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SOME ATTEMPTS AT CLARIFICATION

It may be useful to call attention to five of our common, everyday concepts about which there is confusion and controversy which is in part due to confusion, and to set forth briefly a view of these concepts which may serve at least to make clear the issues involved.

1. The first of these is the idea of conscience. The war situation has brought into view the "conscientious pacifist" and the "conscientious objector" and the assumption is that the opposite opinions are not equally conscientious and that the conscientiousness of the opinions of the pacifist and the objector is their adequate justification and protect the conscientious person from obligations and penalties which apply in the case of others. Passing over the specific question of the wise course of government with regard to this class of citizens, one would point out that the right or wrong of any course of action or of any separate act is not determined by the conscience or the conscientiousness of the actor. In an article on "Errors Regarding Conscience", one of the oldest and saintliest missionaries of modern times, George Bowen, wrote in *The Bombay Guardian* of August 23, 1879:

> "It is not really the conscience that determines what is right and what is wrong. . . . . We often hear it said that it is wrong for a man not to obey his conscience. But what is it that conscience demands? It demands that we should do what is right, but it does not tell us what is right; for that information we depend upon our judgment and understanding and especially on our faith towards God. . . . . It is the misguided conscience of men that constitutes the great barrier to the progress of Christianity."

Nineteen years before this he had written in his diary,

"I must have nothing to do with conscience as a Master. Christ must be my only Master. It is a grievous sin when I go about anything merely because conscience dictates. I must be scrupulous to guard against this."

The Bible, he held, was a better guide than conscience. It was "the only infallible rule of faith and practice".

The wise moral teachers are very careful in this matter.

"Conscience," says Henry B. Smith, "implies an essential distinction between right and wrong, an immutable morality . . . . yet needs to be enlightened. . . . . Men may be conscientious in iniquity. . . . . Conscience is not righteousness." "Conscience," says A. H. Strong, "is not an original authority."

It tells us we must obey the right law but it does not reveal the law.

"We are no more infallible about Right and Wrong," says R. C. Cabot, "than about any other basic belief."

Conscience, conceived as the faculty which discriminates between right and wrong, can itself go wrong (John xvi: 2; Acts xxiii: 1). Paul speaks of a "conscience seared" (I Tim. iv: 2) and a "conscience defiled" (Titus 1: 15) and frankly acknowledged in his later life his conscientious blunders and evil-doing in his early life. "I then thought", he confessed, "that I ought to do what I now see to be wrong" (Acts xxvi: 9). Mohammedan polygamy, Hindu idolatry, even Thuggee assassination and the Roman Inquisition have all been conscientious.

Many years ago, at one of the early student conferences at Northfield, Dr. Henry Clay Trumbull preached a striking sermon on "Moral Color Blindness," in which he said:

"Has not God given to every man in what we call the conscience, a sure test of moral light and moral darkness? No! most decidedly No! Man does not by nature know what is right and what is wrong. 'Conscience' is not in and of itself a safe guide in morals. It is not enough for a man to do 'as well as he knows how,' and in so doing 'to have a conscience void of offense toward God and man alway.' He may do all this and yet be sadly wrong."

In a word, conscience tells us that there is a law of right and wrong which we must obey, but it does not tell us what that law is. In this sense conscience is universal. But it is not universal in any other sense. Men disagree as to what is right

and what is wrong and as to what is true and what is false. For a man to say that he is conscientious is no justification. "If the light that is in thee be darkness, how great is that darkness." The real question is not whether a man is conscientious and sincere, but whether he is right; not whether his belief is honest, but whether it is true. The missionary implications of this in work for Moslems are obvious.

2. A second word about which there is a kindred confusion is the word "religion". What is religion or a religion, and does Christianity belong in such a category? The dictionaries define it as a purely human phenomenon or activity. Webster calls it "man's recognition of God as an object of worship, love and obedience, man's right feelings toward God. It is subjective, designating the feelings and acts of men which relate to God". The Century Dictionary gives seven definitions but all of them conceive religion as being man's activity and thought with regard to God. So Matthew Arnold, who defined religion as "ethics heightened, enkindled, lit up by feeling," a definition woefully short of the thought of his father. So also, our American philosophers: Whitehead, "Religion is concerned with our reactions of purpose and emotion due to our personal measure of intuition into the ultimate mystery of the universe" ("Adventure of Ideas", p. 207); and Hocking, "Is not religion man's hold on what is eternal and true for all men?"—"or more adequately, religion is a passion for righteousness, and for the spread of righteousness conceived as a cosmic demand" ("Living Religions and a World Faith", pp. 17, 26).

This last conception of "cosmic demand" transfers the emphasis, however, from "man's hold" to God's grasp and marks the distinction between religion conceived wholly as man's quest for God and religion conceived as consisting of, or as including also, God's quest for man. The traditional Christian distinction, of course, is between natural or unrevealed religion and revealed religion, Christianity regarding itself as the one and only revealed religion. Thus Dr. B. B. Warfield speaks of

"the division between man-made and God-made religions. Besides

the religions which man has made for himself, God has made a religion for man. We call this revealed religion; and the most fundamental division which separates between religions is that which divides revealed from unrevealed religions. Of course, we do not mean to deny that there is an element of revelation in all religions. God is a person, and persons are known only as they make themselves known —reveal themselves. The term revelation is used in this distinction, therefore, in a pregnant sense. In the unrevealed religions God is known only as He has revealed Himself in His acts by the creation and government of the world, as every person must reveal himself in his acts if he acts at all. In the one revealed religion God has revealed Himself also in acts of special grace, among which is included the open Word. . . . . Revealed religion comes to man from without. . . . . The unrevealed religions, on the other hand, flow from no higher source than the human spirit itself. . . . . They are all, in other words, natural religions in contradistinction to the one supernatural religion which God has made." ("Studies in Theology", 649f.)

This double use of the words "religion" and "revelation", however, is confusing, and Dr. A. P. Peabody in "Christianity the Religion of Nature" lays it aside:

"If Christianity be true, it is not *a* religion but *the* religion. If Judaism be also true, it is not as distinct from but as coincident with Christianity, the one religion to which it can bear only the relation of the part to the whole. If there be portions of truth in other religious systems, they are not portions of other religions, but portions of the one religion which somehow or other became incorporated with fables and falsities."

In simpler form one may say that if the ethnic religions are truly religions, as by all our common definitions they are, then Christianity is not a religion, for it does not belong in their category, and if Christianity is a religion then the other so-called religions are not religions at all and our common definitions of religion must be altered.

It is significant that in the Gospel records Jesus never used the word religion and that its infrequent uses elsewhere, only by Paul and James, indicate its inapplicability to Christianity.

The true view of the matter was set forth long ago by Elisha Mulford in "The Republic of God", p. 57 ff.

"The revelation of and in the Christ is not a religion and it is not a philosophy. It cannot be brought within the scope or province of any definition of religion that has a justification in history. It is not the product of any distinctive religious progress; and further it has

not its origin in any system of speculation, nor in the reflective order of thought. . . . . It can no more take the place to which it is invited among the various religions of the world than the figure of the Christ can take its place in the Pantheon of a Julian. . . . . The Old Testament is not primarily the record of a religion, or of a system or science of religion. It is not the revelation of a religion, but it is the revelation of God to the world. . . . . The writings of the New Testament, as we pass again to their content, have not a religion nor the revelation of a religion for their subject. . . . . In these writings the very word religion does not appear. . . . . The difference between the revelation of Christ and all religions is ultimate."

The missionary significance of this view of Christianity is obvious. Historically no other view has shown any missionary effectiveness. No other view is doing so today. John Macmurray pointed out the missionary significance of this fundamental distinction between Christianity and religions in a paper circulated at the Jerusalem Missionary Conference in 1928:

"There is a general danger in comparing Christianity with other religions and picking out for emphasis what they have in common. . . . . The essential question is to discover what Christianity has to give to the world that no other religion can give—in any degree. The difference has to be one of kind. Unless Christianity is essentially and radically different from other religions, unless there is some sense in which it is just right and they are just wrong, then there isn't much to be said for the missionary drive. One of the profoundest remarks which I have come across about religion is in Collingwood's 'Speculum Mentis'. He says that religion reached its climax in Christ; and in doing so it ceased to be religion. Using religion in this sense—and it is the only sense in which it can be used when one studies comparative religion—he seems to me to be just right. Much that belongs to religion in this sense permeates what we call Christianity—both in doctrine, spiritual outlook and organization. And I have a conviction that the points which the various world-religions have in common with Christianity are in large measure the points which are not specifically Christian but merely religious".

These claims with regard to the distinction and uniqueness of Christianity are of course denied, but they ought not to be denied or ignored or to be undiscerned by Christians.

3. A third term, which is one of the common expressions of the Synoptic Gospels, is often used without regard to any one, or to the wide variety, of meanings of the term in its New Testament usage. In the Synoptic Gospels "the Kingdom of God" or (as in Matthew) "the Kingdom of Heaven" is a phrase constantly recurring in Jesus' teaching though al-

most never used by the Evangelists except when quoting the words of Jesus. In the fourth Gospel the phrase occurs only three times and when we leave the Gospels it is a strange and significant fact that the phrase "the Kingdom of Heaven" disappears entirely, and the phrase "the Kingdom of God" occurs only four times in Acts and only eight times in Paul's Epistles, with a few additional uses of the word "Kingdom". Paul's use of the phrase conforms to the variety of uses in the Gospels where the words are used in a sixfold reference. Sometimes they refer to an inward spiritual kingdom in the soul, sometimes to an external kingdom, sometimes to a visible kingdom, sometimes to an invisible, sometimes to a present, sometimes to a future kingdom. Much of our confusion with regard to the relations of Christianity to politics, economics and social questions, arises either from an attempt to straightjacket the phrase in a single meaning, or from our usage of it in a non-Scriptural sense, or from our using it in one sense and having others interpret it, or ourselves slipping over into the meaning of it in another sense. When we pray "Thy Kingdom Come", let us make sure that the word covers all that the Gospel means it to cover and just that.

4. The basic issue of confusion and controversy today as always from the days of Cerinthus down, is the issue of the Person of Christ. Practically all our other issues run back to or out from this one. Our judgments of missionary principle and policy, our conceptions of the relation of Christianity to life and its problems and relationships, assuredly our theologies and our anthropologies, and our conceptions of Christianity, of religion and of religions will all be determined by our basic view of Christ. Was He a man moving Godward or God coming manward? It will not do to say that the choice before us today is "between Jesus the Man of men and a formula". Man himself is a formula, and as Dr. Carrel has shown, a very curious and as yet unknown formula. Do we place Jesus Christ on the man side or the God side? That is the simple question. The metaphysics of His personality may be full of perplexities which metaphysics manufactures for itself and then confuses itself over. These did not trouble

the men who knew Jesus, as His first disciples. They did not trouble St. Paul who had not known Jesus in the flesh but to whom He was the surest fact and the central meaning of the world. They do not trouble disciples who "know" Christ in the New Testament sense today. It will be found that those who are troubled by them are those who feel that they must construct for themselves a different Christ from the one presented in the Gospels and by St. Paul. But Hoskyns and Davey have shown in "The Riddle of the New Testament" that there is no evidence that any other Jesus ever existed than One who held about Himself the Christology which the Gospels report of Him but do not impose upon Him. This issue cannot be made too clear. It is still too much confused. The unitarian humanism of the recent years may have sung its swan song, as some have maintained, but it is not gone, and will not be gone, and to the extent that it finds a home in the Church, the missionary action and administration of the Church will be enfeebled in its energy and sacrifice.

5. It is not incongruous to add to these four confusions the inadequate conception of leadership which is too often pressed upon us. It is significant that the only use of the English word "leader" in the Authorized Version of the New Testament is in our Lord's words in Matt. xv: 14, regarding the Pharisees, "Let them alone: they be blind leaders of the blind. And if the blind lead the blind, both shall fall into the ditch." And it is significant that the only use of the Greek word "leader" *(Kathegetes)* is in our Lord's word in Matt. xxiii:8-10, "Neither be ye called leaders, for one is your Leader, even Christ." And it is further significant and confirmatory that almost every reference to human leadership in the New Testament is unfavorable: Mark xiii: 11; Luke iv: 29; xxii: 54; xxiii: 1, 26; John xviii: 28; Acts viii: 32; xxi: 38; I Cor. xii: 2; II Tim. iii: 6; II Peter iii: 17. And history, past and contemporary, is a tragic evidence of the futility and worse than futility of human leadership uncontrolled by Christ. The popular cry in the Church and in the State for leadership is vain if it is for leadership uncontrolled by Christ. His is the leadership we need in missions to Moslems.

Christ is the only adequate and trustworthy leader, and the only leadership that can really help us is leadership that leads man to the One Leader, to His spirit, His principles, His law, His Lordship. Albert Schweitzer speaks of such leadership in the greatest human leader ever known, who conceived it to be the whole purpose and end of his leadership to lead men to Christ and His Kingdom:

"Three things make up the power of Paul's thought. There belong to it a depth and reality which lay their spell upon us; the ardour of the early days of the Christian faith kindles our own; a direct experience of Christ as the Lord of the Kingdom of God speaks from it, exciting us to follow the same path. Paul leads us out upon that path of true redemption, and hands us over, prisoners, to Christ." ("The Mysticism of Paul the Apostle", p. 396.)

These are some of our confusions. Perhaps our confusions are our hope. "The light shineth *in* the darkness". Indeed Paul goes further, for he says: "God said, light shall shine *out of* the darkness". But also, "in our hearts".

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A PORTUGUESE PILGRIM AT MECCA IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

It is generally known that after Mohammed the Prophet expelled the Jews from their settlement in Yathrib, afterward called Medina, none but the true Believers were admitted to settle in the territory of Central Arabia, including the two holy cities of Mecca and Medina. This law of Islam has never ceased to be enforced up to the present time.

Therefore, until the 19th century and the famous travels of Burckhardt and Burton, Mecca has been one of those places about which the Christian world has possessed the smallest amount of authentic information.[1] Moslems, of course, could gain a direct knowledge of the Holy City and its shrines as well as of the rites of the pilgrimage (and many actually did so), by performing a journey which was not beyond the reach of anybody intending to undertake it; and also could satisfy their interest in all those things simply by reading one of the detailed descriptions afforded by the numerous books which dealt with that particular subject, written in Arabic or in one of the other languages used by Moslems.[2] None of those books was known in Europe during the Middle Ages, and the most absurd legends about the religious capital of Islam were widely spread in the Christian world. One of the most typical was that concerning Moham-

[1] I may refer to the well known works by D. G. Hogarth, *The Penetration of Arabia,* New York, 1904; R. H. Kiernan, *The Unveiling of Arabia,* London, 1937; A. Ralli, *Christians at Mecca,* London, 1909, for the names of the early visitors of Mecca. Unfortunately, none of the authors of these books has devoted much space to the early travelers, probably because their reports were superseded by the much more complete information supplied in the 19th century. R. F. Burton, in his classic *Personal Narrative of a Pilgrimage to al Madinah and Meccah* (Appendix IV and V), refers to Vartema and Joseph Pitts. The Hungarian scholar Julius Germanus, who became a Moslem in India and performed the pilgrimage, briefly mentions Vartema, Pitts and Wild in his book *Allah akbar. Im Banne des Islams,* Berlin, p. 137. Although the German edition (which is a translation from Hungarian) bears no date, we know that Germanus was in Mecca in March, 1935, at the time of the pilgrimage of the Islamic year 1353 (see *Oriente Moderno,* 15 (1935), 202).

[2] Students of Arabic are familiar with the selections from Arabic authors from the 9th to the 16th century published and condensed in German by F. Wuestenfeld under the title *Die Chroniken der Stadt Mekka,* Leipzig, 1857-61. An exhaustive history of Mecca is found in the classic work of C. Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka,* The Hague 1888, vol. 1. One of the latest and most accurate descriptions of contemporary Mecca (and Medina) and the rites of the pilgrimage is that by Eldon Rutter, *The Holy Cities of Arabia,* London 1928 (one-volume edition, 1930). An historical account of the rites of the pilgrimage of a high scholarly standard is Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *Le pélerinage à la Mecque,* Paris 1923 (Annales du Musée Guimet, Bibliothèque d'études, vol. 33). Readers interested in the subject will find further bibliographies in the second and fourth of the works mentioned above.

med's tomb, which was believed to be in Mecca (whereas it actually is in Medina), and to consist of a coffin lifted in the air and maintained in perfect balance by the action of two concealed loadstones.[3]

The first eyewitness record of the unknown land of Arabia was brought to Europe in the early sixteenth century by an Italian adventurer, Ludovico Vartema.[4] A soldier in the army of the Mamluk sultans of Egypt and Syria, he rode from Damascus to Mecca with a troop of cavalry charged with protection of the pilgrim caravan, and entered Mecca in May, 1504.[5] He has written a description of the city and the rites of the pilgrimage in a book which also relates his travels in other distant countries: South Arabia, Persia and India.

Although Vartema was anything but a professional writer, his style is brilliant and his descriptions are graphic. But he was a superficial observer, and lacked education and scholarly interest. Nevertheless, he deserves our praise for having discarded the legend of the aerial tomb of Mohammed, and for having given a substantially exact report on the main features of the most sacred shrine in Islam.

After Vartema, we must come down to the beginning of the next century before we meet uncontroverted evidence of a Christian having visited Mecca. Two other men are credited with having made the dangerous trip to that city during the sixteenth century, but the genuineness of their adventures is not beyond suspicion.

George (or Gregory) Quadra (or de Quadra) was the captain of a Portuguese brigantine in the fleet commanded by Duarte de Lemos, a lieutenant of the illustrious con-

[3] On this subject, see the exhaustive bibliography assembled by S. C. Chew in his learned and stimulating book *The Crescent and the Rose*, New York 1937, p. 387 note 1. I know by title only P. Giudici, *La vita di Maometto secondo le leggende e gli scrittori arabi*, Florence, 1912.

[4] An English translation of Vartema's *Itinerario* was published in the Hakluyt series (vol. 32) in 1863, and reproduced by J. W. Jones (London, 1929) with an introduction by R. Temple. The latest edition of the Italian original text is that by P. Giudici (Milan, 1928), with a good introduction.

[5] Vartema himself has "1503", and this date has been accepted without discussion by all those who have written on the history of the European discovery of Arabia. But it cannot possibly be correct. Vartema writes that he entered Mecca on May 18, and that the ceremonies of the pilgrimage began on the 23 (*"a xxiii de Maio comincio ditto perdono in nel prefato tempio"*, p. 116 of Giudici's edition). As is well known, the yearly solemnity at Mecca begins on the afternoon of the 7th day of the month Dhu'l-hijja, and this day corresponded to May 23 in the Christian year 1504 (Islamic year 909), whereas in 1503 the 23d day of May corresponded to the 26th of Dhulqa'da 908, *i.e.*, eleven days before the beginning of the pilgrimage. Therefore, Vartema was in Mecca in 1504.

queror of India, Affonso de Albuquerque. Cast by a storm on the southern coast of Arabia, in the year 1509, he fell into the hands of the sultan of Aden and, after a long captivity, was rescued by another sultan (probably the Mamluk ruler of Egypt), who conquered Aden and freed the prisoner, but only in order to take him into his own custody. In 1520, Quadra, whom everybody believed to be dead or lost, suddenly appeared at Hormuz, the Portuguese-held port on the Persian Gulf. To his astonished countrymen he declared that he had been compelled to become a Moslem and had taken part in the pilgrimage of Mecca, then had crossed the whole peninsula of Arabia, sharing the hard life of the nomadic tribes in the desert, and finally, having succeeded in escaping the close watch of his Arab hosts, had reached the Portuguese colony. In atonement for his apostasy, Quadra became a Franciscan monk.[6] We have no means of judging the trustworthiness of Quadra's story; if it happens to be true, he would have been the second Christian visitor to Mecca, and, incidentally, a remote forerunner of Captain Philby in crossing Arabia from coast to coast.

The story of Vincent Leblanc, a Frenchman under whose name an account of the most romantic adventures was published in 1570, is so full of inconsistencies and nonsense that it deserves little or no credit.[7] Whether Leblanc was at Mecca, as he claims, or not, what he is able to tell us about the Holy City is entirely dependent upon Vartema, and, therefore, deprived of any value.

None of the few Christians who visited Mecca in the seventeenth century, with a single exception to which we shall come later, supplies us with any valuable information, geographical, sociological or historical.

A Christian visitor to Mecca during the sixteenth century, about whom nothing was known before, has suddenly

[6] See Hieronymus Osorius (Jerónimo Osorio), *De rebus Emmanuelis Regis Lusitaniae*, books V and XII (p. 190 and 446-48 in the edition Lisbon, 1571), on whom Wadding, *Annales Fratrum Minorum*, 16, 96-97 is entirely dependent; *Commentarios do grande Afonso Dalbuquerque capitan genral que foy das Indias Orientaes . . . . novamente emendados e acrescentados pelo mesmo auctor* (*i.e.*, Albuquerque's son), Lisbon, 1576, p. 479-80 (the first edition appeared in 1557). Comp. also A. Kammerer, *La Mer Rouge, l'Abyssinie et l'Arabie depuis l'antiquité*, Cairo, 1935, 2, 199, and C. Beccari, *Rerum Aethiopicarum Scriptores Occidentales*, 9, 353-54.

[7] *Les voyages fameux du sieur Vincent Le Blanc Marseillais qu'il a faits depuis l'âge de douze ans jusqu'à soixante ans aux quatres parties du monde . . . . publiés par* Coulon, Paris, 1649 (another edition appeared at Troyes in 1658).

emerged from obscurity. The peculiar form which he gave to his report on his experiences, as well as the way in which it was discovered, are so unusual as to remind us of a "mystery story", with the sole difference, however, that not all the veils of the mystery can be lifted, as regularly happens in such novels.

While I was engaged in preparing a catalogue of the Arabic manuscripts in the Vatican Library, I came across a thin volume,[8] containing a small section of the Koran (sūrah 25:21 to 26:109), namely the 37th part of a set of sixty.[9] The manuscript, so far as may be judged from the script, belongs to the end of the 9/15th century or to the beginning of the 10/16th. Its binding, a very simple one of cardboard with leather back and edges, may be some decades younger.[10]

The fly-leaves at the beginning of the MS. (fol. 1 and 2 of the present numeration) are covered with a series of European numerals arranged in groups of varying size, each of them separated from the next by a dot. That it was code writing appeared obvious, and since the figures were by a European hand, it was also obvious that it was the work of a Westerner, who had owned the Arabic Koran.

Decoding the cryptogram proved a trifling task, since the code was childish. The figure 1 corresponded to *a*, 2 to *b*, etc., with two alternative signs, arbitrarily chosen, for *a*, besides the figure 1, and another one for *e* besides the figure 5. The language of the text so naïvely concealed under the cryptographic script proved to be Portuguese, rather archaic in its spelling and vocabulary, and the text itself a short but substantial report on a journey from Cairo to Mecca and Medina and back, performed by an unnamed traveler between May and September 1565.

Here follows a faithful reproduction of the singular document, with an English translation. The peculiar item-

[8] G. Levi Della Vida, *Elenco dei manoscritti arabi islamici della Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana*, Vatican City 1935, p. 3 (Studi e Testi, 67). The entry is: *"Vaticanus Arabicus* 217".

[9] As is known, the Koran is divided, for liturgical purposes, into thirty sections (*ḥizb*, plural *aḥzāb*), and manuscript copies of it were often made up into thirty or sixty thin volumes, which were more handy than a single thick volume.

[10] The blank leaves at the beginning and the end are of European paper, a feature which does not appear in Oriental manuscripts before the middle of the 16th century.

ization of the paragraphs has been omitted, since it would have been difficult to reproduce it in print.

Partimos do Cairo a .9. do mes de maio .1565. fomos a Birca .3. legoas do dito Cairo onde estiuemos ate os .28. do dito. Neste dia partimos para Agirut, castelo e agoada, que esta do Sues legoas duas a os .30. pola manham.

No ultimo a tarde partimos para Nahel castelo e agoada e chegamos ali a os dous de junho.

Daqui partimos logo para Acaba castelo e agoada na faldra do Mar Roso onde chegamos a os .5. de dito.

A os .7. partimos para Magara Zaib agoada e chegamos ali a os .9.

No mesmo dia partimos para Iumilcasab e chegamos no mesmo dia ia tarde.

A os [.9. *crossed out*] .10. dez partimos para Muela castelo, ou Birihen, e chegamos ali a os .11.

A os .13. partimos para Eslem castelo onde chegamos a os .15.

No mesmo dia partimos para Jhambo, a primera tera de Zarif da Meca, e chegamos ali a os .22. do dito mes.

A os .26. partimos para Bedri onde chegamos a os .28. Aqui Ilnur tabalcanaca.

No mesmo dia partimos para Rabacha e chegamos no ultimo de dito mes. Aqui se despem e uan nus ate a Meca.

No mesmo dia jha tarde partimos daqui para Bedri Honen, onde chegamos ao primero de jhulho.

No segundo partimos para a Meca e chegamos a os .3.

Partimos de Meca para Medinatelnabi a os .23. de jhulho e chegamos ao primero de agosto.

P (a)rtimos dali para o Cairo a .4. de agosto e chegamos a Birca aos .4. de setembro.

Da Birca ate Agirut castelo nam ha agoada.

De Agirut ate Nahel castelo nam ha agoada.

De Nahel ate Acba castelo nam ha agoada.

De Acba a Muela ou os Dos Poços ha .2. agoadas, Magara Zaib e a Iumilcasab.

De Muela ate Eslem nam á agoada.

De Eslem ate Jhambo há .4. agoadas, Igiú, Acsa, Elhora e Nabta.

De Jhiambo ate Bedri nam há agoada.

De Bedri ate a Meca, se uai sempre de lugar en lugar.

De Bedri a Rabac, de Rabac a Bedri Honen, de Bedri Honen a Coles, de Coles a Batanamaru, de Batanamaru á Meca.

A mesquita da Meca hé muito grande e quadrada, tem em cada quadro .3. naues.

O foro he de madeira ia uelha, os arcos das naues se sustentan sobre colunas, alguas de marmore e oudras de pedra.

Tem a mesquita .99. portas e seis alcorons.

No uam da mesqu (i)ta esta a casa de Abraham, hé quadrada, tem em cada quadro .10. pasos.

Em hum dos quadros desta casa esta a pedra negra, tem de comprido hum palmo e meio de largo.

Está esta casa rodeada de colunas de metal .31. asentadas sobre dados de pedra adintados, hum de uermelho e outro de branco.

"We left Cairo on May 9, 1565 and went to Birca,[11] three leagues from the said Cairo, where we stayed until the 28th of the said month. On that day we left for Agirut,[12] a castle and a watering place, which is two leagues from Suez, and arrived there on the morning of May 30.

"The last day of May we left for Nahel,[13] a castle and a watering place, and arrived there on June 2.

"We left there at once for Acaba,[14] a castle and a watering place on the shore of the Red Sea, and arrived there on the 5th.

"On the 7th, we left for Magara Zaib,[15] a watering place, where we arrived on the 9th. The same day, we left for Iumilcasab[16] and arrived late in the night on the same day.

"On the 10th, we left for the castle of Muela, or Birihen,[17] where we arrived on the 11th.

"On the 13th, we left for the castle of Eslem,[18] where we arrived on the 15th.

"The same day, we left for Jhambo,[19] the first locality in the territory of the Zarif[20] of Mecca, and arrived there on the 22d of the same month.

"The 26th, we left for Bedri,[21] where we arrived on the 28th. Here is Ilnur tabalcanaca.[22]

"On the same day, we left for Rabacha[23] and arrived there on the last day of the month. Here people [*i.e.*, the pilgrims] undress and go naked until Mecca.[24]

"The same day, late in the night, we left from there for Bedri Honen,[25] where we arrived on the first of July.

"On the second, we left for Mecca and arrived there on the third.

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[11] Al-Birka, east of Cairo, where the pilgrims gathered before they began their formal march over the so-called "darb al-ḥajj al-miṣrī", the route of the Egyptian pilgrimage. This route, which has been minutely described in several works, both by Arab authors and by European travelers and geographers, was discontinued at the beginning of the 19th century, when the sea-route was generally adopted. The pilgrims sail now from Suez and land at Jidda, the port of Mecca, whence they reach the Holy City by camel, or even, in the last few years, by a regular bus service.

[12] 'Ajrūd.

[13] an-Naḥl.

[14] 'Aqaba, the well known port on the site of the ancient Aila of the classical authors, and near Ezion Geber, the city of Solomon.

[15] Maghārat (or Maghā'ir) Shu'aib, "the cave (or caves) of Shu'aib". The Islamic tradition located there the tomb of the Midianite priest Jethro, Moses' father-in-law, who is called Shu'aib in the Koran.

[16] 'Uyūn al-qaṣab "the Springs of reed". Possibly, the author misread in his own manuscript 'iumil' instead of 'uiunil'.

[17] Muwailiḥ (Mwēliḥ in modern pronunciation), and el-Bir'ain (el-Bir'ēn in modern pronunciation). The latter word means "the two wells".

[18] Ezlem, a small port on the Red Sea.

[19] Yanbo', the well known port of Medina.

[20] As is known, the whole territory of Hejaz, although nominally under the sovereignty of the Ottoman sultans, actually was ruled by the dynasty of the Benī Qatāda, who claimed to descend from Mohammed's daughter Fatima and the caliph Ali, and bore, therefore, the honorific title of Sherif.

[21] Bedr, the place of the first battle fought by Mohammed against the Meccans, in the second year after the Hijra (623 A.D.).

[22] Or rather "amīr aṭ-ṭabalkhānāt" (the author coded 9 10 12 19 16 instead of 9 10 1 11 9 16), *i.e.*, the official of the Ottoman government who took command of the pilgrim caravan at the approach to Mecca, and usually went ahead of it as far as the borders of the Ḥaram, the sacred territory around Mecca. The word *ṭabalkhānāt* is the plural of *ṭabalkhāna* or *ṭablkhāna*, literally "drum house", and thence "musical band" (see *Encyclopedia of Islam*, Supplement, p. 217-22). In the Mamluk state organization, which was taken over by the Ottomans, the amirs belonging to the higher ranks, when on duty, were preceded by a band of musicians.

[23] ar-Rābigh, on the Red Sea.

[24] The total nudity of the pilgrims, as stated by our author, is a slight exaggeration. The pilgrims, entering the Ḥaram, take off their regular dress and assume the so-called *iḥrām*, a garb consisting of two pieces of white cloth, one girdled around their loins and the other wrapped over their shoulders. This feature, as so many others in the Pilgrimage, is a survival of Preislamic Arabia.

[25] Bedr Ḥunain (Ḥonēn in modern pronunciation), where another battle between Mohammed and the Meccans took place in the year 8 after the Hijra.

"On July 23d, we left Mecca for Medinatelnabi, and arrived on August the first.[26]

"On August the fourth, we left for Cairo, and arrived at Birca on September the fourth.

"From Birca to the castle of Agirut, there are no watering places.[27] From Agirut to the castle of Nahel, there are no watering places. From Nahel to the castle of Acba, there are no watering places. From Acba to Muela, or The Two Wells,[28] there are two watering places: Magara Zaib and Iumilcasab. From Muela to Eslem, there are no watering places. From Eslem to Jhambo, there are four watering places: Igiú, Acsa, Elhora and Nabta. From Jhiambo to Bedri, there are no watering places. From Bedri to Mecca, one īs always going from one place to another: from Bedri to Rabac, from Rabac to Bedri Honen, from Bedri Honen to Coles, from Coles to Baťanamaru, from Batanamaru to Mecca.

"The Mosque of Mecca is very large, and square; in each of its sides are three naves.

"The ceiling is of wood, already worn out; the arches of the naves are supported by columns, some of marble and others of stone.

"The Mosque has ninety-nine gates and six minarets.

"In the interior of the Mosque is located the House of Abraham, which is square, and measures ten paces on each side.

"In one of the walls of this house is the Black Stone, the length of which is one palm and the width half a palm.

"This house is encircled by thirty-one columns of metal, set on indented stone bases (dice), alternatively red and white."

In spite of its brevity, this itinerary is extremely accurate. Every station and every watering place on the way through the Sinai peninsula, along the coast of the Red Sea and in the mountainous gorges between ar-Rābigh and Mecca is painstakingly recorded, and the dates of arrival and departure are carefully given. The data supplied by the unknown traveler tally with the information which we possess from other sources about the old road of the "Egyptian Pilgrimage". Most of the passages of ancient Arab writers and Eu-

[26] July 3-23, 1565 corresponds to Dhu'l-ḥijja 4-24, 972 of the Islamic era. As stated above, the pilgrimage rites begin on Dhu'l-ḥijja 7 and last until Dhu'l-ḥijja 13. There is no doubt, therefore, that our unknown traveler took part in the rites in due time. As most pilgrims do, after having spent some days at Mecca (where many indulge in rest and pleasure after the hardship of the religious performances), he went to Medina to visit the Prophet's tomb and left for Cairo three days later. The route which he followed, although he does not mention it, must have been the same as that which was usually followed by the pilgrims on their way back: from Medina westward to Yanbo', and from there to Cairo by the road they had already traveled in the opposite direction.

[27] This paragraph appears to have been written as a direction for future travelers. Besides the places already mentioned, the author painstakingly points out all watering places met in his journey. Igiu, Acsa, Elhora and Nabta are, in correct transliteration, el-Wejh, el-Akra' (obviously, the figure 17=s in the code is a slip, and 16=r was meant), el-Haurā' (el-Ḥōra in modern pronunciation) and an-Nabṭ or an-Nabaṭ (in Thévenot's itinerary, about which more will be said further on, they are transliterated Kalaat [*i.e.*, *Qal'at*, "fortress"] el Voudge, Ekre, Hhawre, Nabta). Coles is Khulaiṣ (Kholēṣ in modern pronunciation), Batanamaru is Baṭn Marr (see Yāqūt, 1,667 and the older geographers), a place which later (already at Thévenot's time) changed its name to Wādī Fātima.

[28] *i.e.*, el-Bir'ēn (see above, note 17).

ropean travelers referring to that road are quoted and discussed by Alois Musil in his standard work *The Northern Heǧâz* (American Geographical Society: *Oriental Explorations and Studies,* No. 1), New York, 1926, p. 321-26, which may be supplemented by the map facing p. 58 in Bernhard Moritz's *Arabien,* Hanover, 1923, and by the numerous Arabic "Guides to the Pilgrimage", among which I will quote but one, the *Mash'al al-maḥmal* by Mohammed aṣ-Ṣâdiq Bey, printed at Cairo in 1297/1880, p. 7-23. A close parallel to the Portuguese Pilgrim's itinerary is afforded by the short itinerary which Jean Thévenot (1633-1667) reproduced in his *Voyages* (Paris 1689), 1, 476-79 and which he had obtained from "a Tunisian Prince who made that journey while I was in Cairo". The stations mentioned there are exactly the same as those which occur in our document, with only a few additions and omissions, and the distances, given in hours, closely tally with the Pilgrim's statements.[29]

One of the most interesting passages in our Pilgrim's report is his short but accurate description of the great mosque of Mecca and of the Ka'ba, which is located in the centre of the wide courtyard of the Mosque. Even the most trifling details are exact, and provide us with the guarantee that the author is describing what he had actually seen; as, *e.g.,* when he remarks that the wooden rafters in the ceiling of the porch are in a state of decay. Now we know that between the years 1572 and 1577 (979-84 after the Hijra), a few years after the Portuguese had seen them, the rafters actually were removed

[29] Besides Thévenot, Musil p. 325 quotes the Travels of Gabrielle Brémond (*"Viaggi,* edit. by G. Corra, pp. 163 f."). This mysterious traveler is said by the author of the article in *Biographie Universelle* 5, 467 (on which depends *Nouvelle Biographie générale,* 7, 317) to have been a woman, which would be a rare and interesting fact indeed—if it were true. I am strongly suspicious, however, that all biographic information in *Biographie Universelle* is drawn from no other source than the work itself, the complete title of which is *Viaggi fatti nell'Egitto Superiore, et Inferiore, nel monte Sinay . . . . quello della Meka e del sepolcro di Moametto . . . . opera del Signor* Gabrielle Brémond *Marsigliese da lui scritta in Francese, e fatta tradurre in Italiano, data in luce da* Giuseppe Corvo [not Corra, as Musil has] *libraro,* Rome 1679 (the first edition, which I have not succeeded in seeing, was published in 1673). In spite of the French surname Brémond, no other edition than the Italian seems to have ever existed, and the given name Gabrielle represents an obsolete Italian spelling of the man's name Gabriele (Gabriel), not the French feminine name Gabrielle. Finally, the "Travels in Upper Egypt, etc." are but a plagiarism of Thévenot's book, the first edition of which appeared in 1664. My conclusion (which ought to be corroborated by a thorough inquiry, which I had no leisure to make) is that Gabriel Brémond never existed, or, if he did, his only travels were done across the pages of Thévenot. [Later.—I have recently come across a passage which proves that Gabriel Brémond actually existed. Ludovico Marracci, the author of the *Prodromus ad Refutationem Alcorani* (Padua 1698), writes (*Vita et res gestae a Mahumeto,* p. 29 *b*): "The reader will not be displeased if I report here what was written about this temple (*i.e.,* the Ka'ba) and Mohammed's tomb by Gabriel Bremond, of Marseille, an intimate friend of mine . . . ." (follows a long quotation from Brémond's book). I wonder if our pseudo-traveler should not be identified with an adventurer and novelist of the same name, who ended his life in Holland.]

by the Turkish sultans Selim II and Murad III and replaced by a set of vaulted domes of masonry.[30] The remark on the variety of the material in the columns of the same porch is also correct; of the 545 columns, 301 are of marble and 244 of a reddish stone.[31] The minarets, which our author reckons as six, are now seven, but one of them is recent in its building.[32] The only statement which fails to match the real facts is the number of the gates in the porch; they are actually twenty-five, not ninety-nine. As a matter of fact, there are many more doorways, since almost all gates are double; however, they do not reach a figure higher than forty-four.[33] Strangely enough, Vartema has made the same mistake, and affirms that the gates are "ninety or one hundred", and another description of Mecca, almost contemporary with the Portuguese, to which we shall come later, gives the same number of ninety-nine. I must acknowledge my inability to offer an explanation of this same misstatement in three independent sources.

The "House of Abraham" is of course the Ka'ba. The worship of that ancient heathen shrine had been so deeply rooted in the hearts of the inhabitants of Mecca that Mohammed did not dare to wipe it out completely, and embodied some of its features in his new religion, pretending that the Ka'ba had been built originally by Abraham and consecrated to the worship of the true God. The rectangular block of masonry, of which it consists, actually is forty feet long and thirty-three feet wide; the estimate of the Pilgrim, ten paces, is practically correct. Such, too, is his estimate of the Black Stone, the meteorite immured in the eastern wall of the Ka'ba, which is an object of deep veneration to the Moslems. The statement concerning the "thirty-one columns of metal" around the Ka'ba is no longer correct for the present time; but in the past there were there thirty-one metal poles,[34] which our author improperly calls columns.

[30] See Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, 1, 16, and compare Rutter, *The Holy Cities of Arabia*, 1, 241.
[31] See, among others, Ibrāhīm Rif'at Pāshā, *Mir'āt al-ḥaramain*, Cairo 1344/1925, 1, 228; Rutter, 1, 227-29.
[32] Rif'at Pāshā, 1, 235; Snouck Hurgronje, 1, 13. Comp. Gaudefroy-Demombynes, p. 131.
[33] Rif'at Pāshā, 1, 229-34; Rutter, 1, 225 (p. 253 the total number is given as twenty-four, which is hardly correct).
[34] See below, note 44.

The authenticity of this singular document in the Vatican manuscript is above any suspicion of forgery. Its author must actually have traveled over the road which he describes and have witnessed the pilgrimage in the Moslem year 972. In spite of its extreme conciseness, his record is one of the most correct of those which were written previous to the 19th century on the mosque of Mecca and the way to it. It is, furthermore, the oldest of all of them so far as the itinerary is concerned. Vartema's description is full of details on everyday life, and is personal and humorous in its style, but its statements are too often vague or inaccurate. The Italian adventurer had little or no interest in geography and failed to report carefully on the stations on his road, which, incidentally, was entirely different from the road followed by the Portuguese Pilgrim, since Vartema came from Damascus and followed the so-called Syrian Pilgrimage Route.

Who then was the Pilgrim? and how did he, a Western European and undoubtedly a Christian by birth, happen to mix in the great Moslem festival, strictly forbidden to unbelievers? Since I am unable to answer these questions in full, I can offer my readers nothing better than a cautious hypothesis.

Since the end of the fifteenth century, when the Portuguese discovered the sea route of the Cape of Good Hope and were striving for the conquest of India, they were continually under threat of being cut off from that route by the navy of the Mamluk sultans, who ruled Egypt, Syria and Arabia and controlled the Red Sea. After the Mamluk dynasty was destroyed by the Ottoman sultan Selim I in 1517, the Turks inherited its foreign policy in the Indian Ocean, and war between them and the Portuguese was practically uninterrupted all along the coasts of that ocean. One might suppose that the unknown Pilgrim was a disguised agent of the king of Portugal, attempting to gain information about the enemy's country. Attractive as it may appear, this hypothesis does not seem to me to be very probable. On the one hand, the road from Cairo to Mecca was of no strategic value to the Portuguese; on the other hand, it is hard to believe that an

achievement such as that of penetrating into the very heart of Arabia would have remained unknown, if it had been accomplished by royal command.

Another hypothesis seems to me to deserve more credit. During the continual fights between Turks and Portuguese, prisoners were taken on both sides; moreover, the Turkish corsairs and Barbary pirates in the Mediterranean were attacking the Christian ships as often as they could reach them, and the captives regularly were sold as slaves all over the Moslem world. Cairo was one of the most important emporia of that infamous trade. We possess actual evidence of Portuguese slaves living in Cairo.[35] We shall probably not be mistaken, therefore, in supposing that the Pilgrim was a prisoner who had become a slave. As many did before and after him, he had become a convert to Islam, or had pretended to become one, and in such quality accompanied his master in a journey to Mecca.

His case is far from being unique. Some other Christian slaves were induced by their ill fate to become unfaithful to their religion, and, through a feigned conversion, were given the opportunity of seeing what very few Europeans have ever seen, the two holy cities of Islam and the Moslem pilgrimage. In the first decade of the seventeenth century, a young German from Nuremberg, Hans Wild by name, having enlisted as a soldier, was taken by the Turks in Hungary and finally got into the Cairo market; later on, he made the same journey as the Portuguese Pilgrim and wrote an interesting account of it, after he had been rescued and had come back to Germany in 1611.[36] Some years later, we hear about a Venetian boy (his name seems to have been Marco de Lombardo) who was captured while crossing the Mediterranean with his uncle, a sea captain. When he was twenty-three, his Moslem master sent him to Mecca from Cairo as an escort to his own son whom he wanted to perform the pilgrimage. He

[35] During the years 1561 and 1562 the Jesuit mission at Cairo was attempting to rescue some of them (see A. Rabbath, *Documents inédits pour servir à l'histoire du Christianisme en Orient*, 1, 229, 238, 247-48, 255, 267-68, 270, 276, 295).

[36] Wild's personal narrative of his adventures has been printed several times. I have only seen the Latin translation published as an appendix (pp. 130-154) to an edition of the travels of Benjamin of Tudela (Beniamini Tudelensis *Itinera ex versione* Benedicti Ariae Montani. *Subiectae sunt descriptiones Mechae et Medinae-alnabi ex itinerariis* Ludovici Vartomanni [*i.e.*, Vartema] *et* Iohannis Wildii, Leipzig 1764).

left no record of his journey, and all we know about it is told by the French missionary Eugene Roger, who in 1646 published a description of the Holy Land, where he had met the young Marco, then a grown man.[37] The foolish story which the Venetian told the good father about Mohammed's flying tomb at Mecca arouses a strong suspicion that he was only an impostor. Finally, in 1678, more than a century after the Portuguese, an Englishman whose name was Joseph Pitts was captured by an Algerian pirate when he was only fifteen or sixteen, and after several years of captivity was taken by his master on a pilgrimage to Mecca and Medina, via Egypt. His account of that journey, which has been printed several times, has been praised as "accurate" by such an authority as Sir Richard Burton.

In 1552, about sixty officers and soldiers were taken prisoners by the Turks when these conquered the Portuguese-held port of Masqat, on the Western coast of the Gulf of Oman. They were taken to Cairo, where some twenty of them soon died; some others were rescued in 1564, and others seem to have remained in Egypt in slavery. Among them may have been our Pilgrim. Unfortunately, we do not know the names of all the Masqat prisoners, but only of eight among them, the most prominent and the best born. The Pilgrim appears to have been a man of keen intelligence and good education; his interest in geography is shown by the accurate record which he kept of all stations on his way. We would not be surprised to find such qualities in someone who had been on duty in the remote regions of Asia and had gone through various experiences traveling in little-known countries. Of course the suggestion which I am making here has only a moderate claim to likelihood. I may mention that it was proposed to me by Father G. Schurhammer, the Jesuit scholar who is the outstanding authority on the history of Portuguese colonization in Asia during the sixteenth century.[38]

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[37] *La Terre Saincte ou description topographique tres-particulière des Saincts Lieux, et de la Terre de Promission . . . . par* F. Eugene Roger Recollet, Missionaire de Barbarie, Paris 1646, p. 236-37.

[38] Father Schurhammer quoted as his sources: an unpublished letter of the Jesuit Miguel da Nobrega to St. Ignace, dated from Cairo, August 2, 1553 (in the Archives of the Jesuits at Rome, Epistolae Selectae, 60); Diogo do Couto, *Da Asia*, X 1-2 (p. 408-415 in the 1781 edition); *Itinerarios da India a Portugal por terra, revistos por* Baião, Coimbra 1923, p. 136.

It is not hard to understand why our document was written in code.[39] Possibly its author was afraid that the Moslems among whom he was living might have suspected him of treacherous plans if they had discovered that he was keeping a record of his journey. Possibly, too, the record was written down after the Pilgrim's return to Europe and he did not want his countrymen to know that he had been at Mecca as a Moslem. The Catholic Church was rather inquisitive and harsh, at that time, towards repentant converts, and the example of Quadra, who had been compelled to spend the rest of his days as a Franciscan monk, may have deterred our Pilgrim from disclosing his exceptional experience. Anyhow, we can be practically sure that the pilgrimage of the year 1565 was one of the last events of his captivity, and that he soon succeeded in going back to the Christian world, either through ransom or through escape. From the study of certain old catalogues of the Oriental manuscripts in the Vatican Library,[40] I have drawn the conclusion that the Arabic MS. no. 217 entered the Library between 1569 and 1574: therefore, its owner must have sold it or given it away between 1565 and 1574. We cannot know, of course, whether it went straight from his hands into the custody of the Pope's librarians or whether it passed through the hands of other people.

Since many documents in the State Archives of Portugal and other European countries as well as in the Archives of the Vatican and of various religious orders are still unstudied, it is not impossible that, by chance, some new light may be thrown in the future on the Portuguese Pilgrim.

A number of striking similarities to his report are found in a document which, although printed more than three centuries ago, has been overlooked by all those who have written upon the European penetration of Arabia until Professor Chew pointed out its value.[41] In Hakluyt's *Prin-*

[39] I may mention in this connection that Fynes Moryson, an English traveler in the Levant in the years 1595-97, advises future travelers keeping a record of their journey that, for better protection from the casual stranger, these notes may be written in ciphers (*Itinerary*, published in 1617, quoted by Chew, *The Crescent and the Rose*, p. 35).

[40] G. Levi Della Vida, *Ricerche sulla formazione del più antico fondo dei manoscritti orientali della Biblioteca Vaticana*, Vatican City 1939, p. 172-73 (Studi e Testi, 92).

[41] *The Crescent and the Rose*, p. 427, 28.

cipal Navigations (published 1598-1600) we find a very detailed description of Alexandria and Cairo, together with a report on the pilgrimage route from there to Mecca and a description of this city and Medina. This account, which covers thirty-six pages,[42] is anonymous and bears no external signs of its origin and time of composition. Hakluyt assigned it the date "A.D. c. 1580", and in fact it must have been written between 1574 and 1595, since it refers to Murad III as the ruling Turkish sultan. Chew saw in it "an amalgam of earlier accounts, including, it may be, information imparted by Hajjis to some English traveller in the Levant". In my opinion, however, not only is the narrative of one piece, but it clearly appears to have been translated from an Italian original. Several words, especially proper names, are given an Italian form, since evidently the translator did not know how to convert them properly into English. Such are: "la colonna di Pompeio" (p. 330), Rossetto *(ibid.)*, Faraone (p. 331), Fontechi [*i.e.*, Arabic *funduq*, "warehouse"] *(ibid.)*, Damiata (p. 333), Serifo (p. 351), Emyri *(ibid.)*, Mosquita *(ibid.)*, Terratza [*i.e.*, "terrazza"] (p. 353), Pascha di Ramazaco [*sic*, through a misspelling or a misprint, instead of Ramazan, the Turkish pronunciation of Ramaḍān] (p. 354), etc.[43] On p. 345 the author mentions "a little chest made of pure Legmame made in likenesse of the arke of the olde Testament" (comp. p. 362: "a tombe . . . . of Legmame"); the word Legmame, which is not found in the Oxford Dictionary, is likely to be a mistransliteration (or perhaps a popular alteration) of the Italian "legname", lumber. The Venetians, as a political body, are referred to as "the gentlemen Venetians", which looks like a translation of the term "i signori Veneziani", the current designation of the members of the Republic during the time of its power. The "Magnifico Daniel Barbaro first Consull" is mentioned (p. 338) without any further reference to his nationality, as if it were evident that he could only be the Venetian consul. Finally,

[42] Hakluyt, 5, 329-65 (Glasgow edition, 1904).

[43] Immediately after, the author mentions the day of "Bine Bairam, that is to say The Great Feast". "Bine" must be a misspelling or a misprint for "Biuc", *i.e.*, the Turkish word *büyuk*, "great". Obviously, either the Italian original or the manuscript of the English translation failed to spell correctly some of the foreign names and words which are found in the document. Another example of misspelling is 'Amni' p. 358, instead of 'Amin'.

the famous obelisk at al-Maṭariyya (the ancient Heliopolis), is compared to "that at Rome" *(ibid.)*, and the houses of Mecca are said to be "built like the houses in Italie" (p. 352). If the author was not a Venetian, which I feel inclined to assume, he surely was an Italian who had some connection with Venice or intended his report to be read there.

The description of the road to Mecca and Medina, of the two holy cities and of the pilgrimage, covers twenty-five pages, and is, therefore, incomparably more extended and detailed than the Portuguese's short itinerary. Nevertheless, some features of the two works are practically identical, such as the stations on the road (the spelling, however, is somewhat different) and many other details.[44] Of course, the Hakluyt text was by no means written by the Portuguese, and the reports of two independent observers of the same object may well coincide. However, since the Portuguese either went to Italy after having been rescued from his captivity, or at least came into contact with Italians (how could we otherwise explain that the manuscript which he owned found its way into the Vatican Library?), it would not be unlikely, although a definite proof is impossible, that some kind of relationship may exist between the two documents.[45]

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[44] . . . . "certain castles found in the way, which bee these, namely Agerut, Nachel, Acba, Biritem, Muel, and Ezlem. . . . . The carovan departing from Birca untill Agerut findeth no water by the way to drinke, neither from Agerut till Nachel, nor from Nachel till Acba, but betweene Acba and Biritem are found two waters, one called Agium el Cassap, and the other Magaraxiaibi . . . ." (p. 346).—"Jehbir [a misspelling for Jenbo, *i.e.*, Yanbo'], which is the beginning and confine of the state and realme of Serifo the king of Mecca" (p. 348).—". . . ye great Mosquita . . . . is made in maner of a cloister, for that in the midst thereof separate from the rest, is the above sayd house of Abraham, also the galleries round about are in maner of 4. streetes, and the partitions which divide one street from the other are pillars, whereof some are of marble, and others of lime and stone. This famous and sumptuous Mosquita has 99. gates, and 5. steeples [the Pilgrim has six] . . . . ." (p. 352-53).—"The house of Abraham is also four square, and made of speckled stone, 20. paces high, and 40. in circuit. And upon one side of this house within the wall, there is a stone of a span long, and half a span broad. . . . . This house has without 31. pillars of brasse, set upon cubike or square stones being red and greene [the Pilgrim has white instead of green], the which pillars sustaineth not ought els save a threed of copper, which reacheth from one to another, whereunto are fastened many burning lampes. These pillars of brass were caused to be made by Sultan Soliman, grand-father to Sultan Amurath now Emperor" (p. 35). The Pilgrim and the Hakluyt text are the only western sources, so far as I know, to mention the thirty-one metal pillars around the Ka'ba.

[45] One may even suppose (although this hypothesis should be supported by more evidence than I am able to offer) that the Portuguese Pilgrim never succeeded in getting out of his captivity and coming back to Europe, and only presented his Koran to an Italian friend in Cairo, and supplied him with further information about his journey to Mecca.

THE AVICENNA LEGEND*

Précis of the Text

I.

It is a very unusual privilege, rarely accorded one individual, to acknowledge the encouragement, assistance, and helpfulness of three great scholars and teachers in the completion of these initial studies in the Avicenna legend: Duncan Black Macdonald, Miguel Asín y Palacios, and George Lyman Kittredge. I have yet in my travels and studies to find teachers as human, sympathetic, and understanding as these three men. Their scholarship, of course, stands without question. To my knowledge they never met, yet I think they would have enjoyed knowing one another, and the highest compliment that I can pay any one is to link his name with the others.

II.

During the last century, scholars have devoted considerable attention to the magicians and necromancers of Europe in the Middle Ages, to Scot, Virgil, Roger Bacon, Gerbert, and a host of lesser figures.[1] In few of these studies, however, has any scholar noted that such legends have equivalents, if not prototypes, in the East. It is quite probable that scholars were unaware of their existence. If aware of them, they saw in them no relationship to their own studies, no parallel worthy of note.

Scholars in the field of Arabic, faced with a vast and untouched body of literature, history, and philosophy, have turned their efforts to the more important task of organizing

* This is the first article by Dr. Emrich on the Avicenna Legend. Later articles may follow, on: "The Sources and Growth of the Legend; and "The Avicenna Legend: European Parallels".

[1] See particularly Arturo Graf, *Mitti, Leggende, e Superstizioni del Medio Evo* (Turin, 1893), 2 vv.; Domenico Comparetti, *Virgilio nel Medio Evo* (Firenze, 1896); the translation of Comparetti's work by E. F. M. Benecke, *Vergil in the Middle Ages* (London, 1895), and the reprint by Stechert (New York, 1929); John Webster Spargo, *Virgil the Necromancer* (Harvard University Press, 1934); J. Wood Brown, *An Enquiry into the Life and Legend of Michael Scot* (Edinburgh, 1897); and the references in Lynn Thorndike's *A History of Magic and Experimental Science in the Middle Ages* (New York, 1929) 2 vv. George Sarton's *Introduction to the History of Science* (Washington, 1927 *et seq.*) is invaluable for the mediaeval field and recognizes the importance of Arabic culture.

these studies, and have passed over the popular legends, the by-products of philosophical and historical fame. There are few references by Arabists to the legends associated with Suhrawardi, Ibn Sina (Avicenna), al-Ghazali, al-Farabi, and the lesser figures of the East.[2] Where there are few references, it goes without saying that there have been no extended studies of a legend woven around an Eastern necromancer. No translation of any legend has been made which would make the material available to European scholars for comparison with their own works. These articles are an attempt to turn the first furrow of that unbroken ground.

The legend of Avicenna has been selected for study, because it compares in extent with, if it does not actually surpass, the great legend of Europe—the one told of Virgil. Secondly, it is the one Eastern legend which has been referred to, if infrequently, by scholars of Arabic.[3] And finally, it retains in the Arabic speaking world today a vitality and circulation which is astonishing, far and away greater than that of any comparable legend in the whole history of the West.

III.†

1. According to our legend[4] Avicenna's birth takes place in the year 373 A.H. and his death in 454 A.H.[5] He is an extremely intelligent young man, "the Plato of his day," and students come from great distances to study under him. His perception of physical change is so acute that he can

[2] See D. B. Macdonald's article, "Sihr", *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, (Leyden, 1911-1934) Vol. IV, pp. 409-417 and Theodor Nöldeke, "Das Arabische Märchen vom Doctor und Garkock," *Abhandlungen der Königlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin* (Berlin, 1891) pp. 1-54.

[3] Macdonald, *loc. cit.;* Nöldeke, *loc. cit.;* Rene Basset, Review of Carra de Vaux' *Averroes (sic!), Revue de l'Histoire des Religions* (Paris) 1902, vol. 46, pp. 113-114. Brief fragments of the Avicenna legend which have been translated may be found in Barthelemy d'Herbelot, *Bibliothèque orientale, ou Dictionnaire universel* (La Haye, 1777-1779) vol. III, p. 322; E. J. W. Gibb, *The Story of Jewad* (Glasgow, 1884) pp. 300-302; Comte de Caylus, "Nouveaux Contes Orientaux" in *Oeuvres Badines, Completes du Comte de Caylus* (Amsterdam and Paris, 1787) vol. VII, p. 296-297; Ahmad ibn Hamdan Kathudi, called Suhaili, trans. J. P. Brown, *The Wonders of Remarkable Incidents and the Rarities of Anecdotes* (New York, 1850) pp. 153-155; and references in Victor Chauvin, *Bibliographie des Ouvrages Arabes* (Liege, 1892-1909) 12 vv.

† I have here provided the reader with a general account of the story from beginning to end, including reference to all elements likely to interest the folklorist. The paragraphing and numerical divisions are my own, intended only to facilitate future reference by myself and others to items which seem to have an independent folk entity.

[4] The text used is one given me by Dr. Macdonald, Cairo, n.d., termed by him "quite recent" and evidently of this century. It represents the full flowering of the legend. The author, compiler, and translator (there is a Turkish background for portions of the text) is Murad Mukhtar. Its full English title is: *The Life of Abu Ali Ibn Sina and His Brother Abu-l-Harith, and the Extraordinary Miracles and Strange Wonders Which They Performed.*

[5] These dates are, of course, incorrect. Since I shall, in studying the growth of the legend, refer to the factual data (i.e., dates, place names, personal names, etc.), I shall not burden the reader by noting them here.

sense the difference in his classroom when students place four pieces of paper under the four corners of his couch.

2. After teaching for some time, Avicenna decides "to fly in the cage of this transitory world" to see its wonders and to acquire more knowledge. He takes with him his brother, Abu-l-Harith. The two travel until they reach a city in the "uttermost parts of the Maghrib", where they hear a crier announcing that the annual opening of the cave which contains Pythagoras' secret books will take place on the morrow. Avicenna decides against immediately entering the cave, and instead devotes himself for a full year to preparing magic pellets of food, each one of which will sustain life for a month. With this supply, he and Abu-l-Harith enter the cave the following year and, while others are studying, hide in its recesses. When the cave is finally closed that night by its guardians, the brothers emerge from their hiding place, draw a magic circle on the ground, and prepare themselves for a full year of study of the magic secrets which the cave contains.

3. At the expiration of the year, Avicenna and Abu-l-Harith leave the cave on the day of its annual opening, frightening the residents of the city with their ghoul-like appearance. Neither has shaved and their fingernails have grown long. Guards at once seize the two and hale them before the sultan of the Maghrib who condemns them to immediate death, mistaking them for two evil magicians who have been terrorizing the country. Avicenna and Abu-l-Harith are forced to use the occult knowledge which they have obtained in the cave: Avicenna plunges into a pool of water and disappears, while Abu-l-Harith climbs towards the sky on a rope, leaving the people of the Maghrib "baffled and bewildered."

4. Abu-l-Harith appears in Baghdad and, finding it necessary to earn a living, creates forty servants from forty sticks of wood. These servants within the space of a week build a spacious and beautiful bath which is the wonder of Baghdad. The reigning Caliph visits the bath and perceives

that it is the work of magic; he summons Abu-l-Harith to the palace and requests that Abu-l-Harith perform some act of magic for him.

5. Now although he has never seen her, the Caliph is enamored of the daughter of the King of Sheba. Abu-l-Harith commands one of his servants to bring the girl to them, and before he has seated himself the servant returns with the princess. The Caliph is astonished at this evidence of Abu-l-Harith's power. He treats the girl kindly and sends messengers to the King of Sheba, informing him of what has happened, and requesting the hand of his daughter in marriage. The King at first desires to wage war against the Caliph, but on the advice of his vezirs makes peace and journeys to Baghdad. The two monarchs view the wonders of the bath and are entertained at a great feast by Abu-l-Harith. The Caliph marries the girl, and Abu-l-Harith is elevated to the post of immediate advisor to the Caliph. The King of Sheba returns home with great honor.

6. After plunging in the pool of water in the Maghrib, Avicenna appears in Cairo, where he is captivated by the youthful beauty of a dealer in sweets, Ali. He wishes to befriend the youth and to teach him alchemy or some other science more suited to him and more dignified than the selling of sweets. Ali is openly sceptical of Avicenna's promises. To prove his powers, Avicenna magically creates rare sweets on the trays in the shop, but Ali, without looking at them, seizes a stick to beat Avicenna. Avicenna, however, holds Ali by the shoulders, spins him around three times, and throws him from the shop.

Ali lies unconscious in the street, and when he awakes finds himself alone in a vast desert. He is captured by a band of slave traders and taken to Baghdad, where he hears the story of the bath and the magical transportation of the daughter of the King of Sheba. Reflecting that these events are similar to his own experience, he is permitted to relate his adventure to the Caliph and to Abu-l-Harith. Ali expresses a desire to return to Cairo. Abu-l-Harith orders him to close

his eyes and to place his feet upon his (Abu-l-Harith's) feet, and magically returns him to Egypt.

7. In the meantime, Avicenna has transformed a stick of wood into the likeness of Ali, which performs all Ali's work. As the real Ali returns, the false Ali becomes sick, dies, and is buried. The youth's mother is astonished when she sees her son at the door: "We have just buried you!" Ali relates his adventures, and his mother advises him in the future to be obedient and faithful to Avicenna, who is now at the shop. Ali returns to the store and is forgiven by the necromancer. A large mansion is built with an apartment in it for Avicenna, young men are hired to do the work of the shop, and Ali continues to sell his sweets in the streets of Cairo.

8. One day while Ali is selling his sweets, he glances towards a palace window and sees the daughter of the King of Cairo gazing upon him. He is commanded to enter the palace and she appears before him. They both are enamored of each other, but she retires, fearing to remain long in his presence. Ali returns to his shop lovesick, and begs Avicenna to bring the girl to him. After exacting promises from Ali that he will not transgress the laws of the Prophet, Avicenna agrees to do so.

That evening Avicenna repeats a charm capable of moving the thrones of the *djinn,* the mansion shakes slightly, and the girl appears. She and Ali talk of their love until morning, when the girl is magically returned to her bed. She reports these events to her father, who summons his vezirs. That night a heavy guard is maintained around the girl's room, but she is again magically transported to the sweet shop, passing through locked doors and walls without hindrance.

The King is distraught and undecided in his course of action, until he is advised by one of his vezirs to send for Abu-l-Harith, whose fame has spread until it has reached Cairo. This the King does, and both the messenger and Abu-l-Harith magically return from Baghdad in a single day. Avicenna, however, has placed *djinn* as spies in the palace of the King and is aware that he must now prepare to combat magic with magic.

9. Abu-l-Harith, unaware that he is faced with the superior magic of Avicenna, attempts to locate the place to which the girl is taken each night. He mixes fire, air, earth, and water, studies the geomantic signs, but finds only an island surrounded completely by fire. He consults the princess who informs him that she is taken nightly to a large mansion which is surrounded by a beautiful garden. Abu-l-Harith is puzzled. From a piece of felt, however, he magically creates a vulture which will tear the heart from the young man as the girl enters the room of the mansion. He also asks the girl to bring back to him pieces of whatever food may be in the room, so that he may determine in what country the mansion is located.

The princess is transported again that night, but Avicenna has created a counter magic which offsets the threat of the vulture. Ali turns a screw as the girl enters and the vulture becomes again a piece of felt. Avicenna has also placed on the table meat of the fish of Jonah, the bones of which are coral and the blood the color of dragon blood. The girl takes a piece of this with her as she is returned to the palace in the morning. From this Abu-l-Harith determines that the mansion is on an island of fire in India where such a fish is found, and advises the King to send a vezir there requesting the assistance of the King of India.

The vezir leaves, journeys great distances both day and night, and is received by the King of India. The King points out that there is such an island in his kingdom, but that it is surrounded by real fire—not magic fire—and that no one lives on it. He upbraids the vezir for his ignorance and sends him home without accepting the gifts which have been sent him by the King of Cairo.

10. One day Avicenna goes to bathe in one of the baths of Cairo. About to leave, he discovers that he has no money and offers in payment a fine handkerchief worth twice the amount of his bath. The bathkeeper, however, refuses to accept this and berates Avicenna harshly. To avenge himself for the indignities he has suffered, Avicenna steps outside the bath, murmurs a charm, and a cold wind sweeps through

the building. All the bathers leave, shivering and chattering, for the wind is as cold as that on the plains of Russia in winter time.

News of this occurrence reaches the ears of the King, who is informed by Abu-l-Harith that it is without doubt the work of the magician who is responsible for the nightly disappearance of his daughter. The princess also informs Abu-l-Harith that the mansion which she visits appears to be in Cairo, since she passes the shops of the city to reach it. A search is ordered for Avicenna, since the bathkeeper's description of the dervish tallies with that given by the girl.

11. As the search for Avicenna is intensified, the necromancer decides to allow himself to be taken. He is seized in a shop by a captain of the guards. On the way to the palace, however, Avicenna transforms himself to look like the captain who has arrested him. Before the King of Cairo both plead for their lives, and the counsellors are unable to distinguish between the two to determine which is the captain of the guard and which the magician. A judge who is present advises that both be crucified. The two protest loudly, but since Avicenna presents his case more eloquently, he is considered innocent and the captain is ordered executed. At the appointed place of execution, Avicenna takes on the likeness of the officer in charge who, in turn, is transformed to the likeness of the captain about to be crucified. These two are then both executed on Avicenna's orders. After death it is apparent to all that the real captain and officer of the guard have been killed, since neither body is retransformed into the likeness of the dervish, Avicenna. Avicenna then breathes a charm and disappears.

12. One day as Avicenna is passing the judge's court, he takes revenge for the double sentence of death which the judge had advised. Breathing a charm and remaining himself invisible, he causes the judge to imagine that he is at home in his harem. Other officers of the court imagine the same thing of themselves. Word of this reaches the King of Cairo, who comes and sees for himself the degradation of his court of law. Avicenna breathes a second charm and the

people of the court act normally, unaware that anything has happened. The King, however, orders the execution of the judge and this is immediately done.

13. Ali, not content with seeing the princess nightly, begs Avicenna to teach him the art of invisibility. Avicenna hesitates to do so, but finally accedes to the entreaties of the youth and shows him how he may become invisible through the use of *kohl*. Ali applies the *kohl* to his eyes and visits the girl at the palace. He lifts food from the table at which the princess and her maids are eating, forgetting that the food which he touches is not invisible. The maids see food rising in the air and are greatly frightened. The girl believes that Ali is a *djinn,* and reports these events to the King.

On the succeeding day when Ali again comes to the palace, the girl indicates to her maids that he is present. She herself withdraws and Ali is locked in the room. Abu-l-Harith orders a straw fire built near the door and as the smoke slowly fills the room, Ali's eyes water and the *kohl* loses its effect. He is seized by the guards and brought before the King.

Ali is sentenced to death, but as he is being led to the place of public execution, Avicenna sees his plight. The necromancer breathes a charm and Ali disappears from among his guards, leaving only the ropes which have bound him.

14. Frustrated again, Abu-l-Harith and the King now establish a night watch in the streets of Cairo and thus locate the shop which the girl visits. Both follow her and enter the room where Ali and Avicenna are seated. Abu-l-Harith fails to recognize his brother, and Avicenna repeats a charm which robs the two of their strength and then binds them firmly.

Taking a piece of string, Avicenna ties it to the ankle of one of the King's servants; the other end of the string he ties to a piece of straw. The servant now floats to the ceiling of the room, increasing in size, and the straw which is attached to the servant becomes a pillar which presses down upon Abu-l-Harith and the King as the servant continues to grow.

When their torment is such that they can endure it no longer, Avicenna attaches the string to their necks, and both Abu-l-Harith and the King fly into the sky to such a height that the earth is no longer visible. They descend slowly to a subterranean corridor through which they pass for a day and a night, arriving finally at a garden whose beauty is beyond description. Traversing the garden, they arrive at a door and pass through it to find themselves in the King's palace. Abu-l-Harith admits defeat at the hands of a magician greater than himself and recognizes that the necromancer must be his brother, Avicenna. The King scorns Abu-l-Harith and plans to use force to destroy Avicenna. Abu-l-Harith refuses to be in any way responsible for what may happen.

15. The King commands his army to surround the city of Cairo so that Avicenna cannot escape. Then he orders powerful officers of the guard to go to the sweet shop and seize Avicenna and Ali. When the first officer enters, Avicenna transforms him into a monkey. He draws a magic circle around Ali in order that no harm may come to him and goes himself through the city pretending to be an animal trainer with a new monkey. He offers a piece of silver to each person who hits the monkey with a stone. A second officer comes to the shop and Avicenna transforms him into a goat upon which the monkey rides. Successively he transforms other officers into a dog, a bear, a donkey, and other animals. When he has wearied them and when the animals grovel before him, he returns them to their human shapes and tells them to return to the King and relate what has befallen them.

16. The King is enraged and orders his army to attack the shop of the sweet dealer and burn it to the ground. Avicenna sees the army approaching and conjures up a great army which pours out of the shop and puts to flight the army of the King. Avicenna's forces attack the palace, and the streets of Cairo flow with blood. The King sues for peace and Avicenna withdraws his army. Later, when the people of the city look out upon the streets, they see no trace of bloodshed or conflict, and are amazed.

17. Abu-l-Harith advises the King to send a vezir to Avicenna's mansion, requesting the necromancer to discuss peace and the terms of marriage between Ali and the princess. Avicenna, aware of the vezir's visit, creates a palace whose wealth and magnificence is such that the vezir's master, the King, would not be fit to serve as a groom in its courts. Golden benches, mailed warriors, and jewel-encrusted swords dazzle the vezir's eyes. The vezir is well received, and before leaving is given a crown, a dagger, and a robe. Puffed with pride he returns to the King's palace where everyone laughs at him: the crown has changed to a watermelon rind, the dagger to the shin bone of a donkey, and the exquisite robe to an old piece of floor matting.

Abu-l-Harith now visits his brother, and entreats him to come to the King's palace. Avicenna repeats a charm over a stick which becomes a horse upon which there is a saddle studded with diamonds. He rides to the court and is received with great honor.

18. The King desires Avicenna to show them all some great wonder, since a few are still sceptical of his power. Avicenna produces a copper bowl and invites any who would see wonders to come forward and gaze into the water in the bowl.

The first Emir to look in the bowl discovers that he has been transformed into a woman and is alone on a wide desert. A Negro attacks him and he screams for help. Avicenna appears to him on the desert and promises he will release him from the clutches of the Negro if he agrees to remain silent about what he has seen and experienced, and assist Avicenna's appeal to the King when he requests the hand of the princess for his "son", Ali. The Emir promises to do so, and opens his eyes to find himself in the court gazing into the bowl of water. He sits down astonished, and remains silent about what he has seen.

19. The second Emir to look in the bowl finds that he has been changed to a black slave and is also alone on the desert. A band of Turks seize him, beat him unmercifully, and drive him before them until his feet are swollen. He cries aloud for help and Avicenna appears to him, promising

to release him upon the same two conditions. The Emir agrees. Avicenna drives the Turks off and the Emir takes refuge in a well, tumbling down its depth into the water. After splashing about, he opens his eyes, looks about, and finds himself in the court.

20. The third Emir is changed to a bear, suffering greatly from thirst in a wide desert. He is attacked by a band of twenty hunters and their dogs. Spears are thrown at him and the dogs rend his flesh. Avicenna appears, exacts the same promises from him, and orders him to close his eyes. When the Emir opens them, he finds himself in the court.

21. The fourth Emir finds himself naked in a wide desert. A ghoul is about to attack him when an eagle seizes him in its cruel claws and lifts him skyward. A second eagle fights with the first, and others also join the battle. The Emir is dropped now by one eagle, now seized by another until, suffering torments, he finally reaches the ground and seeks refuge in a well where there is a huge snake. The snake is ready to swallow him when Avicenna appears and releases him after exacting the two promises.

22. The fifth Emir also finds himself naked in a desert. Pursued by a monstrous camel, he runs until he comes to a deep abyss into which he plunges. The Emir lands in a tree at the base of which there is a serpent with mouth open ready to swallow him. He looks further and sees a huge rat gnawing the trunk of the tree. Above him is the camel. He cries for help and Avicenna appears and exacts the usual promises. Avicenna then shakes the tree and the poor Emir shouts aloud with fear as he falls into the serpent's mouth. He opens his eyes and finds himself in the King's palace.

23. The sixth Emir finds himself alone on a deserted seashore. A ship arrives, the men disembark and seize him, then sail away. While at sea, a great storm arises caused by an enraged sea monster which is about to destroy the vessel. The crew are ready to throw the Emir to the monster to appease it when Avicenna appears and frees him under the same conditions.

24. The King himself now looks in the bowl of water and finds himself naked in a deep well. He struggles in the water for a full night until he is finally rescued by a man who comes for water. At the top of the well he looks out over the desert and sees a vast host of armed men encamped. The King is treated well by the leaders and sleeps in one of their tents, but wakes in the morning to find a burning sun overhead and no sign of the army. Suffering intensely from the heat and thirst, he crosses the desert and is pursued by a deformed and frightful Negro. Escaping from him at night, the King is next attacked by two ghouls who fight between themselves over which shall eat him. The next day he seeks refuge in a forest, where a seven-headed serpent breathing fire attacks him. A fire started by the serpent's breath comes between the King and the serpent, temporarily saving the former. However, the fire is about to consume the King when Avicenna appears and asks him whether Ali may not marry his daughter. The King readily agrees. In Avicenna's hand is a copper bowl filled with water which he dashes in the King's face. The King opens his eyes to find himself in his palace surrounded by his Emirs.

The King and court promise to give the girl in marriage to Ali, but ask for time to prepare the things necessary for the festivities.

25. The King berates Abu-l-Harith for not having assisted him against Avicenna, and Abu-l-Harith out of shame resolves to trick his brother. He builds a bath similar to that in Baghdad, and Avicenna unsuspectingly enters it to bathe. Abu-l-Harith now breathes a charm and Avicenna finds himself transported to a wide desert, naked except for the bath towel which he holds. He breathes a charm, however, and the towel becomes a horse blanket. Dressed in this fashion, he approaches a great city at whose gates a geomancer is telling fortunes. Avicenna asks that his be told, but the geomancer abuses and insults him, and the necromancer—to avenge himself—conjures up a great army. The geomancer flees to the city and reports this to the King, a Magian and a magician, who conjures up an army of his own that defeats

Avicenna's. Avicenna is seized and bound, but escapes through a charm which he utters.

A pupil of the King's is ordered to find Avicenna and does so, but Avicenna refuses to accompany the youth to the King's palace. The pupil murmurs a charm and a great fire roars toward the shop where Avicenna is hidden. Avicenna, however, extinguishes the flames with a counter charm, and the youth finds himself swimming in a great sea. About to drown, he is saved by Avicenna. The youth, recognizing a greater power in Avicenna, becomes his servant and is converted to the Mohammedan faith.

The Magian king is aware of this and at night comes to the building and kills the youth, who is asleep in a front room. In a back room he sees forty people, all resembling Avicenna. Bewildered, he decides to kill them all, but Avicenna wakes and throws the King from the shop. Avicenna then buries the youth, repeats a charm, and arrives in Cairo on the following day.

26. While Avicenna has been absent, Ali has remained invisible, hiding from the King's guards. Abu-l-Harith, however, discovers him through the use of magic, and the young sweet-dealer is seized and brought before the King. The King desires his immediate death, but Abu-l-Harith warns the King that Avicenna is all-powerful and will return to kill him if anything happens to the youth. The King is then curious to know where Avicenna is at the moment. Abu-l-Harith searches in magic tables to locate him.

While Abu-l-Harith is searching for his brother, Avicenna enters the court in the guise of a poor dervish and offers a gift of roses to the King. The roses are poisoned, but because the flowers are out of season, they are looked upon as a great curiosity. Instead of smelling them, the King passes them to Abu-l-Harith, who smells them and dies instantly. The King is astonished, and when he looks for the dervish, discovers that both he and Ali have disappeared. The King is greatly frightened. He recognizes the handiwork of Avicenna and trembles for his own life.

27. According to our legend, "Abu-l-Harith is buried in

the Fayum in one of the villages of Egypt at a distance of eighteen hours from Cairo in a town called Damin. The town of Damin has become famous. From that day to this day of ours, a festival takes place every year at Abu-l-Harith's grave, in which about one hundred thousand people take part."

28. Avicenna mourns the death of his brother, and then sends a final letter to the King threatening to kill him unless he permits his "son", Ali, to marry the princess. The King procrastinates and sends messengers throughout the land in search of magicians who can assist him.

Avicenna perceives the King's true intent and at once creates a great plague of frogs. First, a cloud appears in the sky and covers the city. From this cloud, frogs the size of large cats fall upon Cairo. As they reach the ground, they cry loudly and die. They burst and a foul stench permeates the air. The people of the city realize that this is Avicenna's doing, and immediately march upon the palace of the King, threatening to revolt and kill him unless he gives his daughter in marriage to Ali. The King, seeing that opposition is useless, finally agrees, and the rain of frogs ceases.

The residents of Cairo, however, suffer intensely from the foul odor of the frogs, and Avicenna creates magic candles—whoever smells one of the candles is no longer aware of the stench of the frogs. The people also busy themselves cleaning the streets.

29. Preparations are now made for the marriage, and Avicenna sends gifts of slaves and camels to the King. He also magically builds a high wall surrounding a garden of rare beauty and holds a feast here for forty days, on each day producing foods of different kinds and colors. At the end of the forty days, Ali and the girl are married. The King is reconciled, and all ends happily.

30. After the passage of several years, Avicenna journeys to Bokhara to revisit his home and to see his parents, only to find that they have died.

Because Avicenna seems to be poor in the eyes of the world, he builds a mansion through the power of magic,

and in turn sells the mansion for ten thousand *dirhems*. Now this mansion, as Avicenna had built it, possessed a jutting latticed window of a type which the King of Bokhara had prohibited, and an officer of the guard, noticing it, at once ordered it destroyed.

The buyer of the mansion immediately complains to Avicenna, saying that he purchased the house only to enjoy its fresh breezes, but that now he cannot. Avicenna assures him that this will be remedied, and that when he returns home he will find there the cool breezes which now blow in the palace of the King.

Avicenna approaches the palace of the King, plants a piece of wood, repeats a charm, and the fresh breezes in the palace cease altogether and begin to blow in the mansion which he has sold. The King, unable to endure the stifling heat of his palace, goes to the home of one of his vezirs and stays with him.

31. Avicenna's wife (suddenly introduced into our story for the purposes of this episode) is curious to know how her husband pacified the buyer who came complaining about the lack of air in his mansion. Avicenna tells her, and nothing will do but he must in turn obtain for their own home the breezes from the palace of the vezir. This Avicenna does.

Avicenna's wife gossips in the public bath about her husband's magic powers and relates the story of the theft of the breezes. This is at once reported to the King of Bokhara, who orders Avicenna to appear at court. The necromancer does so and is treated scornfully by the King, who sees only a poor dervish standing before him. The King cannot believe that Avicenna is capable of these magic acts.

Avicenna returns home and beats his wife for gossiping about him. She is enraged and calls to her home a deceitful and treacherous old woman, so wicked "that if the Devil himself were to go astray, she would put him back on the right path." This old women promises Avicenna's wife that she will avenge her. She goes to Avicenna in the guise of a poor woman suffering from the stifling summer heat, and begs him to provide fresh breezes for her home. Avicenna takes

pity upon her and transfers to her home the breezes which blow in his mansion, breezes which originally came from the King's palace. The old woman verifies the fact and at once reports the whole matter to the King, who is now convinced of Avicenna's guilt.

32. The King sends guards to seize Avicenna. As the first guard takes hold of the necromancer's arm, Avicenna's arm comes off in his hand. The guard is terrified. With the aid of a second guard, however, he attempts to seize him again, but Avicenna's arms, legs, and body come apart in their hands. They report this to the King, who orders them to return and to bring the dismembered magician back to the court in a sack. The guards obey, but when the sack is opened in the court a black dog runs out. The people of the court believe the dog to be Avicenna, and kill it at once. After death, however, the dog's form remains unchanged and does not become retransformed to the body of the necromancer. They realize they have been tricked by Avicenna.

Our story-teller explains that Avicenna, aware of the King's orders and the approach of the guards, had transformed a black dog into his own shape, and that this transformed dog had waited outside the house and received the guards. When the dog had been dismembered and placed in the sack, the necromancer had transformed the animal back to its original shape.

33. Avicenna cannot forget the treachery of the old woman and plans to avenge himself upon her. One day when she enters his home to visit his wife, he calls to her and tells her that he is sick, and informs her that only one remedy will cure him—the ash from a heated stick applied to her person. Avicenna offers her a considerable amount of money if she will assist him, and the old woman's cupidity overcomes her fear of the pain. As the stick is applied, Avicenna breathes a charm which extinguishes all the fire in the city of Bokhara. The old woman, however, is not aware of this.

The people of Bokhara suffer from the lack of fire, and the vezirs of the King advise him that this is the work of

Avicenna, whom he originally scorned. A vezir is dispatched to request Avicenna to appear before the court. The necromancer entertains the vezir, and then magically creates a horse and saddle from a stick, and rides with the vezir to the court. Before the King, Avicenna smilingly denies any knowledge of the magic disappearance of the breezes and the fire, but finally suggests that a deceitful old woman, versed in magic arts, is responsible. The King perceives that the necromancer is avenging himself upon the old woman, but cannot remonstrate. Avicenna explains that the only way of acquiring fire is to apply a candle or stick to the person of the old woman. A messenger is at once sent to her. In spite of her protests, the messenger tests Avicenna's statement and returns with a lighted candle. Avicenna's magic is such, however, that the light from one candle or stick may not be passed to another. All must go to the source.

The old woman suffers terribly at the hands of those who need fire, but the people have no pity upon her, since she possesses the only fire available in all Bokhara. She attempts to flee, but only makes matters the worse for herself by going to a section of the city where there is no fire. She hides in a privy, but the people discover her and press into the privy which collapses with their weight. She flees to the edge of the city and attempts to ease her pain by bathing in a brook. A great cloud of smoke rises to the sky and she is discovered. For the public good she is seized and imprisoned. She continues to supply the people of Bokhara with fire for the length of a year, and finally dies.

34. The King of Bokhara then desires Avicenna to show the court some feats of magic, and the necromancer willingly complies with the request.

First, he causes two serpents of great size to appear and battle furiously in the court. These disappear. Then handsome young men enter who play upon musical instruments while beautiful damsels dance for the entertainment of the court. They also disappear and are followed by servants who magically prepare a great feast: the dishes are of gold, silver, crystal, and alabaster; the food consists of the rarest of deli-

cacies; and the dishes magically remain full while the people of the court eat from them.

35. Avicenna's fame is noised abroad until it reaches the ears of Shah Mahmud of Kirman, who sends messengers to the court of the King of Bokhara asking that Avicenna be permitted to visit Kirman for a brief time. The King of Bokhara accedes to their request, and Avicenna prepares to journey to Kirman in the company of another magician.

This magician, a favorite at the court of Bokhara, is jealous of Avicenna. At the suggestion of Avicenna, the two separately prepare magic pellets and seeds of food for the forty-day journey. As they travel, the magician loses his seeds, but in his pride and stubbornness refuses to accept pellets of food from Avicenna. He finally falls exhausted and dies, and is buried on the desert. Following the burial, Avicenna magically arrives near Kirman within an hour.

36. In order that his arrival in Kirman may be heralded in some unusual manner, Avicenna, within sight of the walls of the city, breathes a charm and the citadel of the city disappears. The Shah of Kirman, advised by this that Avicenna has arrived, orders a search for him so that he may be brought to the court with all honor.

37. As Avicenna enters the city, he sees a great mansion inside of which a merchant, luxuriously seated, is waited upon by youths of rare beauty. In the likeness of a poor derish, Avicenna begs alms. The merchant curses and mocks him.

Planning revenge, Avicenna inquires in the town about the merchant's chief interests, and is told that his greatest delight is in the possession of fine mules. Avicenna murmurs a charm over an earthenware pot which becomes a rare and valuable mule. The necromancer himself then takes on the appearance of a travelling merchant, and sells the animal to the merchant for a thousand dinars.

38. The merchant is transported with delight, and at once mounts the mule to ride throughout the city. While riding, he passes a beautiful garden which he does not remem-

ber having seen before. He dismounts and leads the mule to a water fountain at its gates. The mule stretches its neck to drink, but, to the astonishment of the merchant, enters the narrow pipe and disappears. The merchant, nevertheless, enters the garden where he sees beautiful damsels reclining on the grass. They offer him cool drinks and sing sweet melodies to him, but finally depart leaving him alone with one damsel. He talks with this damsel and caresses her. Suddenly, however, he opens his eyes to discover that he is in a public square, that people are staring at him, and that he has in actuality been fondling a dog which has scratched his face.

He is at once taken before the court, and sentenced to prison for madness when he attempts to explain that his mule entered a water pipe. The merchant is beaten daily until Avicenna appears before him and tells him to deny the story of the mule. When he denies the tale, the guards at once release him, recognizing that he has recovered his senses.

Later Avicenna calls upon the merchant with a poor dervish to whom Avicenna has promised alms. The merchant is about to have Avicenna beaten, when he sees a mule coming out of a water pipe. He is reminded of his own beatings and immediately gives Avicenna and the dervish alms, realizing that he is powerless against such magic.

39. Avicenna now procures a room in Kirman, and magically creates a black slave from an earthen jar. This slave, who is dumb, goes to a meat dealer every day and in exchange for coins receives a sheep's head. At the end of forty days, the dealer discovers that the coins have been transformed to bits of paper. When Avicenna's slave returns on the following day, the merchant hits him with a ladle, and the slave becomes an earthen jar broken in pieces. Avicenna visits the meat shop to ask about the slave, and the dealer challenges him with being a magician. Avicenna loudly calls upon bystanders to bear witness that the dealer has killed his slave, and also that the man deals in human heads and not in sheep heads. A search of the shop confirms this, for on the hooks are the heads of old women and young boys.

The merchant, protesting vigorously, is haled before a court of law. About to be sentenced to death, the dealer demands a second search of his shop and the heads are this time found to be sheep's heads. The people now believe his story of a magician, and he is released. News of these magic events reaches the ear of Shah Mahmud, but Avicenna still cannot be located.

40. Avicenna, passing a fruit dealer's shop, is insulted by the man. To avenge himself upon the merchant, Avicenna plants pieces of wood in a square in the sand of a nearby desert, breathes a charm over them, and creates an unrivalled orchard full of all kinds of fruit, flowers, and birds. Then Avicenna puts on the appearance of a merchant and sells the orchard to the dealer. Since fruits are out of season, the man is transported with joy.

That night the dealer places two guards over the orchard. One of them, dozing, wakes to see the branch of a pear tree so close that he feels that by opening his mouth he can bite the fruit. He tries to do so, but the branch moves away. He reaches for the branch, but it again moves out of reach. Standing, he cannot touch it. Infuriated, he hurls a stone at the pear, which falls to the ground and bursts. Out of the pear comes a fearful whip which deprives the guards of their senses. When they recover, there is no garden in sight; and the fruit dealer, returning in the morning, finds an empty desert. His story is told throughout Kirman.

41. At the Shah of Kirman's court, there is a magician named John, who, through his magic art, locates Avicenna. He repeats a charm which renders the necromancer helpless, and then binds him and brings him to the court. Avicenna, however, still retains the use of his tongue. He repeats a charm and becomes a crown on the Shah's head. John, in turn, transforms himself to a flame standing over the crown. Avicenna takes on the shape of kernels of grain; John changes himself to a cock which eats all the seeds except two. Avicenna becomes a fox which attacks the cock; John becomes a flying bird. Avicenna then assumes the shape of a hawk which attacks the bird. John, recognizing superior powers

in Avicenna, resumes his former shape, and the two magicians appear before the Shah.

42. At the request of the Shah and to entertain the court, Avicenna first restores the citadel which he had magically made to disappear.

Then Avicenna causes animals of all kinds—lions, tigers, bears, wolves, foxes, and jackals—to emerge from his cloak and fight in the room. The people are so terrified that Avicenna returns the animals to his cloak. He then begs permission to rest for the remainder of the day.

43. On the following day, the necromancer is entertained by the Shah until evening, when he is again asked to perform more miracles of magic.

Avicenna first asks that the candles be shaded. Then he repeats a charm, and from behind a curtain a cap appears which rises slowly to the ceiling, breaks the ceiling, and continues rising to the height of a hundred cubits. Beneath the cap appears a forehead which rises for a time. This is followed by a nose three times larger than a sword and more terrible. Then a beard appears which rises for a period of two hours, followed by a body which increases in size, crushing the people of the court against the walls of the room. They cry for mercy, and Avicenna ends the spell.

44. Avicenna now orders one window of the court opened. Although it is the fall season, the men gaze out upon green foliage and fragrant flowers. Birds sing, and the moon is so brilliant that each flower petal is clearly distinguished.

45. A second window is opened. A stormy wind blows into the room and snow falls. It is bitter cold, and the people of the court suffer so that it is necessary for them to don furs to keep warm.

46. A third window is opened, and the great waves of a stormy sea crash against the building. Fish of the sea are visible in the waves, and the flood is as great and terrible as that which Noah endured. A wave crashes into the room, wetting the people. The window is closed and the people dry their clothes for a time.

47. A fourth window is opened, and the heavens are seen to be brilliant with fire. Great tongues of flame as tall as minarets rise from the earth. Fire almost burns those who are watching.

48. A last window is opened, and those who look out see nothing but the black night. Avicenna continues to entertain the court in this fashion, and then retires to rest.

49. The following night, the necromancer is requested to perform more miracles. Avicenna breathes a charm and the food which the people are eating is transformed: the rice becomes small worms; the stew becomes rats; the stuffing of the cabbage is changed to frogs; and the other foods are transformed to scorpions, snakes, and all manner of insects. The people turn from the tables in fear and disgust, but Avicenna laughs and changes the dishes again into delicious food.

50. The magician John grows jealous of Avicenna and slanders him to the Shah, who is led to believe that Avicenna is too intimate with one of the favorites of the court, the Shah's nephew. Avicenna, perceiving that his life is endangered, leaves Kirman and goes outside of the city to a valley full of great rocks and boulders. He reads a charm and creates a great city with walls of white marble that split the sky. The walls of the courts glow with gold, and the courts are paved with lapis lazuli. It is inhabited by all the races of man and the people of all creation; streams run through the city; and its markets and schools hum with activity. For himself, Avicenna creates a lofty palace surmounting the highest towers of the walls. Its windows, hung with brocade embroidered with pearls and coral, look out over orchards and gardens. Compared with this city, Kirman appears to be a humble village, and the residents of Kirman are astonished that it should have come into being in a single night.

51. An ambassador from the shining city comes to Kirman and demands that Shah Mahmud relinquish his throne, stating that two rulers cannot exist side by side in the same land. The Shah sends a vezir to Avicenna, hoping that some peaceful solution may be reached, but Avicenna warns that

tomorrow his armies will march against Kirman. While in Avicenna's city, the vezir is astonished at what he sees: Indian, Chinese, and Frankish merchandise; men dressed in cloth of gold; walls decorated to the ceiling with sheets of silver; and palace gates so wide that a hundred men on horse can pass through riding abreast. He reports these wonders to Shah Mahmud, who, nevertheless, prepares for battle and gathers two hundred thousand warriors.

52. Against the forces of the Shah, Avicenna sends an army of three hundred thousand. He also conjures from a mallet great numbers of ghouls who attack with iron-headed clubs, terrifying the enemy. Avicenna's forces are victorious, and Shah Mahmud sues for peace. Avicenna then invites the Shah, his vezirs, and followers to the magic city, where he plans to entertain them for three days.

53. As Shah Mahmud enters the city, he passes through seven gates. He sees all manner of animals—gazelles, foxes, elephants, and monkeys. The people of the city shower his men with jewels and precious gifts. He perceives that Avicenna's council room is so splendid that Mars and Saturn are here fit to be only attendants, while the Sun and Moon are only fit to be dishes for the guests. Rare perfumes scent the palace, and all manner of exquisite drinks are presented to the guests. A feast is prepared which lasts for fifty hours. Following the feast, the guests wander in a garden where magnificent tents of silk have been made ready for them.

54. Avicenna desires to avenge himself upon the magician John. He breathes a charm and causes John to rise from among those present and walk towards one of the pavilions. Inside the pavilion two hundred cruel men await him. They attack him and cause him great pain and suffering. While suffering thus, John shouts and gesticulates. Later, he opens his eyes and finds Avicenna, the Shah, and the court laughing at him. Questioning the reason for their laughter, he is informed that he has imagined all this.

55. Avicenna then conjures up an entertainment of dancing girls and singers for the amusement of the Shah. All

are delighted with the beauty of the music and the tenderness of the love poetry. After the entertainment, the Shah and his followers retire to sleep upon beds of silk and damask. They wake the following morning, however, to find no trace of the city or its inhabitants.

56. The war between Shah Mahmud and Avicenna is resumed again as suddenly as it began. Avicenna's warriors attack and destroy the army of the Shah. The necromancer conjures up terrible warriors who besiege the Shah and his followers, and, wonderful to relate, whenever a warrior in Avicenna's army is killed, he rises to his feet again and resumes fighting. When the Shah retreats to his castle, Avicenna recalls his armies and returns to his magic city, which has again come into being.

57. Shah Mahmud's vezirs advise him to send his nephew to Avicenna to intercede for the kingdom. Shah Mahmud does so, and also banishes the magician John from his court. Avicenna accepts the young man's invitation to visit the Shah, and peace is at last established. Avicenna repeats a charm and restores to life all those who have been killed by his soldiers.

Avicenna again invites the Shah to visit the magic city. The Shah and his followers do so, but upon entering the gates find only a barren valley filled with great rocks and boulders. He and his followers marvel. They understand that they have been the victims of illusion or nightmare, and wonder at Avicenna's powers.

58. Avicenna now leaves Kirman and journeys to Hamadan, where he meets Sheikh Abdullah el-Hamadani, a man of great spiritual wisdom and understanding. Avicenna recognizes the great purity of the Sheikh and begs to be permitted to remain with him and study. The Sheikh grants this request.

During his stay with the Sheikh, Avicenna writes the great works for which he is famous, the *Canon of Medicine* and the *Origin of the New Medicine*. Finally, at the Sheikh's request, he translates from the Greek the medical works of

Aristotle which were handed down to Aristotle by Plato. (This knowledge of Plato's was, according to our story teller, handed down orally to Aristotle upon condition that it would not be disseminated among the vulgar. Aristotle, however, desired to preserve it for posterity, so obtained permission from Plato to record it in a strange language, very difficult to understand except by those possessed of wisdom. Avicenna translated three of the books before death seized him.)

59. Our legend closes with the death of Avicenna, and for the first time our story teller cites authorities for his facts.

According to the dervish Hasan el-Medhi, it is related that Avicenna lies buried in Hamadan.

60. According to the dervish el-Balkhi, however, Avicenna journeys to Samarcand and builds a lofty school in the town of Taqin. Here Avicenna teaches. When death approaches, Avicenna sends to Baghdad for a disciple of his, Jamas the Wise. This disciple he instructs in the magic science of rejuvenation, and orders that the rejuvenation take place in a bath especially prepared for that purpose. The bath, which adjoins the school, contains a dome which holds seven windows, and each window contains a glass capable of catching and retaining the influence of one of the seven planets.

When Avicenna dies, Jamas takes the body to the bath, crushes it in a marble mortar, adds water, and reduces it to a stew-like mass in which there are no traces of the bones.

This mass is poured into a mold which resembles the necromancer in shape. To it is added a phial of prepared liquid. The mold is then left under the first window for a period of forty days. At the end of this time, Jamas discovers that the mass is becoming solidified and colored.

The mold is then moved under a second window, a second phial of liquid is added, and after the lapse of another forty days, the mass begins to take on the characteristics of tender flesh.

This process is repeated under six of the windows. Bone, skin, and hair are added to the tender flesh; Avicenna's body

moves in the mold; and finally the necromancer begins to speak haltingly.

When he is about to add the seventh phial and complete the process, Jamas realizes for the first time that Avicenna, if rejuvenated, will live until the Day of Judgment. To begin with, Jamas had undertaken the experiment only to determine for himself whether such magic would be possible, and he realizes now that there will be no honor for him in the future compared to the knowledge, glory, and honor which will be Avicenna's should the necromancer return to life. Jamas, jealous of Avicenna, breaks the seventh and last phial *intentionally,* closes the bath, and goes on his way.

61. Our story teller, however, quotes another slightly different version, also from el-Balkhi, to this effect:

> "I went during my travels to Samarcand, and came to that bath in the time of winter. I listened and heard his, Avicenna's, voice coming from inside a secluded chamber. He spoke haltingly. I listened to it for a long time, but when the people crowded into the bath the voice diminished, and I could hear it no longer. I heard that when Jamas the Wise came to the seventh glass and took it, wishing to pour it in its place as he had been accustomed to, his foot slipped on the ground, and he fell on his face, and the glass broke in his hand. When he saw that this could not be easily remedied, he closed the bath, hid the secret chamber in which the body of Ibn Sina is concealed, and went his way."

62. Whether the phial was broken intentionally or accidentally, Avicenna remains today in a state between life and death, talking haltingly.

IV.

Quite apart from this summary of a single Arabic text, there are, of course, numerous additional references to Avicenna as a magician and necromancer. In following articles, I plan to survey briefly the Oriental manuscripts and texts which have so far been located, and refer also—in greater detail—to the material already translated by Nöldeke, Gibb, Petis de la Croix, and others.

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JURAMENTADOS AND A MORO CONVERT

Never shall I forget my first trip into Sulu, that most intriguing group of islands in the southern part of the Philippines. I had only been in the Philippines a few brief weeks, but already weird fantastic tales about the warlike Moros, had come to my ears. And so it was with a great deal of expectancy that I started on my trip through Sulu, the home of the Mohammedan Filipinos.

It was about three o'clock in the morning, when our little inter-island boat neared the port of Siasi. We had been traveling since eleven o'clock of the previous night, and since all cots were occupied, the pilot kindly offered me his cot. I was grateful for his offer, and through the long hot night lay there, watching the southern cross and other glories of the tropical sky above me; and then shifting my gaze, I could see the dark silhouette of the silent man at the wheel, as he piloted our craft through the black sullen waters of the Sulu Sea.

Suddenly he looked at me and said, "Siasi!" I could discern the dim outline of ghost houses, against the blue and silver sky. As we drew nearer to the shore, I was amazed to hear a song floating out across the water. I strained my eyes in the direction of the voice, and there on the shadowy wharf, stood a lone dark figure. He was singing a hymn that I readily recognized! Could it be possible? Yes, there it was again, now unmistakably clear!

> "Rescue the perishing, care for the dying,
> Jesus is merciful—Jesus will save!"

And as the chorus rang out through the night, a missionary stood on the deck of a little inter-island steamer; tears falling and a prayer rising from her heart.

I had been in Siasi two scorching hot, but intensely interesting days; and on the morning of the third day I was startled by the sound of great confusion outside. Doors and windows

throughout the whole village were being slammed shut! Men, women, and children were rushing frantically down the dusty road, and the frenzied cry of "Mundo" filled the air! I heard the native pastor, in whose house I was staying, shout to his wife, "Maria, Maria, the children! Quick, bring them in!" I could hear him slamming the windows and barring them; and I walked out into the front room just in time to see him make fast the door, and then take his place behind it with a big wooden club in his hand.

I asked him, "What is the meaning of all this? What in the world is happening?" He answered me with just one word, "Juramentado!" a word that brings terror to the heart of everyone who understands its meaning.

A *juramentado* is a Mohammedan who has taken an oath to kill Christians before he dies. He believes if he can do this, he will be rewarded by going to heaven on the back of a white horse! When crushing grief or great humiliation comes to a Moro, he does not desire to live longer, but he will never commit suicide! Instead he will go to an "Imam" (religious leader) and go through the religious ceremony which prepares him to become a *juramentado*. After the ceremony, the man returns to his home, to sharpen his knife. They have been known to sit all night long, sharpening their weapon, until the blade glitters and gleams in the flickering light of the candle. Then when morning comes, the *juramentado* slips the blade into its sheath, binds the weapon to his side, and goes forth to join the men and women who throng the streets of the village. It is a simple matter for him to differentiate between Mohammedans and Christians, because of their manner of dress. And he is out to kill *Christianos,* before the soldiers "get" him.

The *juramentado* saunters along to a place where Christians have gathered. It may be the market place, it may be a store; it may be a village street, or it may even be the public school. Suddenly, and without warning, he draws forth the carefully prepared "kris", and running swiftly to the nearest one, he strikes a terrific blow. And the victim, be it man, woman, boy, or girl, falls.

Then the cry of terror rings throughout the little village, "Mundo!—Mundo!" Men and women on the streets plunge into open doorways, and men and women inside their houses, rush to the doors and windows to bar them. All faces pale and all hands tremble with violent fear. The quiet little village is now a Bedlam!

And then amidst the terrible confusion, shots ring out! The soldiers, hearing the excitement, snatch their rifles and rush out upon the scene. They shoot, and the *juramentado* drops to the ground. He has been killed, and he dies believing that since he has been able to kill several Christians, he will now be transported to heaven in honor.

There are those who say to us, Since Mohammedans hate Christians so very much, does it pay to preach the Gospel to them? Do Mohammedans ever become true followers of Jesus Christ? And we answer, Thank God there are Mohammedans, who when they hear the story of the Gospel, willingly turn from the Prophet Mohammed to the living Saviour, Jesus Christ. It is true that they are few in number, and it is also true that a Mohammedan who follows Jesus, must pay a tremendous price for his faith. But how it thrills our hearts to see those who will be true to God, despite the fact that there is a real price to pay!

Such a one was Kailung. Born in a little bamboo house in Sulu, he was taught early to believe that "there is no god but Allah, and Mohammed is His Prophet."

As a young man of perhaps eighteen years, Kailung left his old Mohammedan father and mother and came to Jolo to attend the high school there. He was invited to attend a service at the Mission Chapel and, glad that his parents were far away and would never know that he dared to attend a Christian church, Kailung came. He found the service very appealing, and decided to attend again. So time after time Kailung came, and listened to the sweet old story of the Cross. It wasn't long before the young man knew that something was happening to his old faith in Mohammed, and one day he approached the missionary and told him that he, Kailung, wanted to be baptized as a Christian. So, upon the confession

of his new-found faith, Kailung was baptized. The story of his baptism spread like wildfire, and it was not long before his old Mohammedan father and mother heard that their son was following the Jesus way!

The old father, unwilling to believe the report, got into his old dugout canoe, and made his way up to the island of Jolo. He found Kailung in the street, and demanded the truth about the reports that had come to them. Kailung replied, "Father, it is true. I am now a Christian." "Then Kailung," replied the old man, "you are no longer my son." And with these words the father turned on his heel, and started on the return journey to his little southern home. Kailung standing on the shore of Jolo town, watched through misty eyes that fast-disappearing speck in the distance. It was the last time he ever saw his father.

The months went swiftly by, and then one day Kailung received a letter from home. "Come home, my son," the letter read, "and we will forgive all. We will send you to Singapore, and there you can study to be a Mohammedan leader. Think of the easy life you will have!" But without a moment's hesitation, Kailung wrote back, "It is impossible for me to become a Mohammedan leader, since I no longer believe in Mohammed. I am a Christian."

A few more months of silence followed. Then another letter came, this time written by the brother. It was very brief, "Kailung, come home. Father is very ill." But Kailung was suspicious of the message. Well he knew the custom of his people, and that they would stop at nothing to force him back to the old religion. And he thought in his heart, "this is just a trap to get me home; and when they get me there, they will try to make me become a Mohammedan again. I will not go."

I was present in the missionary home the night Kailung brought the third letter. He handed it to me, and noting the stricken look on the young man's face, I knew immediately that something was terribly wrong.

I opened the letter, and read, "Kailung, three days ago Father died. I am writing to let you know that we consider

you killed our father! For right after you were baptized a Christian, father became ill. He tried time and again to persuade you to return to the faith of your fathers, but you were stubborn, and you refused. And so three days ago, father died—from a broken heart! And now, Kailung, do not ever come home. If we see you in our village, we will kill you."

I have heard further from Kailung, since my return to America. He wrote of how his brothers came to Jolo and, entering his room, demanded that he return to the teachings of the Koran or suffer death by the sword. "For," said they, "we would rather see you dead than see you a Christian!" And Kailung, believing that his hour had come, softly and calmly replied, "All right, brothers; kill me if you must. I cannot deny my Saviour."

Then a marvelous thing happened. The blades were upraised, poised to strike, and then swiftly lowered and placed back into their respective sheathes. And the amazed brothers, with heads bowed low, walked quietly from the room!

In concluding this wonderful testimony, Kailung wrote, "I don't know how it happened. I only know that the true God was watching over me."

This is the price that a young Mohammedan in the Philippines paid for following Christ. Let us unite our hearts in believing prayer, that God may rescue more of these perishing souls, who dwell in the isles of the beautiful Sulu Sea.

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THE CASE FOR THE COLLOQUIAL

"I say, Gairdner, let's see what there really is in this colloquial?" There was of course a very great deal in it; there is undoubtedly very much more now. The suggestion was, however, put to a man with the Oxford *Lit. Hum.* behind him; and the memory of having, at one time in his early career, asked his servant the time in correct classical. A few lines after the above quotation Canon Gairdner's biographer makes the following observation: "He saw that to teach the missionary the classical language of literature *first or only* (italics ours) was seriously delaying his contact with anything except the world of books".

This was almost forty years ago; but have all the implications of Douglas Thornton's half-playful challenge really been thought through? If it is true—and history in recent years would surely supply an answer in the direct affirmative—that to the missionary or other foreigner resident in Arab lands the study of the Arabic tongue only admits him to the world of books (at any rate in the first instance), what about that still all too large percentage of Arabic-speaking illiterates, who never get the chance of entering the "palace of the printed page?" Gairdner's acceptance of the challenge for the world of missionaries was (is) amply justified; his more than pioneer work along this line was finished to all intents and purposes, but "there remaineth yet very much land to be possessed"; very much opposition to be overcome; very many critics to be convinced; very many experiments; very much hard work.

After all, the main reason for anyone devoting time and study to the colloquial language of Egypt, Palestine or any other Arabic-speaking country is because that particular colloquial is the language of that country *par excellence*. We are all being forced to take notice of this in view of the new factor in the situation which was not in the purview of Gaird-

ner, still less of Thornton; for the "radio" has been forcing the whole issue once more to the fore. Here is something that is now beyond the "experiment" stage; it has come to stay.

In recent years and in Christian circles it has been the publication of specific parts of the Bible in various colloquials that has been largely responsible for the exchange of quite definite differences of opinion; even for strong disapproval in some quarters—but for all its strength a disapproval that seems largely based on sentimental grounds rather than on arguments of a moral, spiritual or intellectual nature.

Perhaps this is the best place to put in a plea that *colloquial* should never be regarded as the equivalent of so-called *slang* in Anglo-Saxon lands. Slang, after all, deals with words and expressions, not with the structure of a language; the unauthorized slang expression of one era may even find its way quite properly into the dictionary language of a later epoch. Colloquial belongs to another sphere—the sphere of any spoken language in the wide world not yet committed to writing. Canon Gairdner's own efforts in his Colloquial Egyptian Grammar, to say nothing of what others before him and after him have done, should dispel any fears on this ground. He made it one of his *natural* aims to follow the rules of colloquial grammar with all the scholarship that was available. Yet even today can still be heard the rather surprised question, "Does Colloquial have any grammar?" Still oftener comes the criticism, "Well you cannot, or you should not, write colloquial". The only reply is, "Why ever not?" There must have been a time once when no human sound was ever committed to writing; and the problem of writing Colloquial Arabic, whether in Arabic or Romic script, is surely a vastly easier one to solve than that which lay before the original "evolvers" of the various Semitic scripts. How impossible and unsuitable to write the proverbs of Palestine, which abounds in them, in classical language! A language which lends itself to proverb-making, as Palestinian Arabic undoubtedly does, surely deserves to be "put on paper".

"The common language", writes Professor Muhammad Fathy in an August (1941) number of the *Latayif al Mussa-*

wara, "is not, as so many people imagine, a language which has no *worthwhileness,* or which should not have any, since the tongue in which everyone speaks—in spite of the teaching of the schools and books and what certain people have to say—is a living tongue worthy alike of survival and esteem. The common language is a living language, deserving both of study and of being committed to writing; because it is the Egyptian language and sixteen million human beings utter it every moment of the day and night".

"Consequently", he adds, "I would not wish to draw any distinction between it and the Arabic tongue, because its fundamental element is in fact Arabic; on the other hand it is actually more living. It is a 'social' language, if we may be allowed to say so—always developing; ever enriching itself; daily adding to its vocabulary, its expressions, its idioms; daily gaining fresh words through use, through derivation, through borrowing from other languages. . . . . No one can deny it this right—the right of renewal and growth; though there are many authorities who deny this to Arabic; they would clip her wings of development and reckon her new words a mistake".

So, "if you study the English language, for example, you will find hundreds of words, at least, borrowed from Arabic alone; and in spite of that you do not hear the words of disapproval from the responsible quarters, but each word used by great writers is noted in the dictionaries of the language. That is the secret of the appearance of a new dictionary every so many years, putting its predecessor out of date, while we call for recourse to an old Arab dictionary going back hundreds of years".

Consequently it is the common, colloquial language that is distinguished for its increasing vitality, "which helps it to be a successful vehicle of expression". This is surely an important point and bears out the contention that it is sound education for people who are outside the range of books, to be taught through the language which they hear, not the language which they may read one day. We ought to be getting to the place where people should be able to write down

what they hear as they hear it. Should we attempt the education of "whoever it may be" except through eye-gate and ear-gate at the same time? It is therefore no surprise to read a little further on in the article that "ninety percent of the Egyptians find difficulty in following the Arabic language, or *at least they understand what they hear in the colloquial tongue,* so why should we set up ourselves as a barrier between them and their understanding of what we want to implant in them? Language, before everything else, is a means of expression—nothing more or less. We must put matters to rights. . . . . We want to give people information; and to educate them; so let us teach them in a language which they understand, so that they in turn may learn and be educated. If we could teach all the Egyptians the Arabic language, then the question would assume a different aspect".

As the author allows in a concluding paragraph, it may be right in circumstances as they are, to make use of Classical Arabic for broadcasts which deal with historical, philosophical or other more abstruse or technical subjects—in fact this is probably right at the moment, but for household matters, including religious and political of any kind, surely the advocates of correct and reasonable colloquials have more than one leg to stand on!

It can hardly be claimed that the Christian Church and Missions as a whole in these Arabic-speaking lands have taken sufficient notice in recent years of that fundamental educational principle, enunciated by Professor Fathy, but which seems to have been one of the attractive phenomena at Pentecost, when people did "hear in their tongues the wonderful works of God". If it is true that "at least people understand what they hear in the colloquial tongue", there is an obligation on the Christian Church to be loyal to this apostolic principle both in evangelism and in education. Ultimately the Church will come to it, because public opinion and general need will demand it. A glance at the liturgies of the Eastern Churches is proof enough that the day came when Arabic had to be printed in parallel columns with Greek or Coptic to make the older services of prayer just

generally intelligible. Very much the same thing took place when Arabic was written along with the older Aramaic in the liturgical books of the Samaritans. Sooner or later the "koine", the language of the common people, will assert itself.

Newman School of Missions,
Thabor, Jerusalem. ERIC F. F. BISHOP.

AN APPRECIATION

This issue of THE MOSLEM WORLD is printed by The Vermont Printing Company, of Brattleboro, Vermont. War priorities made it impossible for our former printers to continue their faithful and efficient work. The Editors of our Quarterly desire to express their grateful appreciation of the many years of excellent service by the Pine Tree Press of Harrisburg, Pa., in printing and mailing the magazine.

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OF THE MOSLEM WORLD

Anyone having copies of the first 20 years of THE MOSLEM WORLD (1911-1930) and willing to dispose of them is asked to communicate with this office. Our stock of the following issues also is practically exhausted: January, 1931; July, 1933; October, 1936; April and July, 1937; April and July, 1941; April, 1942.

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BOOK REVIEWS

Black and White in the Sudan. By Desmond W. Bittinger. The Brethren Publishing House, Elgin, Illinois, 1941. pp. xv, 343. $1.50.

In the first part of this book Dr. Bittinger reviews again the oft-told tale of the medieval kingdoms and empires of the western Sudan. He relies largely on translations of Arabic histories and upon secondary sources of information. In his use of the latter he is not always as critical as he might be; he writes, e.g., as if he endorsed George Peacock's notion that Ophir was located on the Gold Coast and that Solomon sent fleets thither round the Cape of Good Hope. He also apparently accepts the unfounded hypothesis that Phoenician mariners reached the Gold Coast: it is generally believed that they did not sail further south than Sierra Leone. This history provides the background for the author's exposition of the educational system as it is today in the northern provinces of Nigeria. He naturally dwells upon the high degree of literary culture that was attained in such centres of learning as Timbuktu under Islamic influence.

The Sudan entered a period of decline at the beginning of the seventeenth century following the invasion and conquest by the Moors. The later conquest by the Fulani is regarded as "in many respects a misfortune"; but when the British entered the country in the twentieth century they found "the accumulated culture of the Empires which had gone before" (p. 99). Dr. Bittinger has much to say about the slave-trade which devastated this region; but writes as if only Europeans and not Americans were concerned in it. He is often irritatingly inaccurate in his statements. The United States prohibited the importation of slaves in 1807, not 1804 (p. 112). Sir George Goldie did not speak under the name "Taubman" in 1895; and he was never "Sir Goldie". Why is Field-Marshal Smuts styled "Lieutenant-Governor"? Germany did not push from Lake Chad west to the Atlantic coast (p. 127). In 1900 Egypt was not "actually British". He states that by 1938 "independent Africa no longer existed", forgetting that Egypt had been declared independent in 1922 (p. 130). It is strange to hear Liberia described as "in effect, a foreign colony". Africans, he says, are not represented in its government; but surely the self-governing descendants of the repatriated Negroes are Africans. It is difficult to recognize Lobengula under the style "Chief Lubengola". The author has an annoying manner of introducing names from other parts of Africa, and citations from authors who are dealing with a very different situation from that obtaining in northern Nigeria, (e.g., p. 189) without explanation.

On the whole the British policy of Indirect Rule is given sympathetic treatment, though he will not allow "altruism" but only "imperialism" and "hard business sense" as the underlying motives. He notes that "some injustices" have persisted, particularly in the administration of the non-Muslim areas; but concedes that "over a

period of nearly forty years a remarkable work has been accomplished. Peace reigns throughout the whole of Nigeria, slave raiding is ended, legitimate trade flourishes, educational institutions have been revived, and new ones are springing up, town sanitation is being given attention and public health projects are a part of the Native Administration activities" (pp. 180, 181). He rightly observes that the purpose of the British government is "to give aid to the development of an indigenous, progressive civilization and culture". But it is ambiguous to state that "the English Government is realising some financial return from Nigeria", as if the British were making money out of the taxation of the Africans; the surpluses accumulated by the Native Administrations are not credited to the British exchequer but remain to be spent by themselves. He tells of a curious instance which he "observed" of a wrong done to the Buras through the wilful misinterpretation by one of the Babur ruling class of statements made to an official who did not know their language. It calls for some explanation. Presumably, Dr. Bittinger understands Bura, for he quotes the conversation verbatim. Why, then, did he not intervene and put things right? (pp. 178, 179.)

He sees clearly that "to build the Dual Mandate is a process not of enforcement but of education. To that end education has featured prominently in Northern Nigeria" (p. 182). He devotes part iii to this topic; and this is without doubt the most valuable section of the book. We gather that he went to Nigeria as a missionary of the Church of the Brethren and was there from 1930 to 1938; he entered the Education Service and in 1932 became principal of the school at Garkida which was established that year for the training of the sons of chiefs in the Adamawa and Bornu provinces. After telling what is being attempted for the 200,000 pupils in the 37,000 Koranic schools and all other efforts "to bring forth a greater Nigerian for tomorrow", Dr. Bittinger writes in a very interesting and informative manner of the Garkida schools. They are run on sound, modern lines, with the emphasis on community improvement. He has confidence in the future of the Nigerian people; they will not be British, but African and proud of their own race. "From the findings of this study, and from his own experience among Nigerians, the writer believes that the educational accomplishments, and the general cultural level, to which the Sudanese rose before the European came, with proper help and encouragement they can attain again. Indeed there is no reason why they should not go far beyond their former accomplishments, making it possible for Europeans who visit the Sudan in some happy future to share the feelings expressed by Ibn Batuta and Africanus at an earlier age, when they compared Sudanic civilization favorably with other progressive cultures they had visited" (p. 322).

Hartford, Conn. EDWIN W. SMITH.

Southwest Persia: A Political Officer's Diary 1907-1914. By Sir Arnold Wilson. Oxford University Press, 1941. pp. 315. $4.25.

With Iran becoming the center of the pincers movement from the Orient and Europe this volume becomes even more of interest than

in normal time. Few men have a knowledge of this part of the world such as the late Sir Arnold Wilson had.

Joining his regiment in India in 1907 upon his leaving Sandhurst, until 1914 when he completed his years of service in Persia, the author never did things by halves. In a truly remarkable way he is able to make the reader feel the same zest for drinking coffee with Persian khans, sitting on his heels with the Bakhtiaris or demarcating the Turko-Persian frontier. As much of this comes from early diaries and letters to his parents, one is introduced intimately to the author's thought on a number of very pertinent subjects. In one of the letters he answers a question on the Baha'i movement, at the same time philosophizing in a typical fashion as follows:

"It bears something of the same relation to the Shiah faith as that of Christian Science to the Church of England. It is not negligible, for it has attracted many good men, but is not politically important, for few good men are to be found in political circles in Persia. It is unlikely to penetrate deep, or to become popular. It is the outcome of the widespread discontent of educated Persians with the outlook of their rulers and with the general tone of society. But Persians tend to say one thing and do another: they profess one set of principles but ignore them in practice. This, I suppose, may be said of all men in all countries at all times, but it intrudes itself in Persia."

Sir Arnold's consistent appreciation of the work of the missionaries whose paths he crossed throughout the Middle East is most refreshing. In one of his letters written in 1911 he refers to a young clergyman in Isfahan named Linton, "of whom all men including Persians speak well." This was the man who was to become Bishop Linton and who was to do so much for the cause of Christ in Iran.

Anyone who wishes to read of a British diplomat of the old school with a scholarly interest in antiquity, a genuine liking for the people with whom he came in contact, and an underlying Christian faith, will find this a most satisfying and uniquely informing volume.

New York City. HERRICK BLACK YOUNG.

The Moulids of Egypt. By Major J. W. McPherson. Nile Mission Press, Cairo, 1941. pp. xiv, 351.

Major McPherson, who has spent more than half of a long life in Egypt, has served in the Ministries of Education and Agriculture, and following the war of 1914-18, in the Ministry of Interior. His position of Mamur Zapt has aided his keen interest in the life of people of Egypt to ferret out many stray bits of information about the celebrations held in honor of religious saints.

Most of the material descriptive of the individual *moulids* has been gathered from repeated visits or from first hand information from eye witnesses. The book makes no claim to be a complete compilation of all the celebrations held for reputed saints of Islam in Egypt, but gives many interesting details not to be found in other accounts.

For one not well acquainted with Arabic the lack of any system of transliteration must be confusing. In one paragraph on p. 2 "zàr" is spelled both *zarr* and *zar*. Again, the usual spelling of *feddans* be-

comes *fedans* (p. 49). If he had some uniform method of writing the Arabic words in Roman characters we should not have two spellings for a word such as Hussein and Husein on one page (p. 175). If the second vowel in this word is spelled "ei" why should he not write Zeinab rather than Zenab, and why the spelling Bayumi, rather than Beiyumi? And why not Beiyoumi, since *ou* is used for *û* in general as in Moulid?

Major McPherson is strong in his criticism of those who would do away with these *moulids* and his closing paragraph is a summary of a theme repeated often in his work: "Oh if the multitude of Egypt's faithful poor were not almost voiceless as their camels, my feeble plea and the few *voces clamantium in deserto* in defence of their priceless heirlooms would not be needed, for the roar of their chorus would drown the voiceful few who would deprive them of their rightful joys and traditions, and barter Egypt's real gold for dross; and a happy people would continue to enjoy its lovely old customs which make the charm and fascination of Egypt and not the least of these the *moulids* of its saints."

Cairo, Egypt. E. E. Elder.

Life of Muhammad. By Sufi M. R. Bengalee. The Moslem Sunrise Press, Chicago, Ill. pp. 286. $2.

This new biography of the great Arabian, here styled The Holy Founder of Islam, is by a devout follower of the modern Islamic group, the Ahmadiyyas of Qadian, India. It is dedicated to the present supreme head of the movement and bears evidence in every chapter that the author follows the peculiar views of this sect.

This "Life of Muhammed" is written with a sincerity that is indeed praiseworthy, but coupled with a naïveté that is amazing. The author assumes a defensive attitude from the outset and the book seems to be written with a view to convince non-Moslems of the wonder and beneficence of the religion of the prophet.

The author makes a sincere and powerful plea for the Moslem religion and ably explains its benefits to Arabia and the lands it has conquered. The greatest weakness of his whole exposition lies in the fact that his ideas represent only half of the Moslem world. His mistake is the mistake of the average Oriental. The Western mind asks the question, What is the woman's point of view? After all, she comprises at least half of the Moslem world. In spite of the author's eulogy of Mohammed's character and all that Islam did for women, he carefully avoids several pertinent questions, questions that invariably the Occidental asks and which the Oriental just as studiously avoids. As a sample, in Mohammed's grand scheme of inheritance what does the woman think of the fact that a man inherits two parts to her one? In the grand scheme of divorce what does she think of the fact that she can be divorced at any time and for no reason at all? What does she think of "halala"? What does she think of the law that gives the father charge of her son at seven years and her daughter at puberty? One could go on and on. What is the woman's opinion of polygamy, the veil, purdah?

The last chapters on prophecy must strike a westerner as sheer absurdity. Ida P. Storm.

CURRENT TOPICS

The Patient with the Shotgun

Dr. H. G. Freud, a medical missionary at Khariar, India, tells of "A Vote of Non-Confidence", in *The Outlook of Missions:*

Our friend, the well-dressed Mohammedan, came into the hospital and calmly announced that he intended to stay with us until he was well. Time did not matter. He was prepared to stay several months. In our experience, such a patient was extremely rare. We almost embraced him. Here certainly was a case of great confidence. There was no time limit to the treatment. At last we had found the perfect patient.

The next morning we found him calmly in bed, well-settled and content. An old proverb has it that appearances are often deceiving. We were about to leave him when our eyes met something which froze us almost to immobility. Sticking out at us from the foot of the bed was a small black object. On closer inspection we found that we were looking into the muzzle of a double-barreled shotgun. As soon as our powers of locomotion broke through to function, we jumped away without the slightest hesitation. The man noticed that something was wrong and pulled back the covers. This did not at all re-establish any peace of mind. Anxiously we eyed the distance to the door and prepared for the worst. But there wasn't anything sinister about his movements. He cheerfully displayed the shotgun, fondling it close by his side as a mother fondles her child. He explained that it was his custom to take his gun along with him wherever he went because one could never tell what would happen. We persuaded him to put it on the floor so we would have no difficulty in seeing it.

If he didn't know what would happen, I am sure we were in the same situation. It seemed that confidence was not so well established after all. At the moment all is quiet on the eastern front. We now observe a careful routine. We make absolutely no night calls on this patient. Our chief concern on day rounds is to see the gun first—to see that it is "nice and quiet" and comfortably asleep. Then we turn our attention to the patient.

The patient is still happy and insists that he will stay until he gets well, even if it takes months. We are not as happy about this announcement as when he first made it.

Yes, anything can happen. This morning he asked me to come back to see him privately. I can assure you I went only from a sense of duty. I peeped in and saw that the gun was still comfortable. This gave me courage so I entered with a show of confidence. The man handed me a ten rupee note. I looked at it in blank amazement. "Oh", he said, "that is just a present; take it. I like it here." I walked away with mixed feelings. We are wondering whether we shall see more ten rupee notes or more shot guns. Yes, anything can happen here!

A University for Alexandria

The question of a new University to be created in Alexandria has been much debated in educational circles. This has arisen through the decision of the Government to promote the existing Law School in Alexandria to the rank of a Faculty. The need for further extension of high education to keep pace with the extension of secondary education has been making itself more and more felt.

In an interview Dr. Taha Hussein, the well known educationalist and Controller of General Culture in the Ministry of Education, said that undoubtedly a University in Alexandria was needed, and that it would surely be better to expand the opportunities for technical and agricultural education.

The future welfare of Egypt depends on the improvement of its agricultural methods, the extension of irrigation and cognate works, and the development of local industries. An increase in the facilities for Law and Arts education will not provide Egypt with the men necessary for her future development. Anyone who casts his thoughts back ten to twenty years, and compares the state of affairs then and to-day will agree that, whereas at that time there were a number of qualified experts in agriculture, finance, economics, and irrigation to-day that number has become restricted.

The pros and cons of the matter, as presented by Taha Hussein and our correspondent, respectively, provide an interesting background to the controversy. It has, however, now been resolved, and a later message from our correspondent states that the Council of Ministers has now definitely decided to create a second University, to be named "Faruk El Awal," in Alexandria. The decision provides for the establishment for the first year of a Faculty of Engineering in addition to Faculties of Law and Arts.

—*India and the Near East.*

American Education in Iran

The following summary of articles that appeared in the *Iran* press last autumn is of deep interest.

The first modern educational institution in Iran was established by the Americans in what was formerly known as Urumia, 103 years ago. The Americans came at a time when we knew nothing of the value of exercise, fresh air, light and sanitation in the schools, and when we considered whippings, the bastinado, blind obedience and so on, as the essentials of education, and they opened our eyes and ears by founding modern schools. During the following years they opened schools in Teheran, Tabriz, Meshed, Pahlevi, Resht and Hamadan, for boys and girls, and year by year sent out graduates armed with knowledge, good character, and sound bodies, to serve the public. To-day, many who are ministers, ambassadors, members of Parliament, doctors and so on, have profited by the good teaching of the Americans, and in particular the present Minister of Education and many of his predecessors, were the products of American education.

This service was not without cost, for the Americans spent millions in bringing out teachers who were outstanding for their high

character as well as for their learning, teachers whose sole aim was the service of humanity through the spread of education. Those who know Dr. Jordan will assent to this 100%. He and his wife served our country for 42 years with the highest success and every sort of self-sacrifice, providing for the simple expenses of his living from his modest salary, and giving all the rest for the school, without saving up any money, or buying a foot of land or getting himself a house and lot. The Americans built school buildings that in those days were without a peer, the Alborz college building being rated as one of the finest in Teheran.

And what have we done in return? We turned them out and even gave them a million dollars on condition that they render no more service to education in Iran. Then we immediately began to cut up the fine tract of land they had dedicated to education, and to sell off the lots for a profit. What a difference!

We would propose three things: first that the department of education return Alborz College to the American teachers, that they may spend the million dollars for the institution if possible, and invite those same experienced teachers to return. Second, that as the plots of land sold from the college have not yet been built up, they be taken back and added to the college property. Thirdly that some sort of memorial to Dr. and Mrs. Jordan be erected. Other countries erect statues, issue stamps, found institutions and observe anniversaries in honor of their great men.

* * * * * *

Two of our proposals had to do with the government. The third proposal to the Alborz alumni was immediately approved. Thursday at a meeting of the Alborz alumni, it was voted that a bust of Dr. Jordan be prepared in America and set up in Alborz college or some other suitable place. The most high God entrusted this great teacher with such nobility and kindness, that we are certain his virtues will be evident even in a cold statue, and that every look at that statue will be a character lesson in manliness, self-sacrifice, and magnanimity. Since the alumni are to raise this money it is requested they send their contributions to this paper that their names may be published for the encouragement of others.

A Turkish Centre in London

On February 19 Anglo-Turkish relations were further enriched by the opening of a Halkevi (People's House) in London. The opening was a promising success for the future activities of this Turkish centre in England. It was formally declared open by the Turkish Ambassador, Dr. Aras, who defined the aims of this Halkevi as that of fostering the existing friendship between our two countries. The ceremony was attended by the Foreign Secretary, who spoke in high praise of Turkey in his reply to the Ambassador's speech. Turkish friends of this country and British friends of Turkey were particularly pleased to hear Mr. Eden declare, "Turkey's cause is our cause."

The B.B.C. recorded the whole ceremony and broadcast it to Turkey in its regular Turkish transmission. Many friends of Turkey

in this country were present at the opening, and, amongst others, two past British Ambassadors to Ankara, Sir George Clerk and Sir Percy Loraine, took the opportunity of speaking to Turkey over the B.B.C. microphone. Our friends in Turkey were thus given the opportunity of joining Turkish friends in this country on this happy occasion.

The premises of this institution are at 14, Fitzharding Street, W. 1, and the House is quite worthy of the cause for which the Halkevi has been opened. England is well aware of the honour of being the first foreign country where a branch of this prosperous Turkish institution has been established. This is yet one more happy omen of the close Turkish friendship for this country. The co-operation of the Turkish Government and the valuable assistance of the British Council, coupled with the personal efforts of General Sir Wyndham Deedes, have contributed largely to the opening of the London Halkevi. Here, those of us who are eager to know more about Turkey will find a good opportunity for understanding the Turkish outlook on life. The House is well decorated with a pictorial exhibition, illustrating the different aspects of Turkish life. A small but instructive library is yet another contribution in this field. The Turkish Secretary of the Halkevi and his friends will be only too pleased to try and answer the very many enquiries and questions we may have concerning Turkey, Turkish institutions, Turkish art and everything to do with Turkey in general.

—*The Asiatic Review* (April '42).

The Millet of Islam and the Menace of Indianism

Under this title, C. Rahmat Ali, the founder and president of the Pakistan National Movement in India, summarizes his ardent proposals for separate Islamic units to meet the Hindu-Moslem problem. The pamphlet is published at Cambridge and sells for threepence, but gives one furiously to think. We give a summary from Luzac and Company's review:

Without taking part in this controversy, we can best indicate the theme of its exposition by a few quotations. Addressing his comrades and compatriots, Mr. Rahmat Ali says: "If once we agree to remain within 'India,' we shall, for ever, rot in subjection to 'Indianism,' which is being solemnly canonised into a new cult by its clever devotees—the Indian Nationalists, and cringingly accepted by its miserable creatures—the Muslim careerists." Again, emphasizing the dangers to the Muslims of the fallacious conception of Indian territorial unity, he declares, "On such a basis 'Indianism' will create the central government . . . and command its military arm; and if, and when, sure of its power, it will, in the name of democracy and with the help of British bayonets, make use of it to coerce and crush us into complete captivity."

The fundamentals of the Movement's creed are set forth thus: "We are Muslim, not Hindoo; Pakistani not Hindoostani; and Asian not Indian." . . . "No system of government, whether inspired by the Gladstonian soul of British Imperialism or by the Gandhian spirit of India nationalism, or by the grasping capitalism of both, can ever be acceptable to us unless it ensures the sovereign status of Pakistan, of Bang-i-Islam and of Usmanistan."

Frustration for Christ's Sake

The sense of frustration which assails many a missionary from time to time and compels them to rethink their task in a Moslem environment is expressed in a letter from Egypt:—

"Have you ever walked for miles and miles along a barbed wire fence and never been able to get through? Well, that is what it feels like to be a missionary in a Moslem country. This fence cannot be climbed, and it cannot be cut, and it has no end. You can spend many years finding this out, but in the end God teaches you that to stay put and concentrate on one small section, until it is opened by the man or the woman or the child on the other side, is His way. To fight and be wounded to smash down that fence is dramatic, and to be blind to the fact that the fence is up again before you get your breath is so easy. To spend your life running up and down it and shouting through the wires is interesting, and makes thrilling articles for the magazines. But to be still and know that God is, and to rejoice over one sinner that repenteth: is that worth a life-time abroad? Probably that is more than you dare hope for; but sometimes you can help somebody else to stay the other side of the fence once it has been opened."

Yet this is not the last word. A missionary writes from Persia in the confidence which is shared by others in the Near East: "The power of Christ if really pouring through us unhindered should and must be sufficient to overcome all the present difficulties, great as they are."

—*C. M. S. Report*, 1942.

A Strange Trek of Qazak Tribesmen

In the course of recent months, a very remarkable movement has taken place in Central Asia. Three thousand of the Qazaq tribesmen emigrated from the Altai (Gold) Mountains, south of Siberia, and arrived at Ladakh, on the Indian frontier, on their way to Kashmir. These tribesmen are rich. They own thousands of sheep, and large flocks of goats, camels, horses and yaks. Their garments are adorned with gold buttons and lined with silver thread, and their belts have clasps of precious metal. I have often met these people in Urumchi, where they frequently came to buy goods and to exchange their pelts for grain. It is puzzling to know what has led to this exodus across a terrible desert, and over the Himalayan ranges where many must have perished by the way.

Mr. Daniel Berger, of the Central Asian Mission, writes from Kashmir on December 10th, 1941, as follows:

"The Qazaqs made excursions to Tibet, stealing and looting. . . . The Tibetan shepherds appealed to Lhassa and the Dalai Lama sent troops to drive these Qazaqs away. When all seemed to be quiet, the Tibetan troops retired. Then the Qazaqs returned well-armed, killed the Tibetan nomads and hastily led their flocks away. In their haste they got into Little Tibet, where the Tibetan army caught them. They were then interned in Ladakh. At dusk for a fortnight, I have strolled from tent to tent, offering these people copies of the Scriptures in the Uzbek dialect which they understood. The local

people will never forget the march past. One day, a train two miles long, of loaded and mounted camels, passed through the town."

The missionaries of the Central Asian Mission now have a unique opportunity to reach, with the Gospel, people who have lived many, many months' journey away from them. The great trek may continue toward India, or it may take another direction, but meanwhile from other Indian cities comes news of the arrival of large numbers of Mongols who have left their native land and trekked south. What does it all mean?

—MILDRED CABLE in *World Dominion.*

More Light on the Above Trek

A newspaper correspondent tells the amazing story of this trek at greater length: The Kazaks of Qomul lived their nomadic life in China's far western province of Sinkiang until the busy Russians came in 1934. The Chinese Governor had asked their help in subduing a Moslem revolt, and after the revolt they stayed. Also they sent brisk emissaries to "civilize" the Kazaks.

The nomads did not want towns and farms. They liked the freedom of the plains and mountainsides and their own felt tents—the life they had lived since the times of Genghis Khan. To keep their freedom and to live as they had lived for centuries, the Kazaks decided to move out of Sinkiang.

Sinkiang is cut and laced by towering mountains. One of the oldest traditional ways out is the flat, salty waste of the Gobi Desert. This way the great caravan of Kazaks started. There were 20,000 people, with huge herds of sheep, camels and squat Mongolian ponies.

No one will ever know how many of the Kazaks and their animals died in the desert, but the caravan finally came into the long panhandle of Kansu Province. Kansu was not better than Sinkiang. The Chinese Moslems did not welcome their coreligionists from the west, and for two years the Kazaks fought a constant guerrilla war. Desperately they decided to move on, as Tartar tribes have done since time immemorial.

Somewhere along the bleak caravan routes the Kazak leaders had heard of a fabulous, rich and peaceful land to the south. In a place called India, the rumor ran, they could live quietly, with plenty of grass for their flocks. Turning his back on China, the Kazak's sturdy, 40-year-old chieftain Ali Yas Khan led the remnants of the tribe south.

Their road led across the highest tableland in the world, the Karakoram plateau of northern Tibet. The Kazaks set their faces toward the blue, snowcapped 20,000-foot wall of the Himalayas, worked their painful way through steep narrow gorges, over wind-filled passes like knife-cuts in the rock.

Four hundred miles northeast of Lhasa, Tibetan soldiers stopped the caravan. Finally it was allowed to go on. Many a Kazak was killed by bandits; many of their animals died in sudden storms.

At Demchok, on the border of Kashmir, the caravan met a band of soldiers, wearily prepared to fight yet another battle. Then, at a parley, they learned they were facing British border troops from

Kashmir. All the Kazaks wanted, they told the Kashmir officials, was a place to graze, land where they could live. To reach their final camp the Kazaks had a last ordeal—to lead their camels and herd their sheep over the 11,300-foot Zoji-la Pass. When the great caravan pitched its tattered tents at Muzaffarabad, only 3,500 Kazaks were left.

Last week the Kazaks were still waiting contentedly in their camp. They watched delightedly as the little ambulance of the Kashmir Animal Welfare Association chugged into camp to doctor the sore feet of their camels. The black-eyed, round-faced children played cheerfully after so many months strapped to high, silver-mounted saddles on the swaying backs of camels.

Less contented was the British Raj. Neither in Kashmir nor in the rest of India are there free grazing lands to match the optimistic rumors which the Kazaks had heard.

—*Time* (New York, Jan. 26, 1942).

The Social Needs of Egypt

The missionary problem of Egypt has a social background that only emphasizes the utter need of this land for the Gospel message and its power. Here are some recent facts from the Cairo press:

In 1941 Dr. Abd el Wahid, Professor of Hygiene at the Faculty of Medicine, Fuad the First University, in the course of a speech revealed that 14,500,000, or 90 per cent. of the population of Egypt are affected with eye diseases; 12,000,000, or 75 per cent. of the population, are affected with parasitical diseases. On the average, each one of the population has three endemic diseases. Mortality in the past 15 years has increased 15 per cent., and child mortality in the same time has increased 17 per cent.

Dr. Abi Ibrahim Pasha, Minister for Public Health, stated that, in some villages, 70 to 80 per cent. of the population are afflicted with T.B., whilst in some villages it is as low as 40 to 60 per cent., and this in a dry, sunny, agricultural country, and not in a damp, industrial country. Dr. Abd el Wahid, further discussing the need for social reform in Egypt, remarked that one of the greatest contributing factors to the ill-health of the nation is illiteracy, and revealed that illiteracy is still prevalent among three-quarters of the men and nine-tenths of the women, and that only one peasant in 1,333 can read.

Dr. Taha Hussein, perhaps the leading educationalist in Egypt to-day, speaking on this subject, said (December 31st, 1940): "The central cause of this wretched state of education is the fear of education—the hidden fear, nursed by high authorities, of seeing education spread among the masses. 'If educated,' these authorities reason, 'farmers and workers would demand higher wages, and farmers and workers should not obtain high wages. For higher wages would mean higher taxes, and taxes should not go higher; for higher taxes would reduce high life pleasures, and high life pleasures must not be reduced.' "

"A further factor," said Dr. Abd el Wahid, dealing with social problems, "is that of poverty. About 90 per cent. of Egyptian families

do not earn more than £1 per month." (This in a country which is potentially, at least, very wealthy, and whose king, with over £125,000 per year salary, apart from income from his considerable property holdings, is the highest paid monarch in the world.)

There is, perhaps, one other factor that should not be overlooked since it gives rise to tremendous social problems and is largely the result of Islamic law. This is the fact that 60,000 divorces occur in Egypt every year, in a country whose total population (men, women and children) is only 16,000,000.

What Is Bismila Kalifat?

For several years our editorial office has been receiving copies of a printed circular with the headline *Kalifat* and signed *Bismila.* It was posted from Los Angeles, California, at irregular intervals, and dealt with international politics and Islam. Java Moslems and those in Algeria are exhorted "to extend Islam by promoting democracy through education." Sarakat Islam in Java is advised "to the utmost to Islamize the invaders so that they will become moral conquerors for Islam."

Our minds are confused regarding the aim and import of this anonymous organization. Earlier correspondence yielded no result, but now we receive from P. O. Box 2525, Los Angeles, this tribute: "Every issue of 'The Moslem World' is read carefully, with interest and with moral profit and has been for years. It is the best magazine published in North America because it is scrupulously edited, faultlessly printed and as free from bigotry as anyone could wish. The articles in it show deep research by the writers and are characterized by correct language. Muslims should find the magazine instructive and enlightening. Herewith please find postal money order for subscription."

SURVEY OF PERIODICALS

By Sue Molleson Foster

Union Theological Seminary Library

I. GENERAL

Arabic Treasures at Princeton. Mehmed A. Simsar. (In *Asia,* New York. February, 1942. pp. 125-126).

Brief account of the Garrett Collection of Arabic manuscripts, largest of its kind in America.

Indian Fables in Islamic Art. Hugo Buchthal. (In the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society,* London. Part 4, 1941. pp. 317-324).

Historical description of the *Panchatantra* or, as the Muhammadans called the work, the *Fables of Bidpai,* one of the earliest illustrated Islamic books to come down to us. With reproductions.

A Modern Analysis of Arabic Poetry. Dr. Ilse Lichtenstaedtler. (In *Islamic Culture,* Hyderabad. October, 1941. pp. 429-434).

Considers "Die Wirklichkeitweite der frueharabischen dichtung" by Gustav von Gruenebaum, a book viewing Arabic poetry as a work of art, not as a linguistic exercise.

Philologika. H. Ritter. (In *Der Islam,* Berlin. Band 26, Heft 2, 1940. pp. 116-158).

Includes a study of Maulānā Ĝelalāddīn Rūmī and his circle.

II. ARABIA

III. HISTORY OF ISLAM

Civil Strife in the Ottoman Empire, 1481-1503. Sydney Nettleton Fisher. (In *The Journal of Modern History,* Chicago. December, 1941. pp. 449-466).

Describes the conflicts between the Ottoman Ruling Institution (Ghāzī 'ulemā) and the Moslem Institution during the reign of Bayezid, son of Mohammed II, conqueror of Constantinople.

The Origins of Pan-Islamism. Dwight E. Lee. (In *The American Historical Review,* New York. January, 1942. pp. 278-287).

The author believes the influence of the imperialistic powers as well as that of Moslem countries has caused the movement.

THE VICTORIES OF SULTĀN FĪRŪZ SHĀH of Tughluq Dynasty. N. B. Roy. (In *Islamic Culture,* Hyderabad. October, 1941. pp. 449-464).

A translation of a contemporary record of aspirations and achievements in public utilities conceived by a Sultan of Delhi, who reigned during the 14th century.

WESTERN ATTITUDES TOWARD ISLAM. Marshall W. Baldwin. (In *The Catholic Historical Review,* Washington. January, 1942. pp. 403-411).

Examines the various western methods of coping with the onrush of Islam and the effects of these methods on European society.

IV. KORAN, TRADITION, THEOLOGY

MU'TAZILITE VIEW ON BEATIFIC VISION. Abdus Subhan. (In *Islamic Culture,* Hyderabad. October, 1941. pp. 422-428).

Beliefs on the subject by the rationalists of Islam.

V. RELIGIOUS AND SOCIAL LIFE

THE QARIB COAST. W. G. Cousins. (In *The Nineteenth Century and After,* London. January, 1942. pp. 31-38).

Arab manners and customs along the North African coast, especially among the fisher folk.

WOMAN AND THE STATE IN EARLY ISLAM. Nabia Abbott. (In the *Journal of Near Eastern Studies,* Chicago. January, 1942. pp. 106-126).

That Mohammed strove successfully for the improvement of the economic and legal status of all Mohammedan women is shown by the freedom and independence displayed by women in the early days of Islam. . . . On the other hand, he left woman forever inferior to man, placing her one step below him.

ISLAMIC FAITH IN AN AGE OF REASON. Thomas J. O'Shaughnessy, S. J. (In *The Catholic World,* New York. Vol. cliv., No. 923, February, 1942, pp. 562-67).

"Signs pointing to the real present and future decline of Islam as a religious force are, it seems, even more in evidence than those indicating its future rise to new life."

VI. POLITICAL RELATIONSHIPS

BRITISH POLICY IN AFRICA, 1873-1877. Halford L. Hoskins. (In the *Geographical Review,* New York. January, 1942. pp. 140-149).

A study in geographical politics as applied to Egypt.

CAN THE ARAB PEOPLES UNITE? Albert Viton. (In *Asia,* New York. December, 1941. pp. 715-718).

A far-sighted British statesmanship would be needed to bring about a united Near East and even then, Egypt and Arabia would not be included in the confederation.

THE CRIPP MISSION VIEWED FROM ENGLAND [and] . . . FROM INDIA. (In *The Round Table*, London. June, 1942. pp. 377-390).

Gives both sides of a situation so important to Briton, Hindu and Moslem.

THE FUTURE OF ETHIOPIA. Robert Gale Woolbert. (In *Foreign Affairs*, New York. April, 1942. pp. 535-551).

The natural unity of Ethiopia with British and French Somaliland and with former Italian East Africa should be strengthened into political unity by Great Britain as soon as possible *post bellum*.

IRAN AS A GATEWAY TO RUSSIA. Edwin M. Wright. (In *Foreign Affairs*, New York. January, 1942. pp. 367-371).

Discusses Great Britain's reasons for its invasion of Iran in August, 1941.

MODERN EGYPT. Taha Hussein. (In *The Asiatic Review*, London. January, 1942. pp. 102-105).

Sketches cultural, economic and political progress in a country which has always exercised considerable influence on East and West.

GERMAN PREPARATIONS IN THE MIDDLE EAST. C. L. Sulzberger. (In *Foreign Affairs*, New York. July, 1942. pp. 663-678).

A careful, detailed account of Axis methods of penetration and propaganda in a section vital to the success of the United Nations.

VII. MISSIONS TO MOSLEMS

IRAQ GETS BUSY. (In *The Young Men of India, Burma and Ceylon*. December, 1941. p. 275).

Y.M.C.A. work for British and Indian troops.

THE OLD WAY AND THE NEW TO THE MUSLIM HEART. D. J. S. Enderlin. (In the *International Review of Missions*, London. January, 1942. pp. 112-116).

Time has proved that a sympathetic, inquiring, receptive approach to Moslems gains greater results than any amount of controversial, theological arguments.

PROBLEMS CONFRONTING MISSIONARIES IN EGYPT. Aubrey Whitehouse. (In *Egypt General Mission News*, London. January-March, 1942. pp. 6-10).

El Azhar and its decisions stand between the missionary and his possible converts from the ignorant peasants and the educated classes.

TODAY IN TRANSJORDAN. D. Blackburn. (In *World Dominion and the World Today*, London. January-February, 1942. pp. 36-39).

The Arab Legion and the Frontier Force have been in action in Iraq and Syria and have shown great loyalty to Great Britain. Missionary work shows satisfactory progress and more and more attention is being paid to land development.