization Abnidaraes Quixot declares:

For Fortune I care not, that fickle Whore,
I will be merry still, though neere so poore.⁶⁶

Belchier evidently considered that such high-hearted sentiments would bear elaboration, and at the very end of the piece there is "An Addition to the Moores last speech."⁶⁷ This runs as follows:

Here may you see how fortune turnes her Wheele;
I that before did many men commaund
Am now constrained to serve my masters man:
Regnavi, regno, regnabo, sum sine regno:
She makes the world her stage, or Tennis-court:
Where men like bals are banded [*sic*] to and fro:
Or Player-like, come forth, to acte their parts;
Speake bigge and strut, and stride Colossus like,
And when his turne is out, steps in at dore;
Another takes his roome, comes out no more.
Soone up, soone downe, now hight [*sic*], then lowest of all,
Like Codrus poore: and streight as Croesus rat,⁶⁸
Thus glories fortune in inconstancie;
For her I care not, shees a fickle whore,
I will be merry, be I neere so poore.

The interest of this speech, which has no bearing upon Islam save as an illustration of the Occidental idea of Moslem fatalism, is that along with various clichés about Fortune it contains the only citation in Elizabethan literature of the inscription "*Regnavi, regno,*" etc., which appears on many delineations of Fortune's Wheel. It is likely that Belchier had seen it on one of the Flemish renderings of the subject.

The character of the Moor is not the only point of contact of this piece with Islam. The dialogue turns frequently to military problems, especially to the rival advantages of cavalry and infantry in warfare, as in this speech:

The question which I prosecute is this,
If horse or foot should have preheminence:

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, Sig. G1 (v).

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, Sig. H3 (v).

⁶⁸ I do not understand the allusion. Query: For "rat" read "rich." The dialogue is miserably printed.

They are needful both, to make an armie up.
 Yet those great Armies which the Tartars usde
 Were all of horse; so were the Persians
 Till later times the English Shirleis taught
 The use of foot, and how to entrench a Campe. ⁶⁹

The credit here accorded to the Sherleys is historically justified, for Robert Sherley "gave Persia her first practical initiation into the military science of Europe, forming her first regiments of infantry in place of the irregular loose cavalry which had previously been her mainstay." ⁷⁰ A discussion follows of "that Persian Prince that beat the Turke," that is, Sophy Ismael, and there is a long account of his engagements with the Ottoman. This in turn leads to an equally detailed narrative of Huniade's (Janos Hunyadi) battle with Sultan Amurath II in "Cossava's fatall plaines," that is, the great defeat of the Hungarians by the Turks at Kossovo in 1448. ⁷¹ This is followed by some comment on the Turko-Hungarian battle at Varna in 1444. ⁷² The point of all this consideration of strategy is once more the problem of the relative advantages of horse and foot soldiers. Belchier was an amateurish dramatist but a professional soldier; the accuracy with which he writes of military history is in striking contrast to the vague and sketchy notions of such affairs evinced in such plays as *Soliman and Persida* and *Selimus*.

In 1623 Sir John Stradling published *Beati Pacifici: A Divine Poem*. This somewhat lugubrious performance is of enormous length—413 six-line stanzas. It is in part an account of the many false leaders who have beguiled Christians from pursuing the paths of peace. In his development of this theme Stradling introduces a denunciation of Arius as one of the principal misguiders of men and sunderers of the desirable Christian unity. ⁷³ From this denunciation he goes on (the reference to "dregs" being to the dregs of Arianism):

⁶⁹ *Hans Beer-Pot*, Sig. E2 (r).

⁷⁰ *C. & R.*, p. 258.

⁷¹ *Hans Beer-Pot*, Sig. E3 (v).

⁷² *Ibid.*, Sig. E4 (v).

⁷³ *Beati Pacifici*, p. 16, stanzas 76 f.

Th' old Serpents sweetest sonne, Arabian borne
 Of bastard seed, much like a filthy Spider:
 Suck't of those dregs ('mongst others) neer out-worne
 And spitting made it flye a great deal wider . . .
 Alas, too long that hell-hound, Mahound curst,
 Hath triumph'd in the ruines of God's House.

Shame, then, he cries, to Christians who quarrel among themselves! On the main points of doctrine—the Creed, the Ten Commandments—we all agree. Therefore let us make peace! This peace once settled we might fight altogether against the Turks; “in such a Quarrel ’twere a joy to die.”⁷⁴ Stradling then comes to a problem which Europe was then tireless in discussing⁷⁵—as he puts it in a marginal gloss, “Conjecturall causes of the Turks greatness.”⁷⁶ This he attributes in the first place to the Biblical prophecy that the seed of Ishmael should be great.⁷⁷ Then he suggests that perhaps God has permitted these fierce and fell people, bred in the wildest mountains, to be removed into milder climates in order that they may in time grow milder or else be “graft upon the stocks of civill plants.” Then, there are the sins of Christendom for which the Turkish onslaught is a retribution. And finally, the strength of the Ottoman may have been permitted by God in order to force Christian people into unity:

Turks pow'r is raised so great, thereby to make us
 Unto a Christian concord to betake us . . .
 This circumcised miscreant is he
 That strikes and beates us while we be at strife.

As examples of what may be accomplished by co-operation and courage Stradling points to the achievements of Hunyadi, Scanderbeg and Don John of Austria. He then passes to the “tokens of Turkes declining,” another subject of frequent debate in England at the time. Under this head he notes the larger license craved of late by the Janissaries; the neglect of the exercise of arms; the signs of internal disorder in the Ottoman state presented by the deposition

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 23 f.

⁷⁵ See C. & R., pp. 104-121.

⁷⁶ *Beati Pacijci*, p. 33.

⁷⁷ Genesis xvi; 10.

and murder of Othman.⁷⁸ "Their name is greater than their puissance" is his comforting conclusion.⁷⁹ He then proceeds to argue for the justice of a war against the Turks. They have dispossessed Christians of their lands and goods. They serve the devil in their "churches." They have placed Christians in bondage. They will not heed the Gospel. "We wish them well, but they will not be taught."⁸⁰ He calls to mind the gallant sentiment of Dame Margaret, Countess of Richmond, the mother of Henry VII, who declared that in a war against the Turks she would be glad to work as "a Lawndresse for the Christian Campe."⁸¹ From these exhortations Stradling modulates into a lament for the ancient civilizations which have been overrun and ruined by the Turks:

Glory of Countrys, Greece, . . .

Pittie it is fierce Wolves should there inhabite.⁸²

Leaving the subject of the Turkish peril, Stradling goes on to attack the barbarous custom of duelling; and then concludes his poem with a rapturous though somewhat incoherent description of heaven on the theme of Christ's words "My peace . . . not as the world giveth."

In a volume entitled *Divine Poems in seven severall Classes* (1625) Stradling returned to the subject of the Moslems. The first part of this poem tells the Old Testament story down to the birth of Christ. The second part is on Christ's birth and childhood. It contains many digressions, including, rather surprisingly, an interesting defence of poetry. The third part is on the growth of Christianity and the contrasting growth of "hell-bred Mah'metisme." This leads to an attack upon Mahomet and his amalgam of doctrines:

Not much unlike a palat-pleasing Cooke,
That dights some luscious dish to feed a Glutton:
On sundrie sorts of Cates at hand doth looke,
Takes one choise morsel from a well-fed mutton:

⁷⁸ The murder of Othman II had taken place in 1622. See *C. & R.*, p. 139.

⁷⁹ *Beati Pacifici*, p. 39.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 41 f.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 45-6. A marginal gloss says that this gallant sentiment is "expressed in an ancient Table at her Picture." This seems to mean that Stradling is quoting from an inscription on a portrait of the Countess. Is this portrait extant?

⁸² *Ibid.*, p. 46. For similar poetic laments see *C. & R.*, pp. 134-5.

One bit he borrowes from a fatted Capon,
Lays in a little piece of sweet new Bacon,

then adds kid, veal, lark, sparrow, spices, sugar and sack; and "thus makes a Hotch-potch fit to feede a Gull." In similar fashion has Mahomet "fed the fancies of unstable braines." With this analogy Stradling takes leave of the subject of Islam.

The most serious lacuna in *The Crescent and the Rose* is the lack of any reference to Thomas Heywood's massive poem *The Hierarchie of the Blessed Angels* (1635). I must confess that I had never read nor so much as looked into this huge work, and it did not occur to me that it might contain anything to my purpose. It is perhaps worth remarking that no reviewer of my book has called attention to the oversight. As it turns out, it contains a good deal that is germane to the subject of England and Islam. One of Heywood's principal objects, as announced in his opening lines,⁸³ is to encounter and abash those who strive to eclipse God's glory, namely, "the Atheist, Sadduce, and Mahumetan." To this subject he comes in Book V. Having dealt with other foes of the Church, he encounters the Moslems.⁸⁴ He notes their prejudice against the Second Person of the Trinity Whom they hold to be a rival to God and a detractor from the Divine Unity. He gives credit to the Moslems for their abstemiousness and piety and devotion.⁸⁵ But he derides their "imposturous miracles" such as the claim that certain devotees can handle hot coals without coming to harm. He laughs at their cult of saints and at the reverence which they pay to relics such as "a paire of old stinking shooes" in which a certain holy man had walked unscorched through a furnace. He offers what he describes as the narrative of Creation as found in "the divellish Alcaron": that in the beginning God made four things: a Pen which writes all things (*i.e.*, the power of the Word); Adam; a Throne; and Paradise. Thence he passes to an account of the Moslem Paradise, and presently

⁸³ *Hierarchie*, Book I, lines 4-8.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, Book V, pp. 284 f.

⁸⁵ This is a pleasant and oft-recurring *motif* in English accounts of Islam; see *C. & R.*, *passim*.

we have a long and very filthy story, in Heywood's coarsest manner, of the behavior of the elephant and the pig in Noah's ark, the point of the unedifying anecdote being that it accounts for Mahomet's prohibition of the eating of swine's flesh in (says Heywood) Paradise! There follow the usual prurient comments upon the promises of sensual joys in heaven which Mahomet offered his disciples.⁸⁶ Heywood proceeds to ridicule Mahomet's ignorance. He did not even know "the learned Authors sprung from his owne Nation" such as Merucirus Tresmegistus and Avicen. Considering that "Thrice-great Hermes" was a legendary figure who never existed and that Avicenna lived long after Mahomet, this seems an unreasonable ground for attack! Heywood then accused Mahomet of various fabrications and lies, especially concerning the angels, of whom Mahomet makes

as confident relation

As had he present been at the Creation.⁸⁷

A long narrative follows of the legend of Haroth and Maroth.⁸⁸

One grosse thing more to these I'll adde, and than [then]
To his perdition leave this brain-sick Man.

—namely, that Mahomet says that on the last day Adriel, the Angel of Death, will slay all who are alive and then fall on his own sword. Only madmen, Heywood concludes, can be deceived by the "sottish and most fabulous Lies" of this "Juggler." In the prose "Observations" attached to Book V, Heywood sketches the life of Mahomet⁸⁹ with the story of his marriage to a rich widow, his collaboration with Sergius, his conquests, his death (with the unfulfilled prophecy of his ascension to heaven), and the enclosure of his body in an iron chest in which it was transported to "Mecha a city of Persia."⁹⁰ The purpose of the iron coffin is not explained, for Heywood does not mention its suspension by means of a magnet.

⁸⁶ With a marginal reference to "Alcoran, lib. 3, cap. 19; lib. 3, cap. 6. 276. 34" [sic].

⁸⁷ *Hierarchy*, p. 289.

⁸⁸ See *C. & R.*, p. 234, note 2.

⁸⁹ *Hierarchy*, pp. 319-322.

⁹⁰ George Whetstone (*The English Myrror*, p. 59) places Mecca in Persia; see *C. & R.*, p. 413.

There is Islamic matter of a more novel sort in Thomas Peyton's interesting though now neglected poem *The Glasse of Time* (1620), an ambitious work which was never completed. It may have been known to Milton, and some scholars have detected in it passages which may have influenced *Paradise Lost*. In the course of his narrative of Creation Peyton comes to God's repose upon the Seventh Day, and this introduces a digression upon the Day of Rest. Mention of the Moslem Sabbath is an excuse to the poet to reveal himself as of two minds regarding Islam.⁹¹ On the one hand Mahomet is named among those who have defied God and broken his laws; he is even called the Antichrist.⁹² On the other hand the worldliness of Christians is compared unfavorably with the grace and goodness which lurk in the hearts of fierce Turks in spite of their adherence to the false doctrines of Mahomet and Sergius.⁹³ Somewhat later in his poem Peyton begins to show an unusually close acquaintance with Islamic legend and tradition. He knows the story that Adam planted in India seeds of the forbidden fruit.⁹⁴ He discusses the problem of the location of the Garden of Eden. Was it in Syria

Where rich Damascus at this day is built,
And Habels blood by Caine was after spilt?⁹⁵

Or was it in the land of Seilan (Ceylon) in India where, on a certain hill, the foot-print of Adam is exhibited by the Moors?

A world of Pilgrims, with blind errors fed
By Mahomet that antichristian beast,

go to that hill with extreme devotion in order to wash themselves in water said to have been distilled from Adam's and Eve's eyes.⁹⁶ After considering other theories, Peyton gives as his own opinion that Eden was near Babylon.

⁹¹ *The Glasse of Time* (ed. 1620), p. 14.

⁹² On Mahomet as Antichrist see *C. & R.*, pp. 346-7.

⁹³ Add to the examples of these favorable sentiments quoted in *C. & R.* the following from *This Worlds Folly*, by I. H. (1615), Sig. B (r) f.: "O lamentable! when the Turkes and Ethnicks outstrip us in their cloudy and ignorant zeal: they will dispute in the heart of their highest streets about their Alcoran and Mahometish Religion, with holy intended devotion. But what voice is heard in our streets? Nought but the squeaking out of those . . . obscene and light jigges, stuff with loathsome and unheard of Ribauldry, sucked from the poysonous dregs of Sinneweld Theaters."

⁹⁴ *The Glasse of Time*, pp. 36 f.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 38. On the tradition that Abel was slain near Damascus see *C. & R.*, p. 82.

⁹⁶ *The Glasse of Time*, p. 39.

Much further on in the poem we come to events after Adam and Eve have been expelled from Paradise.⁹⁷ For days Adam, with "his loving Wife still following at his heele," groped about, trying to find the barred door of Eden. But in vain. Peyton then tells the Arabian story of the separation of Adam and Eve and of the former's wanderings—precisely the same story that C. M. Doughty tells in his noblest poem *Adam Cast Forth*; so that we wonder whether Doughty, who was well versed in the minor Jacobean poets, may not have known *The Glasse of Time*. Adam journeyed as far as the Ganges and dwelt there in moping sadness. To him God sent the archangel Raziel, to cheer him with counsel to repent and find solace in labor. Raziel, it is said quaintly,

Bad [bade] him goe seeke and comfort up his Wife,
People the World and live a joyful Life.

Some say that this angel "taught the man the liberal learned Arts" and was his guide and companion. Adam, obeying his counsellor, sought Eve and found her on Mount Aragge in Arabia. (The famous "Mount of Recognition" near Mecca). To this day, says Peyton (quite truly) pilgrims pray at this hill.⁹⁸ The poet doubts, however, whether Adam was ever, or for long, separated from Eve, or that they wandered far. It is more likely that they stayed together and quite close to Eden. "For all their past disgrace" they probably wanted "to live neere to that lovely place." There is no more Islamic matter in Peyton's naive and charming poem.

I close with a reference to the only great poet included in these miscellaneous notes. In 1610 John Donne published his satiric attack upon the Jesuits entitled *Ignatius His Conclave, or His Inthronisation in a Late Election in Hell*. Having passed through Limbo and Purgatory, "the Suburbs of Hell," Donne narrates how he came to "a secret place, where there was not many, beside Lucifer himselfe." Here were those who had attempted innovations in religion, inducing "doubts, and anxieties, and scruples,

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, Book II, p. 8. (In Book II there is fresh pagination though the signatures are consecutive).

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, Book II, p. 14.

and after, a libertie of beleaving what they would" and at length had "established opinions, directly contrary to all establishment before." Here Pope Boniface III and Mahomet "seemed to contend about the highest roome." The Pope "glories of having expelled an old Religion, and Mahomet of having brought in a new: each of them a great deluge to the world." Lucifer judges that Mahomet will fail in this contention because he was not so entirely an innovator as the Pope, "both because hee attributed something to the old Testament, and because he used Sergius as his fellow-bishop, in making the Alcoran." "Though therefore it may religiously and piously be beleaved, that Turkes, as well as Papists, come daily in troupes to the ordinary and common places of Hell; yet certainly to this more honourable roome, reserved for especiall Innovators, the Papists have more frequent accesse; and therefore Mahomet is out of hope to prevail, and must imitate the Christian Emperours, and be content to sit (as yet hee doth) at the Popes feet." ⁹⁹

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APPENDIX

For the convenience of students I add here a few *addenda* and *corrigenda* to *The Crescent and the Rose*.

Page 18. To the record of camels in London add the camel exhibited by a man named Holden, *circa* 1599. See Ben Jonson, *Every Man Out of His Humour*, IV, v, 64.

Page 19. To the record concerning elephants add the fact that according to Eden and Hakluyt an elephant's head was imported into England and exhibited at the home of a London merchant. See R. R. Cawley, *The Voyagers and Elizabethan Drama* (1938), p. 77.

Page 136. To the references to refugees in London from the Levant add: "Like an old Greek, stand in Paul's with a porringer," Thomas Middleton, *The Black Book, Works*, ed. Bullen, viii, 16.

Page 191. To the remarks on the Serpentine Column in Con-

⁹⁹ John Donne, *Complete Poetry and Selected Prose*, ed. John Hayward (1929), pp. 361-2. I owe this reference to my colleague Professor A. C. Sprague. On Mahomet in hell see C. & R., pp. 397-8; and on the association of Islam and the Roman Catholic Church, *ibid.*, pp. 53, 101-2, 121, 447-8.

stantinople add the fact that Edmund Chishull, *Travels in Turkey* (1747), p. 40, says that the heads of the serpents were "recently broken by some attendants of the late Polish ambassador," Count Lisinki.

Page 233. With regard to the proposed derivation of Nashe's phrase "Ismael Persians" from Ismail the seventh Imam it should be noted that Professor H. A. R. Gibb, reviewing *The Crescent and the Rose* in *The Modern Language Review*, xxxiii (1938), 580, thinks that this explanation cannot be accepted.

Page 390. Concerning the problem of Termagant, Professor Gibb (*loc. cit.*) commends Ribera's suggestion that the personage hidden behind the name of the supposed divinity is the immortal wanderer al-Khidr, the patron saint of the Sufis.

Page 402. In connection with the story of Mahomet and Sergius, Dr. R. M. Dawkins, reviewing my book in *The Journal of the Royal Central Asiatic Society*, xxv (1938), 464-5, notes that in modern Crete the Prophet is said to have learned his doctrine from the monk Pachomias. Dr. Dawkins gives other parallels.

Page 412. The connection of Bacon's saying about Mahomet and the mountain with the proverb that "mountains never meet" is probably baseless. See H. E. Rollins's edition of *A Poetical Rhapsody*, ii, 99 f., for many parallels which make it unlikely that the proverb has anything to do with Mahomet.

The following misprints to be corrected: Page 13, the notes to be properly numbered and in note 4 for *The Legacy of Islam* read *The Legacy of Israel*.—Page 71, for "expatiate" read "expiate."—Pages 152, 160 and 382, for "Corvel" read "Covel" and correct entry in the index.—Page 167, for "Kaweh" read "Kafes."—Page 172, note 1, for "339" read "239."—Page 221, note, for "Fererici" read "Federici."—Page 262, for "Fuan" read "Juan."—Page 315, for "obole" read "subole."—Page 475, for "Mahomet I" read "Mahomet II."

THE ALFIYYA-COMMENTARIES OF IBN 'AQĪL AND ABŪ ḤAYYĀN

The admiration of scholars for Ibn Mālīk's *Alfiyya* could not alone have established the enduring and widespread popularity of this thousand-verse grammar of the Arabic language. A *tour de force* can charm only the relatively few who are able to appreciate the author's purpose, difficulties involved, and skill of execution. The *Alfiyya*, therefore, would have been a pure *succès d'estime*, a specialist's delight, had not Ibn Mālīk focused attention upon his work by publishing a copious commentary. Other scholars further increased the *Alfiyya* reader potential by writing even simpler and more lucid explanations.

The most successful effort at popularization was undoubtedly the *sharḥ* of Ibn 'Aqīl (1367/769). Its quickly-won and abiding reputation is due to a brilliant understanding of the needs of elementary students, lucidity and power of organization, amplification without diffuseness, and, above all, a clear-cut comprehension of Ibn Mālīk's intent. Inevitably its fame tended to relegate to the background all the other commentaries on the *Alfiyya*. One of the works thus obscured was Abū Ḥayyān's *Manhaj as-Sālik*.¹

Abū Ḥayyān (1344/745) was the leading grammarian of the post-Ibn Mālīk generation, a scholar of unusual probity and discrimination. For scientific and possibly personal reasons, he felt bitter antagonism toward his predecessor and his work. In order to prick both Ibn Mālīk's reputation and that of the *Alfiyya*, Abū Ḥayyān wrote what seems to have been the first exhaustive commentary. These were his stated reasons:

- (1) "To explain the difficulties of the *Alfiyya* and to clarify what

¹ Now being prepared for publication by the present writer.

Ibn Mālik left in a muddled and ambiguous state; and to replace his generalizations with more accurate descriptions of the facts."

(2) "To make special mention of the various points of dispute in grammar and to refer the opinions back to the authorities who made them; and to rectify Ibn Mālik's errors in this direction."

(3) "To elucidate for the benefit of young people the intricacies of the *Alfiyya* wherever possible." Beginners, Abū Hayyān held, were particularly apt to be overawed by its reputation, and by regarding it as the all-perfect in grammar would, since it was honeycombed with errors of all kinds, inevitably form serious misunderstandings of the sacred books.

The text of the *Alfiyya* is then subjected to so searching and so hostile an investigation that the number of errors revealed approaches incredible proportions. While Ibn Mālik's reputation may have suffered as a result, his opus was freed from all obscurity, "its locks completely unlocked".²

Abū Ḥayyān's paramount concern, however, was not so much to "debunk" the *Alfiyya* as to offer an accurate and comprehensive analysis of the Arabic language. Accordingly, he brought to bear an incomparable knowledge not only of classical Arabic and its dialects, but also of Turkish, Ethiopic, Coptic, and Persian (highly unusual technique in native grammatical science). Most interestingly, Abū Ḥayyān added the historical background of opinion on the various phenomena.³ In presenting this miniature bibliography and panorama of thought on some of the thorniest problems in Arabic grammar, he utilized the materials of over 300 grammarians, readers, and lexicographers, reinforced by some 1500 *shawāhid* from the Qur'ān, poetry, and *ḥadīth*.

In his commentary upon verse 116 of the *Alfiyya*, Abū Ḥayyān says: "Regarding this verse (a *shāhid* just adduced), Abū 'l-Faṭḥ b. Jinnī (a famous grammarian) was asked for its analysis by his son, but he became all tangled

² i.e., as far as the *Manhaj as-Sālik* goes—vs. 505. of the *Alfiyya*.

³ Cf. Fleischer's review of Fr. Dieterici's *Alfiyyah, carmen didacticum grammaticum et in Alfiyyam commentarius*, Leipzig, 1851, in ZDMG IV, p. 405: "De Sacy's *Alfiyya* war, in Ermangelung einer fortlaufenden Erklärung, ein Klumpen Gold, den wohl nur wenige vollständig auszumünzen verstanden. Diesen Dienst leistet uns nun Ibn 'Aqil in ausführlicher, klarer Sprache, mit durchgängiger Gegenüberstellung der abweichenden Lehrmeinungen der Hauptgrammatiker und namentlich der kufischen und baṣrischen Schulen, deren Verhältnis, durch alle fraglichen Punkte hindurch, hier zum ersten Male in einem bei uns gedruckten Werke dargelegt wird."

up in the attempt (*fa'rṭabaka fī i'rābihi*).” This anecdote, related by Abū Ḥayyān in order to demonstrate his own grammatical skill, would seem to be out of place in a non-discursive and quite objective textbook such as Ibn ‘Aqīl’s *sharḥ*. Yet this personal touch is found here, couched in identical phraseology, even to the key word “tangled up”. Since Arabic has many ways of expressing confusion, the use of *irtabaka* can hardly be accidental. This fact induced the present writer to undertake a close comparison of the two *sharḥs*. Ibn ‘Aqīl’s work emerged, in essence, as a simplified version of the *Manhaj as-Sālik*—in content, style, and, very often, in phraseology.

The *a priori* likelihood of a pupil borrowing from his teacher is obviously increased in the case of a favorite pupil, the position occupied by Ibn ‘Aqīl toward Abū Ḥayyān. For 12 years he studied with his sheikh, who was heard to remark on many occasions that “under the expanse of heaven there is no better grammarian than Ibn ‘Aqīl”. One would naturally expect to find traces of such lengthy contact with a great scholar in the pupil’s writings. Being saturated with the technique and opinions of his teacher, especially as reflected in his *sharḥ* on the *Alfiyya*, Ibn ‘Aqīl could not escape reproducing most of them in his own work on the same subject, even though it was written from another point of view and with a different purpose.

In offering a portion of the abundant evidence of Ibn ‘Aqīl’s heavy indebtedness to Abū Ḥayyān, cognizance has been given to the fact that their works belong to a traditional and heavily circumscribed field, where both the materials and much of the method were predetermined. In grammar, as in many other Islamic humanistic sciences, the borderline between traditional and independent thought is sometimes tenuous and admittedly difficult to delimit. Originality, as a criterion of merit, is therefore a term of restricted applicability.

The following passages cannot very readily be explained as coincidences. The translation follows the word, sentence, and paragraph order as closely as possible.

vs. 124

*Ibn 'Aqīl**Abū Ḥayyān*

Abū Bākr b. as-Sarrāj held that the adverbial expression is a class by itself (*qismun bira'sihi*), belonging neither to the category of the single term nor to the category of the sentence. This view has been transmitted by Abū 'Alī al-Fārisī, his pupil, in the *Shirāziyyāt*.

It (the adverbial expression used as the predicate of a nominal sentence) is a class by itself (*qismun bira'sihi*), belonging neither to the category of the single term nor to the category of the sentence. This is the view of Ibn as-Sarrāj, as related by al-Fārisī in the *Shirāziyyāt*.

vs. 126

Ibn Mālik alludes to 6 cases where, contrary to the general rule, the subject of a nominal sentence may be indefinite. Abū Ḥayyān says that in addition to these 6 allowable cases, there are some 24 more commonly listed by the later grammarians. (*waqad tattabī'u ba'ḍu 'l-muta'akkkhirīna hādhihi 'l-musawwighātī (lijawāzi 'l-ibtida'i) fa'anhāhā ilā nayyifin wathalāthīna*). He catalogues and illustrates but 18 of these.

Ibn 'Aqīl paraphrases Abū Ḥayyān's introductory remarks and likewise lists and illustrates 18. This is the arrangement:

Ibn 'Aqīl

(His description of the case-types, with only 3 exceptions, is in the identical terms used by Abū Ḥayyān).

Case No. 7 corresponds to

8	"	"
9	"	"
10	"	"
11	"	"
12	"	"
13	"	"
14	"	"
15	"	"
16	"	"
17	"	"
18	"	"
19	"	"
20	"	"
21	"	"
22	"	"

Abū Ḥayyān

No. 7, with the same example

8,	"	"	"	"
10,	"	"	"	"
9,	"	"	"	"
11,	"	"	"	"
13,	"	"	"	"
14,	"	"	"	"
15,	"	"	"	"
17,	"	"	"	"
18,	with a different example			
19,	with the same example			
20,	"	"	"	"
21,	"	"	"	"
22,	"	"	"	"
23,	with a different example			
24,	"	"	"	"

23	"	"	12, completely different cases
24	"	"	16, with a different example

Ibn 'Aqīl concludes his listing with this sentence: *waqad anḥa ba'du 'l-muta'akhhirīna dhālika ilā nayyifin wathalāthīna maudī'an.*

Verse 192

Ibn 'Aqīl

The result of this dispute is seen in a discussion between Ibn Abī 'l-Āfiya and Ibn al-Akhḍar (neither scholar is mentioned elsewhere by Ibn 'Aqīl) on the statement from tradition: "Verily we knew that you were a believer" (*in/an kunta lamu'minan*). Those who held that it was the *lām* of inception considered *in* to be the necessary form; those who held it to be another type of *lām*, "imported" to effect a differentiation, said *an*.

The dispute about this matter took place in earlier times (*qablahumā*) between Abū'l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. Sulaimān al-Baghdādī al-Akhfash aṣ-Ṣaghīr and Abū 'Alī al-Fārisī. Al-Fārisī held that this *lām* is not the *lām* of inception "imported" to effect a differentiation—so too Ibn Abī'l-Āfiya. Al-Akhfash aṣ-Ṣaghīr held that it is nothing but the *lām* of inception introduced to effect a differentiation—so too Ibn al-Akhḍar.

Abū Ḥayyān

Ibn al-Akhḍar and Ibn Abī'l-Āfiya (both scholars are mentioned many times by Abū Ḥayyān) disputed about the statement from tradition: *in/an kunta lamu'minan*.

In earlier times (*qablahumā*) Abū'l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. Sulaimān and Abū 'Alī al-Fārisī also engaged in this dispute. Abū'l-Ḥasan said that it could only be *in*. Abū 'Alī held that only *an* was permissible. However, those who held that the *lām* was "imported" to effect a differentiation (between the negative *in* and the *in* as a by-form of *inna*) favored *an*; those who said that it was the *lām* of inception favored *in*.

vs. 332

The usual view of *ḥāshā* is that it is simply a preposition . . . Al-Akhfash, al-Jarmī, al-Māzinī, al-Mubarrad, and a host of others, among them this author, maintained that it is like

Ḥāshā is said to be like *khalā* in that it is a preposition when it puts what follows it in the genitive, and a verb when it puts it in the accusative. This is the view of al-Akhfash, al-Kisā'i, al-

khalā in that it is used as a verb when it puts what follows it in the accusative, and is used as a preposition when it puts what follows it in the genitive. A number of scholars, among them al-Farrā', Abū Zaid al-Anṣārī, and ash-Shaibānī related (instances of its occurrence) with the accusative. (Identical examples employed by Abū Ḥayyān).

Jarmī, al-Mubarrad, and az-Zaj-jāj. Its use with the accusative case among those speaking excellent Arabic has been related by Abū Zaid al-Anṣārī, al-Farrā', al-Akhfash, ash-Shaibānī, and Ibn Kharūf. An instance of its occurrence in prose is " "; in poetry " ".

vs. 409

Ladun indicates the beginning of an outermost limit in time or place. With most Arabs, it is uninflected because of its similarity to the particle in necessarily having but one use, i.e. adverbiality and beginning of an outermost limit, and the non-permissibility of its being predicated . . . Qais inflects it. (Another) instance is Abū Bakr's reading of XVIII,2 *min ladnihi*, on the authority of 'Āṣim. But he renders the *dāl* quiescent and *umlauts* (i.e. approximately *ladnühü*). (Same vs. as used by Abū Ḥayyān).

Ladun, in most of the dialects, is uninflected because of its similarity to the particle in its necessarily having but one use, i.e., only for that which is the beginning of an outermost limit, and because it is not predicable. Qais (a tribe), however, inflects it because of its resemblance to 'inda. Hence Abū Bakr, on the authority of 'Āṣim, read XVIII,2 *min ladnihi*, rendering the *dāl* quiescent and umlauting. Also the verse " "

vs. 467

Ibn 'Aqīl

The son of the author has asserted that the substitution of *fa'ilun* for *maf'ulun* is frequent, although, by unanimous consent, not deemed regular. His claim of "unanimous consent" on this matter is questionable, for his father, in the *Tashīl*, stated that the substitution of a *fa'ilun* for a *maf'ulun* is not deemed regular,

Abū Ḥayyān

This difference of opinion has escaped the attention of the author's son, for in his commentary on this poem regarding *fa'ilun* in the meaning of *maf'ulun*, he said: "it is frequent in the speech of the Arabs; but despite its frequency it is not, by unanimous consent, deemed regular." His phrase "by unani-

but this is contested by some scholars. He went on to say in his commentary that some asserted that it is regular with every verb which does not have a *fa'ilun* in the meaning of a *fā'ilun*, as *jarīhun*.

mous consent" is incorrect because some grammarians do consider it regular. This difference of opinion, however, was mentioned by his father.

vs. 501

If the elative of superiority has *al*, its agreement with what precedes it in singularity, masculinity, etc., is necessary. Thus you say . . . (same 6 examples).

He says that if the elative of superiority has the *alif* and *lām* it agrees with what precedes it in singularity, plurality, masculinity, and femininity. Thus you say . . . (6 exx.).

He (Ibn Mālik) indicated by his phrase "if it is annexed to a determined word" that the elative of superiority, if annexed to a determined word and if superiority is intended, has two permissible usages:

If it is annexed to a determined word, it must imply the meaning of *min* or not. If it does, there are two usages:

(1) It does not agree with what precedes it, comparable to the form stripped of *al* (6 exx.)

(1) It agrees with what precedes it, as in the case when it contains *al* (6 exx.)

(2) It necessarily agrees with what precedes it, comparable to the form linked to *al* (6 exx.)

(2) It does not agree with what precedes it, but is treated as though it were linked to *min*, either expressed or implied, and always masculine singular. So you say . . . (6 exx.)

The first usage alone is not mandatory, in contrast to Ibn as-Sarrāj's contention, for both usages occur in the Qur'an. An instance where there is no concordance is II,96. An instance where there is concordance is VI,123. Both usages are likewise found in *ḥadīth*.

If it doesn't imply the meaning of *min*, it agrees with that to which it is joined. This is the explanation of the author's remark wherein he stipulated, as a condition for allowing the two usages in what is annexed to a determined word, that it have the meaning of *min*.

Those who allowed the two usages said that the purer is agreement. That is why the

He thus opposed Ibn as-Sarrāj who forbade its usage in agreement with that which precedes, saying: "It is necessary, when annexed to a determined

author of the *Faṣīh* was reproached for saying *fa'khtarnā afṣaḥahunna* when, it was said, he should have used the form from *al-fuṣḥā*, i.e. *fuṣḥahunna*.

If superiority is not intended, agreement is necessary, as: same exx.

What we have said regarding the intention of superiority and lack of its intention was indicated by the author's phrase "this occurs only when you intend the meaning of *min*," etc., i.e., the allowability of the two usages, i.e., agreement and non-agreement are conditioned by that which implies, through annexation, the meaning of *min*, that is, if superiority is intended. If this meaning is not intended, this form must be made to agree with what precedes it. Instances of where the *af'alu* form occurs without indicating superiority are XXX,27 and LIII,32, and two verses (same as Abū Ḥayyān).

As to whether or not this can be set up as a rule—al-Mubarrad said that it could, others said that it couldn't, and this latter is the correct view. The author of the *Wāḍih* stated that the grammarians do not accept this and that Abū 'Ubaida said of XXX,27—*wahuwa ahwanu 'alaihi*—that *ahwanu* has the force of *hayyinun*; and of the verse of al-Farazdaq—*banā baitan da'ā'imuhu a'azzu wa'atwalu*—that the meaning is *'azīzatun tarwīlatun*. Abū 'Ubaida's analysis,

word, that it not agree." His opinion is contraverted by the evidence. Both usages occur in the Qur'ān, II,96 and VI,123, and in *ḥadīth*.

The allowers of the two usages differed as to which is the purer. The purer, it was said, is agreement; therefore, Abū Manṣūr al-Jawālīqī refuted Tha'lab for his saying in his book, the *Faṣīh*; *fa'khtarnā afṣaḥahunna*, whereas, he said, it would have been preferable to say *fuṣḥahunna* because it is the purer (as set down by Sibawaihi). The purer, it has also been said, is the form with the masculine singular.

Later grammarians considered (as instances where the *af'alu* form is used without indicating superiority) LIII,32 and XXX,27, and two verses, one of al-Farazdaq, the other of ash-Shanfarā. They said that Abū'l-'Abbās (al-Mubarrad) held that opinion (i.e., that this was a normal usage). Other scholars maintained that the correct procedure was to restrict it to what is actually in use.

The view of the later scholars on the *af'alu* which does not have the meaning of superiority, i.e., that it belongs to the subdivisions mentioned above, was also that of Abū 'Ubaida . . . who adduced as proof XXX,27 and several *shawāhid*. The author of the *Wāḍih* said: "The grammarians related this saying of

(added the author of the *Wāḍih*), Abū 'Ubaida . . . and they said was rejected by the grammarians *af'alu* must have the notion of upon the grounds that he had no superiority . . .⁴ and explained valid proof. away the proofs he offered."

When the circumstantial evidence⁴ is added to that afforded by the above instances of virtual identity in both arrangement and phraseology, the inescapable conclusion seems to be that Ibn 'Aqīl was much more a diligent and imitative pupil than an intellectually independent scholar. The demonstration of this fact has not been undertaken in order to lay Ibn 'Aqīl open to the charge of conscious, wholesale plagiarism, indulged in for the sake of gaining undeserved credit, and thus to minimize his contribution. For, here as elsewhere, the assignment of credit is perhaps academic. Rather the purpose has been to call attention thereby to a major work on Arabic grammar cast into regrettable oblivion by triumphant mediocrity.

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⁴ The following statistics are interesting, if not conclusive: I'A cites all told 358 *shawāhid* of poetry. Of these 294 are used from the beginning to vs. 505 (at which point AH ended his *sharh*); approximately one-half, 150, are to be found in AH. From vs. 505 to the end of the *Alfiyya*, IA uses only 64 more *shawāhid*. By contrast, AH cites 998 *shawāhid*, of which only 137 are found among the 1148 used by *Sibawaihi* (AH's source of all grammatical authority). An odd fact is that I'A never mentions his teacher by name.

BOOK REVIEWS

Hindus and Musalmans of India. By Atulananda Chakrabarti. Thacker, Spink & Co. (1933) Ltd., Calcutta, 1940. pp. xxii, 179. Rs. 2-8-0.

Indian national aspirations are handicapped by narrowed communal loyalties. The problem of the communities as they deter the broad vision of national loyalties, is being attacked from all angles by those who look to a future of Indian nationhood. Politicians, social reformers and philosophers are desperately interested in discovering the bases for unity, and in action and education directed toward its fostering.

This little book of Atulananda Chakrabarti is one in an increasing body of literature seeking to expound the essential historical and cultural groundings of the Hindu and Muslim communities in India. It is not a profound historical document, although it does employ the history of the communities before and after their mergence in geographic concentration. It is not a profound cultural or philosophic document, although philosophers and interpreters of cultural history are quoted profusely. It is, however, true to its purpose in bringing together those phases of Hinduism and Islam which may be stressed by each community in the interests of irenic overtures. Its history deals frankly with intolerance on both sides, but stresses as essential to each those phases of their histories which indicate synthesis and broad tolerance. The genius of Hinduism for an amicable hospitality to alien concepts and social theories is made the basis of incorporation into the body politic of Islamic India. Much stress is laid upon the history of Mughal India wherein the aspects of toleration and mutual respect are stressed.

The medieval period of Indian history sees a merging of the two communities in the devotional mysticism of each; Mr. Chakrabarti lists among those who saw no difference between the two, or were influenced by both, Nanak, Kabir, Tukaram, Ramakrishna and other Bhaktas and Sufis. Amazingly among these stands Chaitanya, one of the most interesting of the Vaishnava leaders. The probable reason why he figures strongly is that Mr. Chakrabarti himself is in the stream of Chaitanya's followers.

Among the moderns who have made their contribution to the text of this little book through quotations are Sir Akbar Hydari, who speaks of the necessity of "decommunalizing" history, and Sir Muhammad Iqbal, who has put his philosophy of unity into glorious verse. At the conclusion and appendix under the title "What They Say" are quotations from many leaders of India's life and thought today, British, Muslim, Hindu.

Mr. Chakrabarti remarks in his concluding chapter on "Our Own Creative Tradition": "India is a land old and wide. It is thousands

of years old; thousands of miles wide. And in this vast country during its long life many races have built their homes, many minds have mingled. No other country has been given such a training in the art of living together. It has been Nature's biggest laboratory to experiment with diverse strains of blood and diverse streams of thought.

"To reconcile the differing races of a country is today an acute problem the world over. No modern political machinery has yet accomplished the task. Even America has not had the wit to solve it. Yet long ago it was India that with her variety of races had worked out a brotherliness of a singular quality. It is in store for her now to set the example in true world-citizenship, while remaining true to her own culture. The logic of her history leads to this conclusion.

"At the present moment, of course, this art of living together—India's supreme heritage—has been most sadly twisted out of shape. Hindus and Musalmans had been getting on fairly well. Their efforts were conditioned by the basic needs of a common well-being. The presence of a third power in between the two gradually set in a reaction that is but natural. A period of blindness intervened. But luckily, Hindus and Musalmans are beginning to get back their vision. Already their attitude has undergone a substantial modification. Today, more than any desire for aloofness, a sense of injury and injustice occupies their mind.

"The course of history often ascends to a height by a curious switch-back movement. A plunge into the deeper abyss is often but a prelude to a surprising jump to the surface. The separatist tendency is ephemeral. The inner urge to unite is real. Unity is coming slowly but surely. Its footfalls are as yet faint. But at any moment it may acquire strength and speed.

"This remedy is clearly indicated by the peculiar conditions of India where between the various communities there is a continuous thread running through in the essentials of culture. The kind of nationalism that is India's own is to bring together its different peoples on a broad basis of human relations. It takes after the philosophies of India which aim at seeing 'one in many'. It consists in the working up of a common outlook by means of social ties and cultural affinities."

Hartford, Conn.

MALCOLM S. PITT.

History of Sháh Ismá'íl Šafawí. By Ghulám Sarwar, M.A., Ph.D. (Aligarh), with a Foreword by Professor Hádí Hasan, B.A. (Cantab.), Ph.D. (London); published by the author, Muslim University, Aligarh, 1939. Rs. 10.

The author of this careful study is to be highly commended for the diligence and care he has shown in the critical examination of his authorities, and the way in which he omitted much that is verbose and meaningless.

The reader who is unfamiliar with the fratricidal warfare in Adharbaiján that followed the death of Úzún Hasan (A.D. 1478), will find his attention drawn more particularly to the detailed and interesting account of the early adventures of Ismá'íl, the little son

of the daughter who had been married to Shaikh Haidar, who was the leader of the militant Shi'ite family which had come to dominate the region of Ardebil.

In the midst of the long continued conflict, when his older brother, 'Ali Pádisháh, saw that he himself was about to be seized and killed, he took off his turban and placed it on Ismá'il's head, bound on him his girdle, nominated him as his successor, and "laid on him the obligation of avenging his death, and that of his father and grandfather."

Ismá'il and his other brother, Ibrahim, were mere boys, but they were diligently sought for by their family's enemies. At first they were hidden by their mother in the mausoleum of Shaikh Šafá al-Dín Isháq at Ardebil. Later they were taken to the house of a woman named Khán Ján, where they remained for a month, unknown to all save their aunt. Then they were committed to a lady of the Dhu al-Qadr tribe, and to elude the continued search for them she hid them in the vault of the mausoleum of Alláh Wírmish Aqá, which was in the large mosque at Ardebil.

When Ismá'il was but thirteen years of age, assisted by seven of the devoted supporters of his family, he went from tribe to tribe to recruit bands of followers who would be willing to help him "avenge the death of his ancestors". He sent a call for help also to Asia Minor and Syria, and when after a few months he was able to march at the head of an army of some 7,000 horsemen, he set out for Shirwán. They met the enemy at Jiyání, and though Ismá'il was still only fourteen years of age, he fought in the front ranks for hours and encouraged his followers. When at last the enemy were routed there was a terrific slaughter and the head of Shirwán Sháh was brought to the boy leader. Another desperate battle was fought at Shurur, after which the idolized boy leader was crowned at Tabriz in 1501 as Shah Ismá'il.

During his reign he had three more great battles: near Hamadan in 1503, in the neighbourhood of Marw in 1510, and at Chaldírán in 1514. While the last of these engagements was a defeat, and from this time onward he gave up the idea of further world conquest, after all he had reunited Persia proper under one dynasty, the dynasty of his own family, the Safawíds.

To his subjects he is said to have shown much kindness, and he was generous in giving his troops most of the loot, but to his enemies he was ruthless and vindictive. He burnt the body of Shirwán Sháh and he made a drinking cup of the skull of Shaybání Khán. We read also of his making pyramids of human skulls at Shirwán and Khurasan.

Distinguished as a brave leader in battle, and as an archer of exceptional skill, his chief interest during the last ten years of his life was given to hunting. He is remembered also for the fact that he renovated the shrines of the Imams, particularly that of the Imám Ridá at Meshed, and he has the credit also for the construction of the famous *maidán* at Isfahán.

Dr. Ghulam Sarwar has written a book that is attractively arranged, authoritative, and convenient for reference.

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D.M.D.

Iqbál's Educational Philosophy. By K. G. Saiyidain, B.A., M.Ed. (Leeds), published in Lahore, 1938. pp. 202, Rupees 2-8.

Mr. Saiyidain was formerly the Principal of the Training College at the Muslim University, Aligarh. He is now the Director of Education for the Jammu and Kashmir State. His book sets forth the late Sir Muhammad Iqbál's philosophic description of the Education of Individuality, chs. i-vii, and mentions some of his other opinions on Education in two additional chapters, "The Social Order of Islam" and "A Creative Vision of Education".

The poetry of Iqbál is known to English readers by Dr. Nicholson's translation of his *Asrār-i-Khudí* ("Secrets of the Self"), and his effort to put his personal religious philosophy into an Islamic mold is found in his lectures on the "Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam". But Mr. Saiyidain has assembled significant utterances from other writings of Iqbál, e.g., the *Jawid Náma*, where he points out "how the East has been content, generally speaking, with a cheap and indiscriminating imitation of Western culture and practices":

The power of the West is neither from war nor the guitar,
Nor from the dancing of maidens unveiled;
Its stability has come not from irreligion,
Nor its splendour from the Latin script;
But the power of Europe lies in science and art,
Whence indeed its lamp has been lighted.

"He draws a vivid and truthful picture of how our youth have become denationalized", when he exclaims:

I do not know, are you yourself or another?

. . . . Burn from your own fire, if a brave heart you have!

"Thus he would not, out of prejudice or narrow-mindedness, reject the valuable contributions of the West. He would rather welcome their spirit of research, their sciences, their strenuous striving to gain control of their environment. But he would certainly repudiate the superficial and sensational side of their activities, because they weaken our self-respect and give us a false sense of being modern and progressive."

In discussing the social order of Islam, the author shows how Iqbál insisted that "one of the main causes which have been responsible for the later decline and decadence of the Muslim peoples is their neglect of science, which has not only arrested their intellectual growth but also weakened their political and economic position, which in the present age is mainly dependent on scientific power."

There is an interesting comment on the right of exercising *Ijtihád*, which is defined as "independent judgment and interpretation of law in the light of changed and changing circumstances", "which Iqbál holds to be essential for the healthy growth of the body politic", disagreeing "with those legists who would deny this right to present-day Muslims."

In his outline of a creative vision of Education, Mr. Saiyidain observes that "Iqbál does no doubt stress the significance of Action, because 'the technique of medieval mysticism' in the East had encouraged a wrong attitude of renunciation and made people con-

tented with their political and intellectual slavery." But on the other hand he goes on to show how Iqbal explains that "in our constant pursuit after external things we weave a kind of veil round the *appreciative self*, which thus becomes completely alien to us. It is only in moments of profound meditation, when the *efficient self* is in abeyance, that we sink into our deeper self and reach the inner centre of experience."

While Sir Muhammad Iqbal's writings sometimes arouse the suspicion that he is trying to put new wine into old wine-skins, which may burst the wine-skins, yet his emphasis on genuineness and zeal in scientific research will prove to be a wholesome intellectual stimulus throughout the Muslim world.

D.M.D.

Gertrude Bell. By Ronald Bodley and Lorna Hearst. Macmillan, New York, 1940. pp. 257. \$2.50.

Political events in recent months have turned world attention to the middle East. As a result, there is even more interest than usual in the contribution made by Gertrude Bell to the Arab kingdom. One finds this particular biography both informing and readable. The authors are relatives of Gertrude Bell, but nonetheless, write objectively and without any noticeable bias.

This book should be approached as a popular biography rather than as a scholarly piece of research. There is all too little accurate information about Islam. On page 180 one finds a very cursory attempt to explain the Sunnis, the Shiahs, and the Khawarij. The point is made that because Gertrude Bell did not veil she could have no intimate conversations with women in the Arab world, who regarded her as a kind of man. Such a statement is rather hard to accept, for I remember vividly an interview with Miss Bell from which she excused herself to call on the wives of one of the dignitaries in Iraq. She made the very strong point that some of her best information was gained through hours spent in the intimacy of the harem.

The Cairo Conference called by Mr. Winston Churchill when he became Secretary of State for the Colonies is given appropriate importance. This is described accurately and fairly and should be most helpful to the students of Middle Eastern affairs today. The volume certainly is well worth a place in the library of anyone interested in the recent history of the Arab land.

HERRICK B. YOUNG.

Avenir de l'Afrique du Nord. By H. Bories. Librairie du Recueil Sirey, rue Soufflot, 22, Paris V. pp. 66, with 76 photographs. Without date, but quite recent.

This brief work is a pictorial summary of the progress of French civilization in Morocco, Algeria and Tunisia. It portrays the development of modern transportation facilities, the use of scientific methods in disease prevention, the employment of new techniques in agricultural production to feed the rapidly growing population, and the attempted fusion of revered Muslim institutions with present-day

methods of education in an effort to produce a new civilization. It is quite obvious that the writer seeks to issue a warning against disturbing, external influences and to stimulate confidence in Franco-Muslim collaboration for the realization of peace, prosperity and liberty.

Hartford, Conn.

E. H. DOUGLAS.

History of the Arabs. By P. K. Hitti. New Edition. New York, Macmillan, 1941. \$7.00.

This second edition is marked by a number of additions and corrections to the original work, showing that the author, like all true scholars, is eager to accept improvements that reviewers are able to offer. Sometimes the changes are merely verbal, as when "Christian" is altered to "Christian-born" (p. 118), to make the statement about Eldon Rutter strictly correct with a minimum of change, after a reviewer had pointed out that Mr. Rutter made the pilgrimage to Mecca as a Muslim. An important change was made in the chapter on the Qur'ān, in recognition of the work of modern western scholarship on the textual history of the Qur'ān, much of which is really a rediscovery and republication of the knowledge that early Muslims had of the Qur'ān, but which later dogma and dogmatism first neglected and later rejected.

The present reviewer suggests that the *hubārā*, bustard, is important enough in Arabic literature and hunting life to warrant mention among the fauna of Arabia and notes that Doughty called the ass "hardly less than the camel a beast of the desert." The word "koranic" before "Bilkis" should be changed to "islamic" as no name is given to the Queen of Sheba in the Qur'ān.

It is unfortunate that space did not permit a fuller statement about translations of the Qur'ān (p. 142). The terms "authorized" and "unauthorized" cannot be used in general statements applicable to all Islam, for the orthodox schools have different positions on the subject.

Further comment would ask for more adequate treatment of the subjects discussed. The eleven pages of Chapter X are not enough to present Islam as the religion of submission to Allah. Yet 705 crowded and concise pages bring the History of the Arabs down only to the beginning of the sixteenth century. To ask for more is to ask too much of a single volume. There is great need for another volume to bring the history of the Near East down to date.

Hartford, Conn.

E. E. CALVERLEY.

CURRENT TOPICS

A Tragic Call To Prayer

Those of you who receive this paper, no doubt, are those who already have a definite burden on your hearts to pray for missions working on the borders of Afghanistan, or else, through the knowledge gained from the reading of this paper, you are willing to receive this burden. Although scarcely any of Sinkiang (or Chinese Turkestan) borders on Afghanistan, I am being allowed to tell you of its needs, and I trust through this knowledge a burden may be put on your hearts to pray for it.

Sinkiang is a large area, equal in size to the three countries of France, Germany and Spain. Its population, however, is not great, being only about 2,500,000, and this number is made up of fourteen different races. The Turki race forms seventy per cent. and the other thirty per cent. is divided between Chinese, Mongols, Qazags, Russians and others. Ninety percent. of the population is of the Mohammedan faith. For more than forty years the Swedish Mission has been working in the western corner of the province. They had their hospital, schools and printing-press, and were a very important factor in the evangelizing of the province.

In the eastern part, some fifty days' cart-journey from the work of the Swedish Mission, Mr. Hunter of the China Inland Mission worked alone for about sixteen years. He was then joined by Mr. Percy Mather, and they worked together until 1933, when they were joined by six young men. Not a year later Mr. Mather and a young doctor who had come as one of the six, succumbed to disease contracted from wounded soldiers for whom they were caring. In 1935 three cities were occupied in this area, and in that year my husband and I joined Mr. Hunter in Tihwa. It was becoming increasingly difficult to reach the people because of the spread of "communism", and few homes were opened to us. By the beginning of 1938 practically nothing could be done except hold one service on Sunday and keep our dispensary open.

These conditions influenced our Mission in granting furlough to the four young men occupying the cities of Suilai and Kitai, and in June of that year they started their long journey to Shanghai travelling perforce westward across the province, over the high passes into India, eastward across India to Calcutta and then by boat to Shanghai—a five months' journey. When they reached Kashgar they found the last three men of the Swedish Mission making final preparations to leave. All of the others had left some days previously, and the work in the three cities of Kashgar, Yengi-Hissar and Yarkand was completely closed down. The *men* in all of their Christian families, of whatever race and wherever

they had moved to, were taken by the police. Some, at an earlier date, had already paid the supreme price for their faith, but nobly stood the test.

This sad news, after many months, gradually filtered through to us at Tihwa, and we knew it must come sooner or later to our own Christians. They knew it too, but how true the small faithful group remained! The final closing of our church, in the same manner as it was closed in the west, came in the summer of 1939, and it was made clear in many ways that we must go as the Swedish Mission had gone. Mr. Hunter felt he must stick it out no matter what came, hoping that some miracle would bring about a change, and so we sorrowfully left him behind when we started, September ninth, 1939, on our long five months' journey to Shanghai. The few dear faithful women I did not see again to say good-bye. Remember them and the Russian Baptists who have suffered much for their faith.

Then there are those Christians, who on coming into the province from other parts of China and finding conditions as they were, burned their Bibles and hymnbooks and never told that they were Christians. Pray for a new vision to be given them of "God with us", that they may have the courage to honor Him even if it mean death. And the literature which has gone out from our dispensary to all parts of the Province is another cause for prayer. It is in several different languages and could be mightily used of God.

We have recently heard that five Catholic priests who were imprisoned in Tihwa shortly before we left, have been released, but they bring the word that Mr. Hunter is now in prison.¹

God did not leave Sinkiang when the missionaries left. He is still there in the hearts of many, and His Word is there in many homes. He reigns supreme, too, over the forces of evil, and His will shall be done as we cooperate with Him in the work of intercession.

From a Circular News Letter.

HELEN M. HAYWARD.
(Mrs. H. D.)

A Moslem Theological School in a Punjab Village

The village of Raipur Araian lies in the southern part of Jullundur District in the Punjab, some ten miles from the nearest railway station. Indistinguishable outwardly from the neighboring village houses are the flat-roofed baked mud houses of the Muhammadan Theological School there. Everything is on the simplest village lines. There are four or five mud houses with little courtyards for the teachers, some of whom are married; a couple of long low mud rooms which serve as dormitories and dining hall; and a mud mosque, in appearance little distinct from the other buildings except for diminutive minarets, also of baked clay, and the *mihrab*. The school library consists of three or four cupboards of books housed in a small mud room. An open well in one corner of the courtyard, and some ten acres of cultivated land complete the material equipment of the school.

Here some 125 boys were seated in long rows under an open

¹ Word has since come that Mr. Hunter also has been released.—Ed.

verandah intoning their lessons from the Koran. It all seemed confusion to us at first; but soon we saw that groups were studying under the more or less watchful eyes of four instructors. We were told that there were five paid instructors on the staff of the school, which is run by the Hanafi sect of Sunni Moslems. There are about 70 boys in the dormitory there, and others come daily from neighboring villages, so the total number of embryo *maulvis* was about 125. The ordinary course of study lasts, it seems, from seven to ten years, and consists mainly in memorizing the entire Koran (over 500 pages of Arabic), the study of the *Hadith* or Traditions, and some Moslem philosophy and logic. On finishing the course, the boys are examined by members of the staffs of similar schools in Jullundur City and given certificates if they pass. They then can be called as *maulvis* by Muhammedan congregations; or those who qualify for more advanced training may go to the theological colleges at Saharanpur, Deoband, Delhi, or other centers. The boys were of all ages, and came from widely spread parts of northern India. There was, we were told, no restriction as to age or previous education.

How is the institution supported? we wanted to know, thinking of the difficulties of maintaining some of our own institutions. Offerings are made by pious Moslems of the villages and towns of the District, and Rev. Fazal ud Din, my companion, assured me that a yearly contribution was sent by the Nizam of Hyderabad. Twice daily the boys go two by two to neighboring villages from a half to two miles away to receive donations of *chappatis* (the pancake whole wheat bread which is the staple diet of the Punjabi villager). These they take back to the school and eat them with *dal* (a lentil-like grain), or vegetable or other curry. The buildings likewise are kept in repair by donations of material, the labor often being furnished by the boys themselves.

Here, then, is an indigenous theological school run on very simple lines, and far away from the distractions of the city. As it has been going for over thirty years, it is evidently meeting the need for spiritual leaders in the Moslem community.

A. P. Mission,
Jullundur City, Punjab.

C. H. LOEHLIN.

Inland Oman

Dr. W. Wells Thoms of the Arabian Mission writes with enthusiasm in *Neglected Arabia* of a visit to the interior of the province of Oman:

"I have been over the Jebel Akhdar (the "Green Mountains" of Arabia) and into Oman beyond. For years I have dreamed about the mountains, hoping to see them some day. Just the name held enchantment and beckoned one to search them out. On the 26th of November came my chance. Into the midst of my busy Monday clinic intruded a white-turbaned soldier of the Imam of Oman bearing a letter from Sheikh Sulaiman bin Himyar of the mountain region urging me to come with all haste to treat one of his subjects

who had been gored by a bull. He said that the one bearing the letter would take care of our transportation details. The messenger said that if we went by car to Rostak it would take only two or three days to get to the Sheikh's headquarters in Tanoof and that the sick man was in another village near by. I figured we could go, treat the injured man and get back within a week. By using the utmost pressure on accelerator, donkey boys, sheikhs, etc., we managed to get there, treat our patient satisfactorily as well as a few hundred other assorted cases and get back in two weeks. Mr. Dykstra, and two of my hospital helpers, Qumbar and Meerook went with me. Better traveling companions would be hard to find and in spite of the strenuous pace at which we went we thoroughly enjoyed every day of our journey.

"I have read Wellsted's account of his trip to the same area over a hundred years ago and find that part of our route lay along the one he took and described and part of it was through territory that no European has ever traveled. We visited one very pretty and orderly mountain village where we were told we were the first foreigners ever to visit them. This place was called Sait. About a hundred stone houses, clustering around a pinnacled fort on a hill stood in the midst of terraced date gardens and green fields of young wheat and verdant lucerne. Towering above the town on all sides were the perpendicular cliffs of the great mountains. The only entrance to this village was a narrow cleft through which a small brook cascaded down to irrigate the garden of Hajjar, a neighboring village. I have never seen more abundant or finer maiden-hair ferns anywhere than grew by that stream and on the walls of the ravine and caves of that area. We had many pleasant surprises as we climbed higher and higher up the mountain. The air got cooler and fresher, the vegetation more plentiful and various. By the time we were near the top one could easily imagine we were in the Lebanons. How delighted I was to see stately cedar trees, wild olives and thickets of tall thorny bushes which they say bear a fruit which looks and tastes like huckleberries. On the way back we cut down a small symmetrical cedar to decorate at home in Matrah for Christmas. The smell of their evergreen fragrance makes our Christmas this year seem more like the real thing.

"We had a wonderful view of much of the Batina and Oman from the top. We were about seven thousand feet up and could see the sea about eighty miles to the north of us while from another point not far from here we could make out the green patches on the Oman plain towards the southeast which marked the location of four of Oman's larger cities, Al Hamrah of the 'Abriyeen, Nezawah, Tanoof and Gabrin."

The Judgment of the Islamic Religion with Regard to Innovations in Funerals and Mournings

As a result of a letter addressed to him by the Minister of Social Affairs in which he requested a statement regarding the official position of Islam with respect to the practices and customs of the people at funerals and mournings, visiting of graves, distributing of alms, etc., His Eminence the Rector of the Azhar

appointed Sheikh Mahmoud Shaltout, Inspector of Religious and Arabic Sciences at the Azhar, to the task of preparing a memorandum which would contain the verdict of Islam and the Prophetic Sunna, together with the opinion of the early religious leaders on this subject. The publication of portions of this memorandum by the Ministry of Social Affairs, after approval by the Rector of Al Azhar has revealed to the public the reality of their religion and the proper sense of those censured acts which they practise in ignorance.

Many have become attached to certain funeral customs which, although they are not supported by religious law, are misinterpreted by foreigners who think they form a part of Islam and who are thereby aided in their injurious criticism of our religion.

It is indeed most gratifying to know what the Ministry of Social Affairs is doing for the cleansing of the country from its evil customs and for the suppression of the disgrace attaching to it by reason of the ignorance of the populace and the concurrence of the leaders in what they have invented in the way of innovations and unwholesome customs. In the following can be seen the judgment of the law concerning the best known practices of the people at funerals from the time of the death until the end of the period known as the "days of comforting."

It must be known, first of all, that the purpose of the funeral procession is to be admonished by death and to call to mind its majesty. They are to be judged, then, who in stubborn haughtiness of spirit violate the proprieties and contravene the rights of life. And in this regard there is the following saying of the Prophet: "Visit frequently those who are sick and follow funeral processions for this will remind you of the other life." In such remembrance there is that which will snatch from the soul its infidelity and restore it to its measure of justice in this life. And by way of attaining to this wisdom there is the demand of the law for silence on the part of those in the procession so that the purposes in the exhortation and remembrance may be realized. And it has been fittingly spoken by the prophet that "God loves silence on three occasions; at the reading of the Koran; when the army is advancing; and at funerals".—*Al Ahram* (Cairo).

The Quran on a Ribbon

The entire "Quran," written in letters of gold on a strip of cloth seven and a half yards long and two and a half inches wide, has been brought to Lucknow by a Persian traveller. Believed to be over 800 years old, it is a masterpiece of calligraphy, which could not have been completed in less than six years.—*Reuter*.

Abyssinia

The inhabitants of Abyssinia are not of one single type or even of one religion. Agriculture is primitive, and the country undeveloped. The majority of the people live in the districts above 5,000 feet, for the lower valleys are not only densely forested but

also unhealthy. Products vary according to height, from cotton, rice and sugar cane in the lowlands to coffee, the vine, olives, tobacco, cereals, and the rearing of animals in higher parts.

External trade is of little importance. Exports are farming products, hides and skins, coffee and grain, while imports are principally manufactured goods. The country has possibilities, both agricultural and mineral, but much capital will have to be sunk, mainly on communications, before these possibilities can become realities.

Former Italian Somaliland

What was once Italian Somaliland has a native population of 1,000,000, and covers an area of about 195,300 square miles. The coast has a length of about 1,875 miles, without any noteworthy bays. The two important rivers, Uebi Scebeli and Juba, are perennial.

On the former of these rivers the Società Italiana Imprese della Somalia has a great area of cultivated lands, a sugar refinery, a cotton-cleaning and baling factory, an oil factory, a hospital, schools, churches, and a village where over 2,600 families of natives are housed in a model way. In the agricultural development of Somalia the cultivation of bananas is of considerable importance. Favorable results in the growing of cotton have been obtained, and, more recently, in the cultivation of ground-nuts.

The Muslims of Yugoslavia

There are more than a million and a half Muslims in Yugoslavia. They live mostly in the Province of Bosnia, parts of Herzegovina and in South Serbia. They are Yugoslavs who have adopted the Muslim creed. There are also a considerable number of Albanian Muslims and Turks in South Serbia. How did Islam come to Yugoslavia? When the Turks overran the Balkans in 1429 the Slav families embraced Islam in South Serbia, and the Bosnians who followed a heretical Bogumil faith were converted to the Muslim religion. But they did not become Turks. They remained Slav, retained their language, their tradition, their music and poetry.

Since the liberation in 1918, the Bosnian Muslims have taken an active part in Yugoslavia's cultural and political life. Those of South Serbia are not so advanced as their Bosnian brethren. Some of the finest modern writers in Yugoslavia are the Bosnian Muslims: Safet Beg Basagic, Hamza Humo, Ahmet Muradbegovic, to name a few. There are several sculptors and painters, Mujadzic being a world-famous artist. There are also renowned Muslim doctors, lawyers, scientists, professors, and judges. The Bosnian Muslim women are progressive, working in all State services, particularly as teachers in schools. The prima donna of the Belgrade Opera Company, Bahrija Nuri Hadzic, is a Muslim from Mostar.

The Yugoslav Muslims conduct their own newspapers and magazines and journals of all kinds. *Gajret*, *Bohar*, *Herald of the Islamic Union* are some of the important newspapers. There is a chair of Oriental languages at the Belgrade University held by Prof. Fehim Bajraktarovic and a chair of Sheriat (Islamic law)

held by Dr. Mehmed Bogovic. Practically every Yugoslav Cabinet has had one or more Muslims in it. In the present Cabinet of General Simovitch, Dr. Dzafer Kulenovic, the Muslim leader, is the Minister of Mines and Forests.

In Bosnia, Herzegovina and South Serbia, the Muslims are engaged in all trades and professions. In the small towns they are mostly traders and craftsmen, while in the villages they engage in agriculture, stock-raising, viticulture, tobacco and the culture of silkworms. They specialize in wood and copper work and jewelry. In Sarajevo there is a school of applied art, the first of its kind in the world, founded by Professor Arnold, of London University. There is also a State carpet factory. These are exclusively for the benefit of the Muslims.—S. M. Telkar in *Great Britain and the East*.

Literature in Chinese for Moslems

In missionary work of a general kind, the auxiliary arm of the enterprise which produces and employs Christian literature has always been regarded as the "Cinderella" of the missionary cause. Medical Missions, and Educational Missions have grown to large proportions compared with the employment of literature as a means to propagate the Christian Message. If this be true of missions in general, it is still more true of missions to Moslems. This is strange, for the printed page has been described as "The only ubiquitous missionary." Are doors closed or closing?—the silent messenger can often enter. Must the missionary withdraw, or pass on to some other city? the book can remain and continue to bear witness. Must the staff of missionaries be reduced?—at a trifling expense many books, booklets and leaflets may be purchased and these may be sent through the mails or distributed through friendly channels, and the work of witness continue, and in some cases grow in volume. Yet the experience of those responsible for the production and distribution of Literature for Moslems in Chinese is that the resources available are not used adequately, and stocks moulder on the shelves.

Perhaps it is thought that literature should only be distributed personally and with a nice discrimination as to the right type. Perhaps the missionary is so much absorbed in his round of visits that he fails to use what is provided. Of course there is the difficulty that large numbers of Moslems in China are unable to read Chinese characters, but the bilingual Chinese-Arabic literature does not enjoy a larger circulation.

At this point it may be wise to consider the resources available. Several publishers in China issue material for use of Christian workers among Moslems. The Canadian Mission Press in West China has several titles. The Christian Bookroom, of Shanghai, has others. Since 1935 the Christian Literature Society for China, at the suggestion of the Society for the Friends of Moslems, handed over all their Moslem literature to the Religious Tract Society of Hankow, which then became by far the largest publisher of such literature in Chinese. The Section of its 1937 Catalogue contains

a list of no fewer than seventy-seven kinds in Chinese and five in English. These were arranged by Dr. Samuel M. Zwerner in several groups. Those in group "A" are for General Distribution. This group contains 39 issues of which 11 are books. In group "B" for Enquirers, is found 21 publications, of which 12 are books. In group "C" for Ahungs, are 12 issues, of which 8 are books or book tracts. The list concludes with some 5 books in Chinese for the use of workers amongst Moslems and a further list of 5 books in English.

In the "A" group are translations of several of Miss Lilius Trotter's books and booklets, which have proved very effective in other Moslem lands. The section also includes many posters and handbills suitable for wide use. Group "B" contains such worthy books as "Sweet First Fruits," now available in many languages. The product of India is represented in "The Law of Freedom" by Jens Christiansen, which was used to the conversion of a Moslem writer who was employed in making the translation into Chinese from English. The section for Ahungs contains translations of works by Dr. Rouse, and by W. H. T. Gairdner of Cairo.

Hankow, China.

F. G. ONLEY.

A Lanchow Moslem Co-operative

After repaying \$3,500 on its \$20,000 loan capital, the Moslem fur and skin cooperative in Lanchow, formed in the summer of 1939 under the auspices of the Chinese Industrial Cooperatives, declared a \$7,000 net profit for 1940. In addition, a 30-room factory with living quarters, costing \$5,000, was constructed by the Moslem cooperative society.

This cooperative was organized at the request of a Mohammedan *ahung* (teacher or elder) who suggested that a cooperative should be formed by Moslems who were working as hired hands in various factories. This, of course, was a good proof that the industrial cooperative movement had made much headway with the people in general. As a C.I.C. organizer recently said, "No movement can be said to have made a deep place for itself in Lanchow unless it has also won the support of the local Mohammedans." "The cooperative has helped us considerably in raising our living standard," the Moslem Coop. chairman wrote in his open letter to Mohammedans abroad.

Fifteen cooperative members who were once hired hands in private factories are now earning a uniform wage of \$50 a month in their own society. Together they have paid up \$700 as their shares. The 15 members and two apprentices are all Moslems who are proud to be able to work for their country by producing articles made of fur or skin for the nation's fighting forces. At present these Moslems are working on an order for 50,000 fur-lined coats for the army in the Northwest.

Although most of the members are illiterate, everyone in this Co-op. does his part in attaining good workmanship and efficiency. This fur and skin society has won many a time the Lanchow "Co-op. of the Month" prize.

Recently the Co-op. chairman and *ahung* Ma Ying-piao wrote an open letter to Moslems abroad. In his appeal, written in Arabic, he asked for help from fellow Mohammedans for the support of the industrial cooperative among Moslems.

The Name of the Lord

The Woking Muslim Mission, with the support of many Ahmadiyah publications, has proclaimed that the essential truth in all religions leads to Islam as its final expression. The book "Mohammad in World Scriptures" by Maulana Abdul Haque Vidajarthi gives one line of "proof" for this theory by finding prophecies of Mohammed in "Hindu, Buddhist, Zoroastrian, Hebrew and Christian Scriptures". A declaration of faith signed by Moslem converts (in England at least) proclaims an "equal respect" for "all Prophets." This idea is upheld in an article in the *Islamic Review*, part of which (Safar 1360 A.H. March 1941 A.C. —*sic.*) enlarges upon the statement that "God has no Name."

We claim for Christianity, or rather for Christ, a unique revelation. If He died, rose again, and now sits on the Right Hand of God, we may accept or reject His claims, but we cannot blend them with those of other religions.

Taking this one subject of "The Name of the Lord", how do the "Hebrew and Christian Scriptures" compare with the statements made on behalf of Islam in the article mentioned?

"Ancient sages and seers generally expressed their consciousness of Him merely in vague terms" and Tagore is quoted as saying "It (*i.e.*, the Ultimate Power) should not be given a name lest it calls forth the error of dualism."

The Psalmist's fear is completely contrary to this:—"If we have forgotten the Name of our God or stretched forth our hands to a strange god . . ." (Psalm 44:20). Will the name lead to duplication or will forgetting the Name do so?

What is the Name according to the "Hebrew Scriptures?" In Psalm 83:18 we see the hope "that men may know that Thou whose Name alone is Jehovah art the Most High over all the earth."

When Moses required an answer to the question "What is His Name?" again it was "Jehovah." The correct pronunciation of this great Name has been lost, and the greatest scholars argue about its exact meaning.

Our English Bible following the Hebrew tradition of reverence usually translates the Name as "The Lord." Modern translations use such terms as "The Eternal", "The Everliving" and we have the greatest interpretation given in Exodus III translated as "I am that I am." "I AM hath sent me." This seems to take us back to the Islamic view—the One who IS has no other name. And yet we go back to the Psalms to see that—"In the Name of Our God we will set up our banners" Psalm 20:5 and throughout all time and all space—

"From this time forth and for evermore. From the rising of the sun unto the going down of the same—the Lord's Name is to be praised" Psalm 113:2, 3.

In avoiding the title "Lord" for Christ, Moslems deny His claim to the Name, but the date 1941 A.C. should own Him "Lord and Christ" as well as the complementary expression 1941 A.D.!

Reject Him who will, none can say that He did not claim the Name, and in His own Person reveal its meaning for us.

"Before Abraham was I Am." John 8:58.

"I am Alpha and Omega, the beginning and the ending." Rev. 1:8.

These statements reveal the ineffable, incomprehensible Name of "The Lord."

Woking, London

OLIVE BOTHAM,

An Ill-wind that Blows Good

All those who read German Oriental books and publications will rejoice at the exit of Gothic type. *The London Times* comments as follows:

"Germany has discovered the disadvantage of gothic type in propaganda, and other German newspapers have followed the example of the extreme Nazi *Angriff*, which from May 31 has used Roman type instead of Gothic. Finally, the Leipzig book trade announced that German publishers were expecting in future to print exclusively in roman text. Following this statement explanations appeared.

One reason given was that in German-occupied territories it had been found that the local populations, even when they spoke German, could not read notices, pamphlets, and newspapers founded by the Germans; much less could they write the complicated Gothic script, and this seriously militated against the intended spread of the German language after occupation."

The University of Jerusalem

The Hebrew University of Jerusalem has just entered its sixteenth year. It has expanded in extraordinary measure during the war. The most striking development is the inauguration of the new Faculty of Agriculture, which is concentrating on farm management and giving attention also to mixed farming, now furthered in place of citriculture, and to the combating of insect pests. Both the agricultural and the chemical departments have concerned themselves with the practical war problems caused by the cutting off of the orange export on the one hand, and the expansion of industry on the other.

A method has been discovered of utilising the dried orange as a fodder for all animals, which can be stored indefinitely and is as nutritious as the carob. A research worker has devised a wrapper, impregnated chemically, for oranges which prevents decay during storage and transportation. The Department of Botany has devised methods for protecting local potatoes against the heat, thus enabling farmers to use the Palestine product for planting. It has discovered a Palestine plant whose fibres can be turned into cloth. Preparations are being made for its cultivation in commercial quantities.

The Department of Chemistry has found a way of manufacturing cellulose from other plants. The Medical Research Centre opened in 1939 is proving its value for the health of the troops in Palestine as well as in neighbouring countries. It supplies the Medical Officers with sera, and has arranged short courses in sub-tropical medicine. A bacteriologist of the Turkish Government was sent recently to study the technique of preparing anti-typhus vaccine.

The number of new students entered for this academic year was 267, and Palestinians were the largest element. Others came from Eastern Europe. Ten of the regular students are Arabs. During the winter a series of public lectures was given on Arab cultural life in the Near East.

The Late Canon Goldsmith

In a recent number of the *Madras Diocesan Magazine* the Bishop of Madras wrote:

"On October 3rd, the Rev. Canon Malcolm George Goldsmith was laid to rest after a life wholly devoted to the service of India. Comparatively few of the younger generation were intimately acquainted with him for he had for the last few years been unable to do any active work or to go out preaching in the streets, which was his great delight. He was a man of the deepest and simplest piety and greatly revered by all who had the privilege of his friendship. There was a resumé of his life work in the *Madras Mail* and in this number of the *Diocesan Magazine* will be found the first selection of extracts from his diary. They are not only revealing of his deep personal piety but as a record of a long life in India, where he spent over sixty in Calcutta, Madras and the Deccan, they form a link with the past which is of great interest. Canon Goldsmith died in his ninety-second year and a very large number of his friends and pupils assembled at the grave to bid him farewell."

By the death of Canon Goldsmith, Madras has lost its oldest missionary and probably its oldest English-born inhabitant. He has left among his papers a series of diaries opening with January first, 1869 (just before he was twenty). The last entry was made on the 28th of September, 1940, four days before his death.

In the programme of his work for the first term of service we find that he spent his afternoons in reading Persian, Arabic and Hindustani. In 1878 he began regular teaching in the Harris School. This school was opened in the year 1855-56 for the special benefit of Hindustani-speaking boys. Only Hindustani and Persian were used in the syllabus. The school was situated in the lower part of Peter's Road. This was the centre of Goldsmith's work as well as his main residence for many years to come. Most of his tours outside of Madras were made in the school holidays which occurred at irregular times to fit in with Muslim holidays. For instance, he made a tour to Bangalore, Mysore in August and September 1879 when he notes that from Bangalore to Mysore is 87 miles and takes 30 hours in bullock transit! A three hours run to a good car.

He went for a few months furlough to England after ten years' service, leaving Madras in April, 1883 and returning in December of

the same year. These notes from his diary, taken from the *Madras Diocesan Magazine*, are of great interest and especially because of the emphasis from these very early days on the necessity of work so far South as Madras among the Muslims of India. Canon Goldsmith's steadfastness of mind is seen in the fact that up to a few years ago he could still be seen speaking in the open-air and proclaiming the Gospel to Muslims. We hope and pray that his work will inspire others to emulate his zeal for this great work in the South of India.

The high honour in which Canon Goldsmith was held by Muslims in the South is illustrated by the fact that they were accustomed to say, "If Goldsmith Sahib were to recite the Kalima on his death-bed we would build a shrine over his tomb, for there is no doubt that he is a great saint."

James E. Moerdyk

SOLDIER OF THE CROSS IN ARABIA.

The cable that brought news of the sudden death of Jas. E. Moerdyk, July 24, senior missionary in Arabia, stirred old memories of Bahrein and Basrah. How well I recall his arrival in the field in 1900; his manual skill in the trying task of building the first hospital in East Arabia; his patience with the crude Arab laborers; his dogged determination and success in mastering the language and the ways of the people; his talent in financial administration; his sensitive conscience, stalwart faith and unobtrusive humility; his self-forgetfulness, prayer life and love for the lowly; most of all his pioneer spirit and willingness to suffer loneliness for Christ, these more than forty years of unbroken service.

The secret of such heroism and devotion is beautifully summed up in the words of Dr. P. T. Forsyth, the British churchman: "There is nothing finer nor more pathetic to me, than the way in which missionaries unlearn the love of the old home, die to their native land, and wed their hearts to the people they have served and won. They must hasten to return to lay their bones where they have spent their hearts for Christ. How vulgar the common patriotisms seem beside this inverted homesickness, this passion of a kingdom which has no frontiers and no favored race, the passion of a homeless Christ."

Jim Moerdyk wedded his heart to the Arabs, and all his life suffered from an "inverted homesickness" which to him was joy and to those that knew him, heroic.

SAMUEL M. ZWEMER.

SURVEY OF PERIODICALS

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I. GENERAL

ARABIC LITERARY CRITICISM IN THE TENTH CENTURY A.D.
G. von Grunebaum. (In *The Journal of the American Oriental Society*, Baltimore. March, 1941. pp. 51-57).

During this period the language of the poets and the belief in the uniqueness of the Qu'ran led to the analysis and comparison of poetic styles, the study of rhetoric and aesthetic investigation and evaluations.

DIE GESUNDUNG DER TÜRKISCHEN SPRACHREFORM. Herbert W. Duda. (In *Der Islam*, Berlin. Heft II, 1940. pp. 77-100).

Traces the history of this movement which began as early as 1831 and has now reached a high point in the work of Falih Rifky Atay.

LEADERS OF TURKEY TO-DAY. Sirdar Ikbāl Ali Shah. (In *The Contemporary Review*, London. May, 1941. pp. 548-553).

Presents briefly the careers and characteristics of President İsmet İnönü, Prime Minister Refik Saydam, Minister of Foreign Affairs Şukru Sarajoglu, and War Minister Field-Marshal Tschakmak, who is also commander-in-chief of the Turkish armies.

II. ARABIA

THE ADEN PROTECTORATE. Lieut.-Col. Sir Bernard Reilly. (In *The Royal Central Asian Journal*, London. April, 1941. pp. 132-145).

Arab confidence and coöperation have made possible Britain's successful administration of Aden itself and the Protectorate for over a hundred years.

THE PEOPLES OF SOUTH-WESTERN ARABIA. Hugh Scott. (In

The Royal Central Asian Journal, London. April, 1941. pp. 146-151).

Discusses the presence of components of the Mediterranean and Veddoid races and a certain proportion of Negroid and Jewish elements.

III. HISTORY OF ISLAM

THE ISLAMIC FINDS AT TARSUS. Florence E. Day. (In *Asia*, New York. March, 1941. pp. 143-148).

Tells of treasures dating from the Arab Conquest in the seventh century to the end of the tenth.

MUSLIM POLITICAL INFLUENCE IN THE WORLD TO-DAY. Sirdar Iqbal Ali Shah. (In *The Asiatic Review*, London. April, 1941. pp. 223-244).

Finds the Near Eastern lands unanimously pro-British and studies their economic condition during these war years.

RACIAL ELEMENTS IN THE NORTH-EASTERN PROVINCE OF EGYPT. Abbas Ammar. (In *The Journal of the Royal African Society*, London. April, 1941. pp. 159-169).

First installment of an article on the inhabitants of Sharqiya province, showing its amazingly varied population from earliest ages.

IV. KORAN. TRADITION. THEOLOGY

PHILOLOGIKA XI. H. Ritter. (In *Der Islam*, Berlin. Heft II, 1940. pp. 116-158).

Life and bibliography of Maulānā Galāladdīn Rūmī, thirteenth century founder of the whirling dervishes, of his father, the mystic Bahā'addīn, and of his disciples.

V. RELIGIOUS AND SOCIAL LIFE

THE DEVELOPMENT OF BROADCASTING IN TURKEY. Mithat Kanek. (In *The Asiatic Review*, London. January, 1941. pp. 101-103).

Describes the achievements of nearly fifteen years in this field.

DR. TAHA HUSSAIN'S "THE FUTURE OF CULTURE IN EGYPT". A. J. Arberry. (In *The Asiatic Review*, London. April, 1941. pp. 305-309).

The author reviews in detail "one of the most important works of modern Arabic literature."

AN EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY HOME IN CAIRO. Mary Rowlatt. (In *The Contemporary Review*, London. March, 1941. pp. 328-332).

An account of the former dwelling of the Sehemy family, now cared for by the Committee of Conservation of Arab Monuments.

MUSLIM POLYGAMY: A VINDICATION. Abdul Majid. (In *The Islamic Review*, Woking. March, 1941. pp. 107-115).

Points out the age-long history of plural wives and finds strong evidence for its desirability to-day.

TIMBUKTU AND BEYOND. Laura C. Boulton. (In *The National Geographic Magazine*, Washington. May, 1941. pp. 631-670).

Moslems as well as Negro tribes contributed to the studies in native music and folkways undertaken by representatives of the Field Museum of Natural History.

VILLAGES, TRIBAL MARKETS AND TOWNS. Walter Fogg. (In *The Sociological Review*, London. January-April, 1940. pp. 85-107).

"Some considerations concerning urban development in the Spanish and international zones of Morocco."

VI. POLITICAL RELATIONSHIPS

THE ARABS, GREAT BRITAIN AND GERMANY. Rom Landau. (In *The Asiatic Review*, London. April, 1941. pp. 295-304).

The progress of the war is drawing the Arabs ever closer to the British, and German flattery and propaganda can never blind the peoples whom Hitler in "Mein Kampf" branded as "inferior races", quite outside the destiny of his pure Aryan state.

BERLIN TO BAGHDAD UP-TO-DATE. Philip Willard Ireland. (In *Foreign Affairs*, New York. April, 1941. pp. 664-670).

Traces the development of the railroad since 1904 when the Germans began work on it under a concession obtained from Sultan Abdul Hamid in 1902.

EGYPT AND THE WAR. Major E. W. Polson Newman. (In *The Contemporary Review*, London. June, 1941. pp. 624-630).

Although Egypt is unwilling to fight except in self-defence, its friendly coöperation is proving invaluable to the British.

INDIA MUST NOT BE DIVIDED. Khwaja Ahmad Abbas. (In *Asia*, New York. February, 1941. pp. 86-90).

A study for and against the Pakistan Movement towards a separate Muslim India.

IRAN WANTS TO STAY NEUTRAL. Leo Thonet. (In *Asia*, New York. March, 1941. pp. 195-198).

The politic and progressive Reza Shah knows that the success-

ful development of his country requires avoidance of any clash with England, Russia or Germany.

ISLAMIC SUPPORT IN THE WAR. H.H. the Nawab of Bhopal. (In *The Asiatic Review*, London. April, 1941. pp. 281-286).

A stimulating speech delivered to His Highness's troops urging unqualified British support.

ISLAM'S FIGHT AGAINST NAZI-ISM. L. F. Rushbrook Williams. (In *Great Britain and the East*, London. January, 1941. p. 68).

All that the Koran stands for is outraged by the practices of the totalitarian states.

MOROCCO. Pablo Azcarte. (In *The Nineteenth Century and After*, London. June, 1941. pp. 548-555).

An examination of Franco-Spanish and Franco-German negotiations over the control of Morocco in the early nineteen hundreds.

TURKEY AND THE BALANCE OF POWER. Peter F. Drucker. (In *The Atlantic Monthly*, Boston. April, 1941. pp. 462-469).

Under the amazingly skillful leadership of their President, Ismet Inonu, the Turks may be able to overcome their serious military and economic deficiencies and actually aid England and her allies.

VII. MISSIONS TO MOSLEMS

POSITION IN SYRIA. J. D. Maitland-Kirwan. (In *World Dominion and the World To-day*, London. May-June, 1941. pp. 154-156).

Up to the time of writing, mission work has gone on almost at its normal pace, with only minor disadvantages such as high prices and shortage of supplies.

THE PRESENTATION OF THE CHRISTIAN MESSAGE TO MUSLIMS. J. T. Addison. (In *The International Review of Missions*, London. July, 1941. pp. 315-323).

Avoiding controversial theological discussions, the evangelist should rely on personal fellowship, sharing the blessings which Christ has revealed to him.

THE SPELL OF ARAB MENTALITY. James Haldane. (In *World Dominion and the World To-day*, London. May-June, 1941. pp. 139-142).

Describes Arab reactions to informal preaching contacts through several North-African villages.



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