

THE MOSLEM WORLD

VOL. XXXIII

JANUARY, 1943

No. 1

BRINGING THE KING BACK

Why speak ye not a word of bringing the King back?—2 Sam. 19:10.

Readers of this Quarterly will remember that the Fellowship of Faith for the Moslems, of which a notice is found in every issue, was organized by Mr. and Mrs. J. Gordon Logan of Ayrshire, Scotland, more than twenty years ago. It exists to unite in prayer, service and sacrifice an ever larger circle of Christians across the world of Islam and has been a source of inspiration to many isolated missionaries. The Logans were missionaries in Egypt and valued contributors to our columns as early as 1919. The annual prayer-cycle published by them is a miniature statistical and geographical survey of Moslems everywhere. We are happy to use here an "occasional paper" which has a striking message. It is also timely for, as Dr. Macdonald points out in his article on *'Isa* in the Encyclopaedia of Islam, the descent of Jesus the Son of Mary from heaven occupies an increasing importance in Moslem eschatology. Some Sunni authorities say "there is no Mahdi save *'Isa* who will restore faith on his return from heaven and usher in the Day of Judgment." Islam as well as Christendom is conscious of a world-crisis today. In the Scriptures the final crisis and consummation is the Second Advent of our Lord. If we seek for a fresh approach to our Moslem brethren, this our common hope in days of peril might point the way.

SAMUEL M. ZWEMER.

We often hear people talking of a "New Order" and of what is to happen after the war, but how seldom do we hear anyone say that the solution of all our problems would be in the personal return of the Lord Jesus Christ to this earth, to take to Him His great power and to reign.

We read in 2 Sam. xix: 9-15 of the return of King David to Jerusalem after Absalom's revolt. The king had been driven from his kingdom and from his home by his enemies. He was rejected and cast out; then in his rejection he triumphed, the revolt ended in utter failure, the usurper was slain and everything was in confusion; "The people were at strife throughout all the tribes of Israel". In their dire necessity they remembered their absent king. He had been a saviour and a deliverer to them in days gone by, he could save them from their present difficulties if only he were re-instated, and so they began to talk together about bringing the king back.

Has this story not a living message for us today? The King of kings came to His own and His own received Him not. "He was despised and rejected of men." The King was cast out, but in His rejection He triumphed. The cross is the place of victory over sin and Satan. The victory has been won, but we are today reaping the awful consequences of the rejection of the King and of rebellion against Him.

In the spiritual sense, those who receive the Lord Jesus have power given to them to become the children of God through faith in Christ and in His finished work, but more is needed. Can you think of anything that will put the *World Condition* right? Yes; "He must reign till He hath put all enemies under His feet" (I Cor. xv: 25). "The Lord Jesus shall be revealed from heaven with His mighty angels, in flaming fire taking vengeance on them that know not God, and that obey not the Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ" (2 Thess. i: 7-10). "He shall break in pieces the oppressor. . . . In His days shall the righteous flourish; and abundance of peace" (Psalm lxxii).

In the story of King David's return to Jerusalem it seems as if he might have gone back as soon as Absalom was slain,

but he was waiting for something. Waiting until he was missed and longed for, waiting to be invited to return, waiting to be *brought back*, and he so worked in his absence that "He bowed the heart of all the men of Judah, even as the heart of one man; so that they sent this word unto the king: Return thou, and all thy servants".

Is it possible that the Lord Jesus is waiting to be brought back? Is there ground in God's word for us to believe that we may have a share in bringing back the King? Our story suggests that at the united heartfelt cry of His people He will respond. . . . We have not prayed as we ought for the coming of the King. Let us confess it and let us ask God to take away our unwillingness to pray this prayer in sincerity and truth. Our slowness to pray thus leads us to feel that we do not consider ourselves prepared for His coming. "What manner of persons ought ye to be in all holy conversation and godliness, looking for and hastening (margin) the coming of the day of God" (2 Pet. iii: 11-14). As we realize our own utter unworthiness we may take comfort from the words, "accounted worthy" in Luke xxi: 36. Our trust for that day must be in the precious cleansing blood and in the perfect righteousness of our blessed Lord, Who is made unto us wisdom and righteousness and sanctification and redemption.

Power, preparation and lastly preaching are needed to bring back the King (Matt. xxiv: 14). "This Gospel of the Kingdom shall be preached in all the world for a witness unto all nations; and then shall the end come." Note it is this Gospel of the Kingdom that is to be preached before the end. Surely the Gospel of the Kingdom must be concerned with the rejection of the King, with His hidden spiritual kingdom in the hearts of His own and with His second advent when He shall come to judge the nations and to set up His kingdom in power and great glory over the earth.

Let us therefore pray for His coming, prepare for His coming and proclaim His coming with no uncertain sound, so that we may have a share in bringing the King back.

Ayrshire, Scotland.

THE LATE JENNIE B. LOGAN.

SOME MISSIONARY VIRTUES

A well-known British Headmaster once said, "Boys are always reasonable, Masters sometimes, parents never". It was with this in mind, that in 1920 the writer prepared to learn from her first class what was their view of the virtues admired by their British teachers and to find out what were the virtues admired by themselves. It was a useful and enlightening conversation. "English teachers are always too busy to say 'Good morning'; they never smile as they greet you; they never stop to speak to you." Such were some of the criticisms, and from these, developed by further experience, emerged the thoughts which follow as to the Christian virtues most necessary for the missionary.

It is necessary first of all to clear some possible misunderstandings out of the way. It is the Christian virtues, not the virtues of the Christian which are our subject. This is an important and fundamental distinction which will become clear later, for all Christian missionaries obviously do not practise all the Christian virtues, and it is a dangerous assumption to suppose that we do. Secondly, we are considering the virtues essential to the missionary rather than to the pupil. Professor Whitehead has written, "Moral education is impossible without the habitual vision of greatness". Where is the pupil to see that vision? Through, if not in, the teacher. Again, it is impossible to deal with all the Christian virtues within the limits of this essay, and therefore only the most important primary ones are mentioned. Others are clearly allied to, or derived from, these. And finally, those virtues especially admired by the British are omitted, not because they are unimportant or undervalued, but because they are often over-emphasized by British missionaries to the exclusion of others, often conspicuous by their absence from the British character. The result is a confusion between what is essentially Christian and what is merely British tradition, and this is harmful in non-Christian lands. An Indian once

remarked to a British missionary, "You say that the meek shall inherit the earth, but if you tell an Englishman that he is meek, he is insulted".

The Christian virtues essential to the missionary seem to be humility, generosity, graciousness, and patience allied with peace-making. Humility is fundamental to the Christian Faith. It is at the heart of the Incarnation; "He humbled Himself" and "took upon Him the form of a servant." Probably the most startling and revolutionary act of our Lord's was the washing of the disciples' feet, and to many it still so remains. Our Lord's words constantly re-emphasize this, "Blessed are the meek"; "let him be your servant." St. Paul also realises its importance; "the meekness and gentleness of Christ", "with all lowliness and meekness", "in lowliness of mind"; and here is the clue, "let each esteem other better than themselves". Humility brings the teacher, as it were, right off his platform to his right place in the midst of his pupils, for when our Lord set a little child "in the midst of them", He was putting him in the teacher's place. Even the Pagan teacher could set us an example by his standing among his students. Through humility we shall avoid the sin of condescension towards our non-Christian friends, and follow the pattern of our Lord Who, as a leader and companion of His disciples, was "like unto His brethren". Had He been condescending towards the crowds, so far from following Him, they would have fled from Him, as we do from those who adopt a superior attitude towards us. Condescension is perhaps the greatest temptation of the Christian missionary. And yet should he not remember, "What hast thou that thou didst not receive? now if thou didst receive it, why dost thou glory?" He is sometimes deplorably unaware of this fundamental fault in himself and will speak, e.g., of his "little Jewish secretary" with kindly tolerance, or enquire after our "little Jewish teacher", though the teacher in question is little neither in stature nor in intellectual attainments and compares favorably in this respect with the questioner.

By generosity I mean something more than a liberal hand, namely, a generous heart, giving largesse of thought,

time and energy. A Christian can never truthfully say, "I have done as much as anyone can expect of me". He is always expected to do more. "Except your righteousness shall exceed. . . ." "If ye salute your brethren only, what do ye more than others?" "If any compel you to go a mile, go with him twain." The first mile may be under compulsion, but the second is a free gift. Generosity represents the spirit of the second mile. It also includes a generous recognition of others' worth, and a lack of the censorious spirit, that fault which is such a temptation to those who, like teachers, are constantly in authority over others. Dictatorships today have shown us the moral deterioration that may set in when human beings have too much power over the lives and destinies of other people. Generosity will also prevent that quick condemnation of others which is the fruit of the censorious spirit. "If ye had known what this meaneth 'I will have mercy . . .', ye would not have condemned," not the guilty, but "the guiltless." "A bruised reed shall He not break, and smoking flax shall He not quench." "The smoking flax" has been translated "a wick dimly burning". How many wicks dimly burning, whether we interpret it as "youthful enthusiasms", or otherwise, has the missionary quenched, when a sheltering hand might have produced a steady flame.

"Let your speech be always with grace", says St. Paul, and the whole Gospel bears witness to the graciousness of our Lord's manner. "They wondered at the gracious words which proceeded out of His mouth", or "words of charm." This graciousness is in our Lord's whole character rather than in any particular command, for true graciousness should not be self-conscious. Often a virtue consciously practised becomes an equivalent fault, but on the other hand a virtue may be consciously learnt, and become a habit of mind if practised. In a paragraph once published as "John Ruskin's Creed", was the following, "I will try to love my neighbour as myself, and even when I cannot, I will behave to him as if I did." It is psychologically sound to form such habits by practice. The missionary teacher who enters a new class as a courteous guest of that class, will remain as a welcome companion, and time

is not lost if spent in establishing that relationship without which all subsequent teaching would be vain.

These virtues seem to reduce us to a very lowly position. Have we then no authority? "He spoke as One having authority, and not as the scribes." We speak but as the scribes; only He speaks with full authority. Too often a confusion arises because the missionary forgets that the message of Christ has to pass through the teacher's mind to reach the pupil, and therefore cannot come with the same authority as when it comes direct from Himself. It is our message which may have the authority of Christ, but our presentation of it may be at fault, and unfortunately it must be our presentation which the pupil hears, and perhaps for this reason it is imperative that our life and character should be such that it may teach more than our words.

Patience as a virtue is not very popular at the present time. It has a passive sound like "long suffering" and it seems to suggest a condescending forbearance. We do not enjoy the company of those who "put up" with us. Today also its exhaustion is usually a prelude to violence and bad manners on the politician's part. But attach to it peace-making with the emphasis on the making rather than the passive enjoyment of peace, and patience becomes constructive like the patience of God towards us. He looks forward patiently to what we may one day become. His patience is full of expectation. "When the time came, God sent His Son". How often Jesus said, "My time is not yet," and our impatience seems petty beside His limitless patience. Most of our Lord's parables are taken from the slow processes of nature, which produce fruit in due time. All this is most relevant in relation to the missionary's dealings with his pupils.

A final question may be asked. Why do we neglect these virtues? First, because for their cultivation they need trouble, self-knowledge and care, more so than the so-called more robust virtues which come more naturally and easily to the Westerner. It is time that we gave up riding rough-shod over the gentler virtues of the East, and calling them weaknesses.

We shall only fully see Christ when we see these virtues embodied in our fellow-Christians of the East. A Christ seen through British or Western eyes only is an incomplete vision.

Secondly, our social graces are in a great measure derived from Christian values, and came to us in the mediaeval age of chivalry, but between them and us stand the faults of the Puritan tradition, censoriousness, self-righteousness and harshness. If we had equally inherited the Puritan "hunger and thirst after righteousness", we should do well. But we need also the chivalrous virtues: humility, generosity, graciousness and patience. If the East needs the virtues especially admired by the West, we certainly need those gentler virtues which we can only learn from our Lord Jesus Christ Himself.

ELINOR A. MOORE.

Jerusalem.

Palestine in War Time

We learn from *The Palestine Post* that progress goes on in spite of the war:

"The land cultivated by the Bedouins in the Beersheba district will help to make Palestine's crop this year the largest it has been for many centuries—a decided help in the war effort. In this southern lowland it is not a question of hundreds of *dunams*, nor for that matter of thousands. The land that has been turned by the plough this year is estimated at nearly two million *dunams*. . . . Many of the fields have been tractor-ploughed. . . . Tractor ploughing was first introduced only seven or eight years ago when three sheikhs bought tractors for the fields of their tribes. . . . Last summer the Government gave loans to tribes to cover the cost of hiring tractors. . . . It is roughly estimated that 1,100,000 *dunams* have been planted with barley, 300,000 with wheat, and 500,000 with dura. This is all the more remarkable when one considers that 40 years ago four-fifths of the land was used for grazing camels.

"From zero to 20,000 in 21 years is the record shown by the Palestine Telephone Service in installing telephone 'stations'. . . . The 20,000 record was reached early this year, the rate of installations having been stepped up rapidly since the beginning of the war to cope with the ever-increasing demand for telephones. . . . For its size and recent growth Palestine is thought by experts to be one of the most telephone-conscious countries in the world. . . . Of the 55 exchanges in the country 16 are already automatic, and it may be that every telephone in the country will one day be operated automatically."

A TREK THROUGH THE TANGUT COUNTRY

Before William the Conqueror fought the Battle of Hastings a new nation, the Tangut Kingdom, was formed to play an intriguing part in history. While it was in its ascendancy men of Europe laid down their lives in the Holy Land in the many Crusades. Omar Khayyam enriched Persian poetry. The Magna Charta was signed before this kingdom succumbed to the hordes of Genghis Khan; the Kamakura Period in Japan flourished and the Zen sect of Buddhism rose in that eastern land; Frederick the First, called Barbarossa, ruled the Holy Roman Empire; and China enjoyed the Sung period of Fine Arts, glazed pottery, and the philosopher Chu Hsi who meditated at the foot of Lion's Leap below Kuling Mountain in Central China.

In area it was a bit larger than Texas, or the combined area of German Poland and Switzerland before 1914, or about the size of New South Wales; *i.e.*, roughly 315,000 square miles. It covered that part of Northwest China which we now know as the Province of Ningsia, the panhandle of Kansu, from Liangchow west to the Lob Nor, and the Ordos Desert, which is at the present time the southern third of the Province of Suiyuan. Before the Han Dynasty, at the beginning of the Christian era, the area was controlled by the Hsiung Nu against whom the Emperor Ch'in Shih Huang Ti built the Great Wall.

The word "Tangut" is a Tibetan word. The Chinese called it Hsi Hsia. It is the same Hsia that appears in Ningsia and which was the first name of the Chinese nation.

A young man, famed as a warrior, and descended from a long line of distinguished officials of the T'ang Dynasty and their short-lived successors, established in 960 A.D. the Sung Dynasty, with its capital in Kaifeng. His brother followed him on the throne sixteen years later. During this reign, in its seventh year, two relatives appeared at court and were destined to play a troubled part in the empire. The second is of

importance. He is known as Li Chi Ch'ien or Chao Chi Ch'ien. This man in 982, dissatisfied with his reception, rebelled; fleeing from the court he went to the Northwest to the Jung people, on the upper reaches of the Yellow River near modern Labrang or Hsia Ho. To these Tangut people Chao Chi-Ch'ien must have fled.

To them, it is reported, he showed the picture of his grandfather. As the historians say: "then began the trouble of the State of Hsia." There is evidence that within less than six years his influence as a menace to the Sung was so great that he was offered, through his brother, an official position in the empire if he would return. But in 990, the K'itans installed Chao Chi-ch'ien as King of Hsia. These K'itans are interesting people because it was from them that the middle ages got the word Cathay for China. We see the old name still in the Russian word for China "K'itai".

In 1032 Yuan-hao ascended the throne. He was a character of ability with rich resources as painter and inventor; he understood Buddhism and both foreign and Chinese things. He caused the power of the Hsi Hsia to increase. It was his accession which the Chinese officially mark as the foundation of the Hsi Hsia or Tangut Dynasty, although some authorities give the date 990 when the K'tian appointed Chao Chi-ch'ien, his grandfather, as head of the State.

There is little of the internal history of the kingdom known to us. Whenever the Sung historians mentioned this Kingdom, it was in connection with a disturbance. However we do know a bit of one of the nine rulers, Ren Tsung. His reign lasted for fifty-five years and he died in 1193. As the alien historian grudgingly admits, "he promoted education in his State and raised Confucius to the rank of emperor". However this was the end of the glories of the Tanguts, for powerful ministers weakened the state and the military administration was decaying.

Then to the far north in the year 1206 an able young man named T'ie Mu-chen who could ride a horse as no other and lead men took the title of Genghis Khan. Three years later the ruler of the Tanguts submitted to the Mongols. Finally

in the year 1227 Genghis, on his last great expedition, exterminated the Tangut Dynasty.

To philologists and numismatists the language spoken and written by these people is of interest. We know it is written from right to left, like Arabic and other Semitic languages. Contemporary records state that it was modelled on the ancient Li Shu. Examples may be found on coins, and in a six language inscription in the Nan-K'ou Pass and in a bilingual inscription at Liangchow, Kansu.

This introduction is sufficient to give some idea of the historical background of the country through which I took my trip in 1936. From T'ung Hsin Ch'en in the South to Tingk'ou in the North took me one month. The actual travel to cross the country took only thirteen days, nine by horse in the south and four by cart from Ningsia city to Tingk'ou.

We had been traveling up and down valleys in which great crevasses, forty feet deep, ran along our path and often caused us to make long detours. Loess earth breaks vertical and has no stone or clay to bind it together. Finally after more than a hundred li travel, in the late afternoon we arrived in the center of a large fertile valley where a mosque dominated the landscape. We made for this mosque at Seo Chia Ts'a, greeted the ahung with "As-Salāmu 'alaikum", and asked him for some place to spend the night. Although we spoke together in Chinese, he could read only Arabic. He was most kind, and soon assigned to us a cave. It must have been 50 feet deep, 18 feet wide and 25 feet high at the front. It was built in the form of a gothic arch. The front was enclosed with a small door with a Chinese window as transom and a smaller one at the top. The outstanding thing that night was our mental condition. One who has never spent a night in a cave in loess country has missed a thrill that cannot be duplicated. This is particularly true of South Ningsia. Many remember the deadly earthquake of December 16th, 1920 in which whole areas of people were annihilated in the twinkling of an eye. Mountains of loess literally walked and buried whole cities. On that night Ma Yuan-chang, leader of the Jeheriya Order (Men Huan), was killed while attending, with thousands of his followers, a

meeting in Saku, Kansu, for the purpose of commencing a Moslem rebellion against the government. It seemed for hours I could not get to sleep trying to figure out a way to get out when the mountain started to move. The cave proved to be deliciously cool, compared with the warmth of outside, in fact our covering seemed almost inadequate, but the full sweat I developed from worrying made up for the lack of covering. It is safe to assume there was no earthquake.

Weichow is wholly Moslem. Here were ten thousand people who turn to Mecca when they worship. In contrast to many Moslem centers there was only one mosque in the walled city. It was the most beautifully appointed one I have seen in China, Peiping included. That had much of the richness of the forbidden city. This one had an air of dignity that comes with well preserved old age.

We spent several days in this strong Moslem center. As in the cities we had visited along our trail from the south we called at the mosques for a talk with the ahungs. We had informal conversations with the crowd of boys and men who followed us about. Also we had street meetings, using several posters especially prepared by Mr. G. K. Harris for the Society of Friends of the Moslems in China and sold by the Religious Tract Society in Hankow, for work with Moslems.* These carefully prepared bilingual posters in Arabic and Chinese had an appeal that held the attention of the crowd. Also bilingual gospels of St. Matthew and St. John as well as pure Arabic scripture portions found a ready sale. In fact we sold all the literature we had.

Why should there be this thriving Moslem center so far in the North? Before Genghis Khan spread destruction on the Hsi Hsia and Sung Dynasty a descendant of the Prophet Mohammed, like Abraham before him, left his home in Sogdiana, along the Oxus, and brought his kin to live on the steppes of Mongolia. A descendant of his named Sayyid Edjill, joined Genghis Khan and help to conquer Hsi Hsia. Evidences point to the fact that this group settled east of the Yellow River area of Hsi Hsia. Sayyid Edjill himself, as a trusted

* See Frontispiece showing our latest poster on the Second Advent.

chief under Kublai Khan, conquered Yunnan and was its governor. The second point of interest in Weichow is that in this wholly Moslem town there is a marvelously well-preserved pagoda of unusual shape. It is west of the present city, but still contained in the remains of a city wall. In examining records later I found that Weichow was first built by the Tanguts. This I feel is a relic of that period; in fact, except for some possible remains of old city walls, this was the only bit of the Tangut culture that I actually saw.

The third thing worthy of note was that in less than a week after we left, the communists under Chu Te, who at that time was entertaining Edgar Snow, besieged the city for a month without taking it. It was the only city in South Ningsia that did not fall under their temporary rule.

The next two days' journey to the north was one of weary travel over earth that bore little vegetation and reflected the rays of the sun, much like snow. Finally we came out of a small valley upon several wide sweeps of pure sand. Crossing these we came to a Garden of Eden. There, stretched out before us, was the wonder of wonders. We could see to the Northwest the Alashan Mountains that stood sentinel and guarded the Ningsia Plain from the ravening clutches of the Black Gobi. At our right to the northeast the Ordos Desert marched down to the oasis. In front of us from a gorge the Yellow River flowed north, and on both sides the fertile plain spread out before us for one hundred miles. No sight was more welcome to me than this patch of green, with trees and people and life.

About 60 miles south of the city of Ningsia the Yellow River issues out of the gorges and there it is divided into four lateral canals, two on each side of the river. The longest of those on the west side goes north beyond Pinglo 100 miles. The first of these was built in the Han Dynasty, to water the Wu Chung Pao or eastern side. The second was constructed in the T'ang Dynasty. The other two I believe were added under the Mings.

The government takes great care of the intakes of those canals with fine masonry to insure a proper flow of water. Not

far from the intakes we saw the first division of water and from there on through the plain one was constantly crossing canals large and small. Were the government to disappear tomorrow these canals would be kept going by the people, for they know that without them they would die. Every fall the water is drawn off and in the spring before opening, eight to ten inches of the earth is removed from the bottom of the trunk canals and lesser amounts from the smaller ones. From each field every seven years a layer of eight inches is removed and made into sun dried brick. Each year the "kangs", earthen stoves forming half floors of rooms, are destroyed, crushed and put on the field for fertilizer. This Wu Chung Pao area, largely Moslem, is the most fertile part of the whole plain.

Ningsia city was interesting. Its high walls, wide streets and large open spaces inside the city, with the towering Alashans to the west made my visit there a never-ending delight. But most of all while I was in the city and rambling about its streets I was trying to reconstruct the capital of the Hsi Hsia's. I tried to picture Chao Yuan-hao, the man of ability, a painter and inventor trying to build up a strong kingdom in this oasis between two deserts. Then the long reign of Chao Ren-tsung who fostered education in his state, so that even his enemies had to admit it. There had been in those days contacts with the west. The Uigurs, their closest neighbor, were much influenced by the thought and art of the West. Sir Aurel Stein and Professor Pelliot both have uncovered vast treasures of manuscripts and paintings from the "Caves of the Thousand Buddhas" in Tun-huang, which was the western-most part of the Hsi Hsia. These were buried about the beginning of this dynasty. A glance at these will show the culture that did exist. As we looked to the setting sun, across the hill where lie buried those once great rulers, one could not but feel bitter toward the Mongols who destroyed everything.

North from Ningsia is Pinglo, a day away. One day beyond Pinglo, is Shih Tsui Shan where the road reaches the Yellow River. Here ends the Ningsia Plain. The part around Pinglo can only be called fertile in spots for the land is almost

too acid for growing grain, and much of the water from wells is useless. Shih Tsui Shan is interesting for the Great Wall, which reached the Yellow River from the east above Ningsia not far north of Linwu, an old Han Dynasty city; here begins its march from the river to the Alashan Mountains, then around the Plain. However all that we could see of the wall here was a low mound which seemed to climb over the hills in the distance. It resembled the Limes, seen further west, which Sir Aurel Stein discovered a number of years ago. The second thing that makes this town important is that the large caravans which connect Ningsia with Paot'ou cross the river at this point, and head due east across the Ordos Desert, while the carts and other traffic follow the river on the outside. Abbe Huc crossed here on his way to Lhasa.

Two days across the Gobi and we were at Tingk'ou. It was barren wild country, though the friendly Yellow River, silently encouraging us, was in some places beside the road. There was still desert ahead and six days to reach Paot'ou, but Tingk'ou marked the old boundary of the Hsi Hsia Kingdom. I was sorry to leave this part of the world, which for a number of years has had a fascination for me. Now that I have seen the great possibilities for effective Christian work for the Moslems of the Tangut country the call to come back is crystal clear. But time marches on and we had to be off, like my patron saint Marco Polo, nearly seven centuries before, making his first journey to Cambuluc over the same shifting sands of the Gobi.

C. L. PICKENS, JR.

Hankow, China

THE ZIKR OF THE RAHMANIJA-ORDER IN ALGERIA

A PSYCHO-PHYSIOLOGICAL ANALYSIS

The Islamic religious orders spread like a network all over the Islamic world from Morocco to India, Malaysia and China and from the Moslem parts of Yugoslavia down into the center of Africa. This is still true though the orders have been abolished in modern Turkey, and in almost all other Islamic countries their religious vigor and influence is decreasing and their political power, once a serious factor which European nations had to recognize and to fight, is no longer of importance. The last time a religious order took an active part in world affairs was the heroic struggle of the Senussia order during the last war in Tripolitania against the Italians, and its attempt to invade Egypt. In our days the Wahhabis under King Ibn Sa'ud are an element to be reckoned with in the Arabic world. But they are hardly more than a faint reflection of what the great orders have been and still are; they have justly been called the puritans of Islam and their conservative religious views separate them from the Sufi orders in the past and present.

The Westernization of the Islamic countries and the efforts to adjust Islam to the modern world are the powerful enemies of the orders. However, they continue to exist and as long as they do they deserve the interest of science and of politics. The number of the main orders has been estimated at more than forty-five, but the various ramifications which many of them have undergone render classification difficult. In Algeria, one of the countries where the orders were most flourishing, French authorities estimated before the last world war that of a population of about five millions not less than 500,000 might be affiliated with an order. The order is ruled by a well organized religious hierarchy. But the bulk of the members (*ikhwān*-brethren), continue their ordinary

life and profession; their relation to their order may be roughly compared to that of the tertiaries in the great orders of the catholic world. The aim of the order is primarily religious. The initiation and the following of the path which is peculiar to each order, gives the pledge of beatitude in after-life. However, as in all mystic creeds, an exalted spiritual state may be reached in this life, and this state may even assume the character of union with God or the saint-founder of the order, who is sometimes above the prophet Muhammad himself. The path by which this state, the *ḥāl*, is obtained, is called *zikr*, in enlargement of the original significance of the word which is, "repeated mention" (of the name of God).

It is particularly the form of the *zikr* which differentiates the orders and which determines their rank, from the fraternities and guilds of conjurers and jugglers, with their *fakīr*-like tricks and achievements, who may use stimulants and narcotics of all kinds to get into the *ḥāl*—up to the esoteric circles of the most distinguished orders where the true mystic life is lived. However, it is obvious that within one and the same order and particularly within a higher order, there must be a difference between the path, i.e., the religious technique, for the mass of the affiliated and that of those who by their personal standard, by their religious zeal and qualification are aspiring to deeper mystic understanding and experience. The great number of the affiliated demand their share in the spiritual benefits and they must be given satisfaction. They are for obvious reasons particularly interested in the *ḥāl* and its achievement. For primitive people and minds, but not for them only, the loss or the transformation of normal consciousness presents an irresistible quasi-magic attractiveness. Ethnography shows that there is no people which does not use practices surrounded with religious awe which are supposed to free man from the narrowness of his normal consciousness and by widening or by annihilating it, open to him other and higher experience. Intoxicants, stupeficients, ritual dances and disguises, more or less elaborate practices to produce hypnotic states and other means serve this pur-

pose and many of them pass from the more primitive state into the higher forms of civilization.

In the Raḥmaniya order, a branch of the great Khalwatia order, we shall not expect to find the use of drugs to produce the *ḥāl*, not even with the mass of the affiliated. However the superiors of the Raḥmaniya too had to comply with the expectations and desires of the ordinary members, those of the first grade so to speak, who could not and would not think of bringing the sacrifice of an austere mystic life, they too had to reckon with the magic belief in the power which the founder had bestowed on his followers and with the trust of these latter that they too would benefit from his merits. Therefore the order had to make the *ḥāl* accessible to the great mass of believers. It need not be emphasized that the state of consciousness thus produced has nothing to do with the *ḥāl* obtained by years of mystic contemplation and practice. Yet it is an abnormal state in which the normal personality undergoes a certain transformation; it is an experience which simple faith can easily take to be an approach to or even a real contact with the divine.

The technique used to arrive at this pseudo-mystic state produces its effect within a short time. It is drastic and rough if compared to the methods that rule the true mystic path. But looked at in itself as a psychological and physiological technique, it is a kind of technical masterpiece. While making full use of suggestive and hypnotic means the *zikr* has as its centre a thoroughly elaborated technique of breathing, obviously of Indian origin. So this,—to my knowledge—first psychological and physiological analysis of a *zikr* of one of the higher Islamic orders, is interesting for the student of the psychology of religion, but it is at the same time a substantial proof of the influence India has exerted on Islamic mysticism.

The founder of the order of the Raḥmaniya, Si Mahmud ben Abd el Raḥman al Geshtuli al Djerdjeri al Azhari, was born in Algeria between 1715 and 1729 and died in 1793 or 94. During his pilgrimage to Mecca he was initiated by Muhammad ben Salim, his teacher and spiritual master, in the

order of the Khalwatia and ordered to propagate the order in India and the Sudan. The order is the most widely spread in Algeria. It possesses there about 500 Zawias (establishments) and the number of affiliates was estimated before the last war at more than 150,000. We begin with the description of the *zikr*.

A certain number of the *ikhwān* (members of the order, friars) sit down cross-legged so as to form a circle. The *imām* (leader of the prayer) begins the *zikr* with the repeated recitation of the first half of the creed (*lā ilāha illa 'llāh*) whereupon follow passages of the Quran and such prayers as are peculiar to the Raḥmaniya. From time to time those sitting in the circle join in and repeat what the *imām* recites. The recitation of the litanies and their repetition by the circle may have lasted somewhat more than a quarter of an hour. Now the members forming the circle rise. They take each other by the hand and maintain the form of a circle which is enlarged by other *ikhwān* who so far have been outside. The sheikh (head) enters the center of the circle and it is he who will direct the *zikr*. This begins by the command of the sheikh.

Anticipating the precise analysis, a few words may give a preliminary idea of the structure of the *zikr*. It consists of a rhythmical ejaculation of the name of God, Allah. This ejaculation is accomplished with a thoroughly regulated technique of breathing. Parallel to this goes a movement of the body whose rhythm corresponds to that of the breathing. Within the whole of the *zikr* two parts must be distinguished which are chronologically clearly separated from each other. What differentiates the two parts is a difference in rhythm, in the way of breathing and in the accompanying bodily attitude and movement. The word "Allah" is no longer distinctly to be recognized during the *zikr*, it is reduced to two inarticulate sounds whose quality derives from the way of inhaling and exhaling connected with the ejaculation of the two syllables.

The first part of the *zikr* (called part a): The invocation Allah becomes a sound which may be described by the two

syllables *ha-hā* (the second *ā* as in *sofa*). The first *ha* is pronounced or better poured forth as a very roughly aspirated guttural sound as a very sharp *ḥ*. With the throwing out of the *ha* the breath is exhaled; this first syllable is accentuated and more time is given to its utterance than to the second. In other words: in ejaculating the first syllable *ha* the air is pressed out of the lungs—hence the lengthening of the syllable and its accentuation—whereas with the second syllable *hā*, breath is inhaled. The whole sound *ha-hā* reminds of a rattling noise and may be compared with that of a rough saw. The repetitions of this sound succeed one another with the rapidity of about sixty per minute. The consonants in the word “Allah” disappear of course entirely. With the ejaculation of the first syllable, i.e., with the pressing out of the air, the knees are slightly bent, and in pronouncing the second syllable, i.e., in inhaling, the body is stretched and returns to its normal position. All this goes on without the hands of the friars letting go of each other. During the exercise the sheikh remains in the center of the circle, observing and controlling the friars. From time to time he approaches one of them, looks sharply at him as if he wanted to exert a suggestive or hypnotic influence on him. And it happens that the sheikh shares for a moment in the exercise himself as if to encourage the friars. When he does he leaves the center of the circle and takes his place somewhere near the friars.

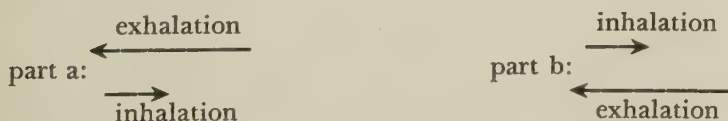
This first part (a) of the *zīkr* lasts about eight minutes. By the command of the sheikh it passes immediately into the second part (b). Here the regulation of breathing is opposite to that characteristic of part *a*, and so the invocation Allah takes another form. Now the air is inhaled with the first syllable and this very shortly or rather abruptly. Hence the first syllable sounds like a short *ḥ*. With the second syllable the lungs are emptied with a clearly audible effort, but contrary to the exhalation in part *a* of the exercise, it is this time rather complete and prolonged. It sounds like *hāi*. The light tinkling e-like sound is to be explained by the fact that by pressing the air out of the lungs the articulating organs are

innervated in almost the same way which is necessary to pronounce the vowel *e*.

The movement of the body accompanying this part *b* changes equally. The lower part of the body is not moved, but the short inhaling is accompanied by an abrupt pushing forward of the upper part of the body. It is taken back almost as quickly in exhaling. The exhaling in part *b*—because of its succeeding the inhaling stage—is deeper than the exhaling in part *a* where exhaling is but the *arsis* and therefore short. In other words, in part *b* the syllable *lah* in Allah is longer than the first syllable *al*. Therefore the number of repetitions of the invocation must be smaller in part *b*; there are about forty to forty-five per minute. Part *b* too lasts about eight minutes. The comportment of the sheikh is the same as in part *a*. Only once he had one of the friars leave the chain and had him exchange with another.

The structure of the exercise is herewith described and the difference between parts *a* and *b* clearly visible. Parts *a* and *b* together form the basic unit or turn of the *zikr*. What we have analyzed is the first turn of the *zikr*. By the command of the sheikh part *a* succeeds now again immediately to part *b*.—The *zikr* consists of four such turns whose structure in itself does not change. Before describing the progress and the results of the *zikr* up to its climax, it will not be without interest to push the analysis of the structure somewhat further.

Metrically the two forms of invocation in parts *a* and *b* must be characterized: a) állāh; b) ălláh.—They are obviously opposed to each other as far as the length of the syllables and the accentuation are concerned. They are equally different by the technique of breathing; as to this the difference may be illustrated thus:



Apart from these differences there is another important dissimilarity. Part *b* is far less strenuous than *a*; this can be easily and best tested by experience. This fact explains why

part *a* is accompanied almost constantly by the litany-like song of a precentor (*munshid*, *meddah*) who from outside the circle accentuates the rhythm by clapping the hands; the performing of part *a* needs apparently some kind of assistance. The reason is this: part *a* begins with the exhalation and it intensifies the exhalation by accentuating and drawling the first syllable *al*, whereas the succeeding inhalation is very short and rather abrupt. This arrangement goes counter to the requirements of the organism because we naturally begin every effort with deep and steady breathing. Moreover the bodily movement connected with part *a* is incomparably more strenuous and requires more energy than that connected with *b*. In fact the careful observation of the *zikr* suggests the idea that *a* is replaced by *b* as soon as the degree of exertion seems to make imperative a certain relaxation and a comparative softening of the effort. This relaxation, relative and moderate as it is, is offered by part *b* with its smaller number of invocations and before all with its more natural arrangement of the breathing (inhalation precedes exhalation) and the simpler bodily movement.

The whole structure of the *zikr* and particularly the breathing exercise is carefully organized to produce the final state. It is well known to what extent lucidity and autonomy of consciousness depends upon the normal functioning of breathing. Accelerated just as well as obstructed or retarded respiration causes disorder and derangement of consciousness. Acceleration of breathing, through oversaturation with oxygen, is a state of a more euphoric character; obstruction or retardation of breathing is a state of anxiety and anguish; but both states are more or less connected with dizziness (vertigo), swoon and the fading away of object-consciousness. The aim of the *zikr* is a state of consciousness different from the normal, whatever be its nature and whatever be the significance and name given to it. The technique of breathing in its artificial and ingenious arrangement serves the purpose of leading up to the *hāl*. We shall discuss later the relation between this technique and the nature of the *hāl*. We return now to the description of the continuation of the *zikr*.

The above described turn, consisting of parts *a* and *b*, is repeated a second time without any change of the whole picture. With the third repetition only, the aspect changes entirely. The friars give the impression of being in a state of increasing hypnotism, the eyes are half closed, the heads thrown back. The sheikh himself becomes more active, he approaches frequently individual friars and moves immediately in front of them. Suddenly one of the friars detaches himself from the circle. Apparently in a state of ecstasy he moves, lost in complete self-surrender, within the circle along the friars and sometimes in front of them. The cries "Allah" are heard in an imploring tone of rapture where pain and bliss are melting into one and the friars and the sheikh himself ejaculate inarticulate sounds. The *zikr* presents the aspect of deepest religious frenzy and the observer feels that on the command of the sheikh the friars will perform whatever they might be asked for.

All of a sudden, as the excitement seems to have reached its climax, the sheikh utters a cry, his right arm is thrown up, remains upright in the air and two outstretched fingers of his hand, index and middle finger, vibrate, like flambent flames, with incredible and inimitable rapidity for about half a minute. Thereupon he throws his arm once or twice backward and forward, and part *a* of the *zikr* passes immediately into *b*. The chain of the friars raging in delirious excitement, the hand of the sheikh with the two flambent fingers suddenly appearing above them, the monotonous and yet so intense noise of the *zikr*, interrupted by the invocation of Allah and inarticulate cries—this is a picture which is not easily forgotten.

The fourth and last turn begins. The common frenzy is, if possible, still increasing, but the strange gesture of the sheikh is not repeated. Part *b* of the turn changes on the command of the sheikh into the following situation: the whole circle sinks down to the knees and continues the exercise in this position, moving the upper part of the body backward and forward. The sheikh kneels in the center of the circle. At the end of the exercise all friars throw their bodies forward, the forehead

touches the floor, and they form a star-shaped, concentrated ring around the sheikh, who remains on his knees with the body upright. All friars are apparently in the *ḥāl*. Now the sheikh repeats in a low voice and in a monotonous tune the words *Allahu akbár*, God is great, to each and above each of the friars, turning round himself on his knees. He emphasizes sharply the last syllable *akbár* and this accentuation has apparently a dis-hypnotizing, awakening effect. The sheikh claps three times with his hands. The torpor of the friars begins to relax, the bodies stretch themselves, groans are heard as if coming out of deep exhaustion and slowly one after the other raises himself up. A friar comes with a cloth, wipes the sweat off everybody's face and kisses his head. This is the end of the *zīkr*. It has lasted about one hour and a quarter.

The whole structure of the *zīkr* reveals a thoroughly planned scheme. Two ways converge to bring about the final state of abnormal consciousness, the *ḥāl*. The one uses the technique of suggestion and hypnotism; the other relies on the technique of breathing. To the sphere of suggestion belong the recitations and litanies the *zīkr* begins with. They not only lead the minds in the right direction and strengthen the religious belief, but by their monotony they prepare the psychological ground for suggestive and hypnotic influence. The form of the circle as assumed by the friars contributes to the same effect. For the feeling to be in physical contact with the other participants, the sight of these others and the immediate perception of their visible, audible and tangible reactions and, with all this, the consciousness of forming with them one mind and one body—this is just the right disposition to decrease the individual reactions in ever growing proportion, still more to make the individual lose his personal reactions and to melt all the individual minds into one collective psychological experience. To this collective experience where the individual consciousness is almost eclipsed, the naïve and pious mind will readily give the name of an exalted superior state, of a state of nearness or even union with the saint-founder of the order or with God himself.

Such is the general suggestive and hypnotic background. Let us remember the role of the sheikh, how he fixes his eyes upon the friars as any hypnotizer does, how at the very climax of emotional frenzy he uses this strange and impressive gesture of throwing his arm up and oscillating his two fingers like the tongue of a serpent—a gesture which produces a fascinating effect in the proper sense of the word: it strikes with the force of lightning, concentrates the general attention in one point and deepens the hypnotic state of the friars. In fact the *ḥāl* will now set in without delay. Of particular interest—being entirely in the line of the hypnotic technique—is the method of awakening the friars out of the *ḥāl*: the sheikh addressing each of the friars separately pronouncing over his head the words “Allahu akbār” with sharp accentuation of the last syllable, so interrupting and bringing to an end the state of *ḥāl*. The precentor confirmed the fact in replying to my question concerning the meaning of this gesture of the sheikh with these words: he does it in order that they may awake.

The second element, the breathing, is the most conspicuous means to produce the *ḥāl* or to accelerate its appearance. The violence of the exercises, the artificial irregularity of the oxygen supply, combined with the strenuous bodily movements, has been sufficiently described to make it clear that an abnormal state will be the result. There is yet one pertinent question to be answered: what is the reason that there is a change in the form of the breathing exercise, in other words, why is exercise *a* not simply continued until the *ḥāl* sets in? A full answer to this question—unimportant and accessory as it seems to be—would lead right into the heart of the psychology of mysticism. We must content ourselves here with only one consideration: the uninterrupted continuation of one and the same exercise would soon end in a state of complete physical exhaustion and with that a state of drowsiness or more probably of sleep. This however is not the aim of the *zikr*. The *ḥāl* is not or should not be a state of sleep, but a state of consciousness, though its degree and quality may differ

widely from normal consciousness. So what the change of the breathing exercise (from *a* to *b*) is meant to prevent and what it prevents in fact is premature physical exhaustion and with that the complete suspension of consciousness '(sleep)'. The change of the exercise acts as a stimulant, it stirs attention and so it keeps consciousness awake. Now this is just one of the central problems in all mystical efforts: how to keep consciousness awake during continuing concentration or contemplation or other exercises of a more or less monotonous character which are deemed necessary to bring about the mystical experience. So we may safely assume that the periodical change to exercise *b* is meant to prevent physical prostration and the fading away of consciousness as a consequence of extreme fatigue.

There is only one country where breathing has been made a science and a technique for the purpose of mystic life and aims and that is India. In India particularly, Yoga philosophy and practice and those systems which have undergone the influence of Yoga have developed. There is no trace of a science or technique of breathing in the mystic philosophy of the Hellenistic period nor in Christian mysticism in its European or Oriental form. These, however, are the two main sources from which Islamic mysticism has taken its inspiration and its force. Therefore if we find in Islamic mysticism a technique of breathing as a part of the mystic path, this element must have been introduced from India. It is true that the described *zikr* of the Raḥmanija exists on the outskirts of Islamic mysticism; it is meant for the great mass of the adherents. Naïve and primitive as is the belief that it is possible to reach a mystic, *i.e.*, a supernatural state in so short a time and with so trifling an effort, the members of the Raḥmanija share this belief with all the primitive and half-primitive people and not only with these. For the ordinary brethren the *zikr* and the state to which it leads are just the guaranty that the *baraka* (blessing) of the founder of the order is on them and that they participate in the founder's spiritual merits and *karamat* (grace). On the other hand—

and this is still more important—the belief on the part of the followers that the order possesses the secret of initiation and that of direction on the path of salvation, confers upon the superiors of the order a power which in the history of the orders has been used for political not less than for religious purposes. It is plain that to satisfy both these purposes as well as to fulfill the desires of the masses themselves the *zikr* has to be impressive and effective, producing the result without delay. This is the reason why the setting in which we find the breathing technique is comparatively simple and crude if we look at the *zikr* as a whole. But if we analyze the different parts which compose the *zikr*, and particularly if we try to understand the structure and the working of the breathing exercise, then the picture changes entirely and we cannot but admire its purposive technique. We may even be tempted to compare the relation of the breathing exercise to the whole frame of the *zikr* to a precious pearl set in a modest mounting. However it need not be emphasized that this example of a breathing exercise taken out of its frame and evaluated absolutely is nothing but an unpretentious specimen if compared to the ingenious and grandiose systems of breathing technique as contained in Yoga. Of these there can be no discussion here. Yet in some way it is even more interesting and surprising that the Indian idea of using the breath for the achievement of mystic aims has traveled this long journey to find its way into the exoteric (outer) circles of an Islamic order. And even so a part of the dignity and ingeniousness of its origin attaches to the phenomenon on foreign soil. It is of course almost certain that the *zikr* practised by the higher educated and deeper initiated members differs from the form it takes for the bulk of the adherents; there concentration and contemplation will be the center of the *zikr*. Now it would be extremely interesting to know if in this inner (esoteric) circle of the Raḥmaniya a technique of breathing comes in as a means of progressing on the mystic path and of reaching the *ḥāl* which here will have the significance of an annihilation of personality in a deeper and a true mystic sense. If there is a technique of breathing it will certainly be more elaborate

and refined, more akin to the Indian original. No information concerning this problem could be obtained.

As to the way by which this Indian element has found its entry into the *zīkr* of the Raḥmanija, it may be explained by the life-story of its founder. Mohammad ben Abd el Raḥman, as we stated in the introductory remarks, had been ordered by his teacher and master in Mecca to propagate the Khalwatiya Order in India and the Sudan. It is to be supposed that he went to India and worked there in fulfillment of the task. The unfailing authority which the word of the spiritual master carries with itself in the Islamic orders is in itself sufficient proof and guaranty. An additional fact which makes the sojourn in India probable is this, that not less than thirty years passed by between the time of his initiation in Mecca and his return to his mother-country Algeria.

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HADRAMAUT TODAY

At the close of a previous article, I called Hadramaut the "land of death and sleep". Had any of the inhabitants of those regions read my article, they would have understood that I did not use these words by way of deprecation or contempt. For the benefit of those who do not know of my feelings of esteem for the country, be it said that this phrase was used by some of the foremost men of Hadramaut as much as ten years ago. It struck me at the time that these words gave an apt description of that land, the more so because Hadara-el-maut (death has come) conveys that very same idea to the minds of Arabs.

Hadramaut is the last important section of Arabia to be "discovered". Though the world arteries of sea-trade passed by her ocean boundaries, Hadramaut, shut off from the world, slept the sleep of death.

In early human history, Hadramaut was a land of great importance. In those days men still preferred land travel to sea travel. So it was that the trade routes of India and South Arabia passed through Hadramaut. Most likely the land of Ophir, rich in gold, adjoined it to the southeast, while the dominions of the Queen of Sheba lay along its northwest border. Hadramaut produced a part of the incense, myrrh and aloes which long caravans transported northward to the lands around the Mediterranean Sea to feed the fires on Egyptian, Greek and Roman altars. Massive forts protected these trade routes, while beautiful temples were erected to Astarte-Sin. Vast irrigation systems, whose enormous dams became famous, turned the valley, as far as the eye could see, into date gardens and grain fields. But for some reason or other, which is still a mystery, all that advanced culture came to an end. The irrigation systems fell into ruins, the valleys turned into wastes of glowing sand, while the ruins of forts and temples became covered with a pall of sand, and the sleep of death descended upon Hadramaut.

Only a small number of the population managed to escape this doom, and those who escaped existed on the edge of starvation. Most of the ancient proud culture was forgotten; only a little of it survived in the memories of the people. At points where some prosperity developed, they built themselves houses, forts and shrines for the new religion of Islam which had recently entered the land. No longer did they possess either the ability or the means to transform huge blocks of stone into age-lasting building materials. They now built with the building materials of the poor; that is, with sun-dried mud bricks. But with these materials they managed to erect buildings worthy of their fathers. The magnificent architectural conceptions of their fathers, their aristocratic designs of temples and city dwellings, and the massive lines of their forts were saved, and came to life in Hadramaut in cities, palaces, forts and mosques of unparalleled beauty. The men who emigrated because they could not make their living within their own country, later returned with money earned in India, Malacca, Netherlands India, and East Africa, and so a new Hadramaut began to arise.

But serious hindrances began to retard this progress. These hindrances were the tribal quarrels, which could be settled only by the manly sport of war. It was no longer a war of forays with fast camels, with bows and arrows, but a war carried on from forts, with rifles in the hands of sharpshooters, rifles that had been bought at great cost in foreign countries. From forts and trenches they carried on a never-ending struggle, with more and more of the incoming money being spent on the war.

At about this time both the Dutch and the English began to look for closer contact with Hadramaut. The head of the Jiddah legation was asked to undertake an exploratory trip into Southwest Arabia, to make an effort to reach Hadramaut, to meet its sultans, and to make a report on political and economic conditions.

Nearly all the Arabs in Netherlands India come from Hadramaut. It was, therefore, a matter of real importance for the Government to become better acquainted with a country

whither so many finally returned, to which so many children of marriages with Indonesian women were sent for their education, and to which such large sums of money were remitted every month.

The contacts made during that official visit had consequences which continue to be felt at the present day. The already fine relations which existed between the government and her Arab subjects were further strengthened. The people, on their part, have repeatedly urged the establishment of a vice-consulate in Makalla under the legation at Jiddah, in place of the honorary consulate at Aden. They are also asking for more Dutch ships to stop there in order that they may obtain, in their own land, the products to which they have become accustomed in the Indies, and also to facilitate the constantly growing passenger traffic between the two places.

The publication of the reports concerning this almost forgotten Hadramaut served to remind the authorities at Aden of the responsibilities involved in their seeming protectorate over these regions. The prominent citizens of the country begged them to bring to an end the never-ceasing war—something they felt themselves unable to do. The Government at Aden acceded to the request that came to it from Hadramaut, and appointed a remarkable man to bring about the pacification. Mr. W. H. Ingrams was appointed to be resident-advisor of the Sultan at Makalla. With the help of the R.A.F. he managed, in a short time, to persuade the Sultan and the sheikhs to sign a three-year peace of God. The threat of bombers soon helped those who thought otherwise, to change their minds. Rarely has it happened that a country so torn with internecine wars and anarchy was, with so much wisdom and patience, transformed into a land of peace and political rest. The pacification of the entire country did not cost more than twenty lives. True, Hadramaut has lost its absolute independence. Some young men are beginning to point that out with considerable bitterness. But let them be honest, and remember to what a state of anarchy and unceasing murders their unbridled liberty had brought them. Since the peace of Ingrams (*soelh Ingraams*) the land, long dead as far as the out-

side world is concerned, has come to life. The seas of sand will be driven back through an agriculture that can again function in a time of peace. It is possible that even the irrigation system will be restored, with money and technical skill from the outside. Our excellent relations with Great Britain will make it possible to strengthen the economic and cultural bonds which exist between Hadramaut and the Netherlands Indies. And in Arabia, so long hermetically sealed against the outside world, a revived Hadramaut will show the way to a cooperation that rests on trust and mutual esteem—a cooperation that will not hurt, but rather elevate a people of ancient culture.

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The Sudan United Mission

The Mission has now thirty-four stations in Nigeria, besides out-stations, six stations in the Northern French Cameroons, five stations in French Equatorial Africa, and six stations in the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, reaching over one hundred different tribes, but there still remain many thousands of people, of various tribes, who have not yet been given the Gospel.

The object of the Mission is the evangelisation of the many tribes in the Sudan, and the formation of an African Church, self-supporting, self-governing, and self-propagating. In 1938 there was an important step forward in the fulfilment of this aim, when three chosen evangelists were ordained as pastors to their respective districts. These men, all Christians of outstanding character, and of many years' service, received a two-year course of special training at Gindiri Training Institute, culminating in their ordination to the ministry, as the first pastors to "The Church in the Sudan." In view of the urgent need for meeting the Mohammedan advance, the Mission advocates the establishment of at least one strong station in every large tribe right across the continent from east to west, a plan which has been endorsed by missionary conferences and leading missionaries in all parts of the world.

With gratitude to God it is recorded that there are now more than a score of societies at work in the Sudan, with a staff of over nine hundred missionaries, occupying about two hundred and fifty mission stations, and this result is in no small measure due to the proclamation far and wide of the needs of the Sudan, unremittingly carried on by the S.U.M. for many years, enabling the Mission thus to share in a service for the Sudan much wider than that of its own bounds as a Society.

—Report for 1941-42.

ON THE CONCEPTION OF *ADAB**

Ever since Carl Heinz Becker's time, and increasingly so more recently, there has been a tendency towards stressing Greek and Hellenistic influence on Arabic life and letters. But before we are able to show the influence of foreign, non-Arabic cultures on the Arabic cultural circle, it is necessary to investigate the Arabic sources thoroughly and systematically and scan their ideas, motives, tendencies, and aims. Although the desire of Orientalists on the one hand, and of students in other fields, such as Iranian scholars, on the other, to find out the extent of extraneous influence on Arabic literary style and on Arabic conceptions of life, of religion, and of education, is a legitimate one, it is yet too early for a comparative study of this kind.

The following paper was meant as a beginning of this enterprise of examining Arabic source material taking as its subject the study of *Adab*.

The field of Arabic literature denoted by this term is so vast that it would require months, perhaps even years, of reading before one could claim to be thoroughly acquainted with it. For the Arabic term *Adab* covers a variety of literary works dealing with a great number of heterogeneous topics, and almost the only factor that they have in common is their intention of bringing knowledge to the people in an entertaining manner and of providing a storehouse of information for the government officials, the so-called *kuttāb*.

Up to the present, *Adab*-literature has never been subjected to a thorough investigation with regard to its contents, its character, its literary style, and its sources. Moreover, there has never been an attempt to investigate the central idea which inspired this kind of literature and the educational ideal it expresses. The most that has been done towards an examination of *Adab*-literature is occasional observations in

* Paper read at the Annual Meeting of the American Oriental Society, held in Boston, April 7-10, 1942.

books dealing with Arabic literary history, and short introductory remarks to what few translations of *Adab*-works we possess. This statement, of course, does not imply that *Adab*-literature has been disregarded as a source of information for research into Arabic life, history, and literary history—such a statement would, obviously, be utterly untrue—but a coherent essay on the essential features of *Adab*-literature, its intention and its character, has yet to be written.

The original meaning of the root 'db is "to prepare a banquet for", "to spread a table", that is, to set before a person a variety and abundance of food so that he may partake from whatever he likes best. This is also the avowed intention of the typical *Adab* work. Its author sets himself the task to bring to his reader as much as is possible of the knowledge regarded as essential for any one who would claim to be educated. This is what Ibn Qutaiba, for instance, in his forewords to several of his works proclaims as the goal of his books. Thus he says in the *kitāb al-ma'ārif*:¹ "This book is to contain all that is known about the nobility; it will provide erudition (*ta'addub*) . . . for I have known noblemen who did not know their genealogy and well-known people who did not know their ancestors." Or, in the introduction to his book '*Uyūn al-Akhhbār* the same writer says:² "When I had become aware of the decrease of refinement (*ta'addub*), of the Government being too busy to provide a market for *Adab*, so that *Adab* disappeared and vanished, I undertook to compose a book on knowledge and on the improvement of mind and heart for the benefit of those of the scribes whose education was scanty." In both these utterances—and one could quote further from the same sources—we can discern one characteristic conception of the authors of such *Adab*-works. To their mind "*Adab*", (Education, Refinement, *Bildung*) is something that can be acquired, can be learned by any one who puts his mind to it and works and studies hard in order to become *adīb*, *mu'addab*. This is a purely mechanical, rational conception of education. There are certain things which a

¹ ed. F. Wüstenfeld, p. 3, lines 4ff.

² ed. Cairo, 1925 vol. I, p. 1, lines 16ff., and see the translation by Josef Horowitz in *Islamic Culture*, vol. iv, p. 175, p. 3 of the reprint.

well-educated man has to know, such as the history of his people, the genealogy of his family, poems and anecdotes, certain facts belonging to the fundamentals of education. One has to be able to speak well and to be well-mannered, has to know how to approach a high personage and how to deal with one below one's own status. All this can be learned partly by direct study, partly by deducing the moral from appropriate anecdotes.

But when we look deeper into the material, other conceptions reveal themselves. Take for instance the following anecdote:³ al-Walīd b. Yazīd was playing chess with a companion when a man of Thaqīf entered. They put a cloth over the chessboard and the caliph asked the man who he was. When, after a few questions, the monarch found out that the man was utterly uneducated—that he knew neither Qur'ān, nor *fiqh*, nor poetry, nor even *aiyām al-'arab*, he lifted the cloth from the chess board saying: Let's continue our game, there is nobody with us.

This anecdote is very illuminating; for although the caliph seems to ask the visitor whether he knows things that can be taught and learned, his disdain of the man came from a deeper feeling. He despised him not for the lack of *knowledge* but for the lack of *desire* to acquire knowledge. The man was a nonentity because he did not have any culture, for *Adab*, culture, even in the eyes of the Arabs, does not *begin* with knowledge, it *leads* to knowledge. An uncultured man *rajulun ghairu mu'addabin* is "like an ass in human skin" *himarun fi miṣlāhi insānin*,⁴ an expression frequently used. And even more: the moment a man thinks he is learned, assumes that he need not search for knowledge any further, he ceases to be learned, for "a man does not cease to be wise as long as he searches for knowledge, but as soon as he believes that he knows everything he becomes ignorant" (*lā yuzālu-l-mar'u 'āliman mā ṭalaba-l-'ilma fa-idha ḡanna an qad 'alima fa-qad jahila*).⁵

The question arises whether this esteem in which *Adab*,

³ Ibn Qutaiba, *Uyūn al-aḥbār*, vol. II, p. 120, lines 13ff.

⁴ *ibid.*, p. 120, line 12.

⁵ *ibid.*, p. 118, line 17.

culture, was held was indigenous, familiar to the Arab and current in Arabic circles from early times, or only acquired later and under the influence of extraneous, non-Arabic cultures. We are accustomed to regard most of the endeavor of the Arabic scholars in the field of literature, history, philosophy, science, and even religion as having developed upon the impetus and under the influence of the higher civilizations which surrounded the Arabic cultural sphere. It is hard, considering the revolutionary impact of Goldziher's contentions and the weight his immense scholarship carries, even to dare voicing a dissenting opinion. It is Goldziher's everlasting fame to have established beyond any doubt the importance of the *shu'ubīya* movement⁶ and the impressive role which Persian scholars and scholars of Persian origin have played in the Arabic literature of the centuries following the Muslim conquest. But even though we find foreign sources quoted in the *Adab* books, especially Persian and Indian ones, and, though more rarely, Christian and Greek ones as well,⁷ they remain foreign in the consciousness of their authors and their readers. The former quote them as a support for their own thought, or to show how peoples other than the Arabs act and react; they are used as examples from foreign cultures, compared to their own; the reader likewise conceives them as such. It was not necessary to impress upon the Arab the need for culture—the conception of *ḥilm* is indigenous and older than the contact of the Arabic masses with Persian and other foreign culture.⁸ We find a fairly early Arabic proverb *man addaba awlādahu arghama ḥussādahu*, "he who gives his children a good education will excite the envy of his neighbors".⁹ Ordinarily a man would be envied for possessing something precious; if, therefore, the fact that a man is able to educate his children well is enough reason for envy, *Adab* must have been considered a valuable asset. And further: we have evidence that at least at the beginning of the widespread contact between Arab and 'Ajam, the latter did not feel quite

⁶ cf. Goldziher, *Muhammedanische Studien*, vol. I, pp. 147ff.

⁷ The quotation of a story derived from these sources is usually introduced in the following terms: *wa fi kitāb li-l-Hind*; *wa fi-l-Injil*, etc., or by giving the name of the authority on whom it is based.

⁸ see Goldziher, *loco citato*, pp. 222-24.

⁹ *Maidāni, amthāl al-'Arab*, ed. Freytag, vol. II, p. 719, no. 8442.

happy in Arabic society, and that the former even felt the need for helping the 'Ajam to rise to his level. The story of the "invention" of the 'ilm al-naḥw is very characteristic of this feeling. It is said that Abu'l-Aswad ad-Du'alī, on hearing Persians newly converted to Islām making grammatical mistakes, decided to obey 'Alī's order to write a grammar of the Arabic language. This was held to be the origin of the science of naḥw.¹⁰ Although this is an apocryphal tale born out of the *horror vacui* of the Arabs, the desire to ascribe the origin of a branch of learning to a definite person, there is a grain of truth in it. The necessity of learning Arabic correctly was felt by the newcomers to the Islamic community, while the Arabs themselves were hurt when they heard their beautiful language mistreated. There is an amusing story which shows how the Persians felt their lack of fluency in the Arabic tongue as a hindrance and a drawback. This story tastes somewhat of the *nouveau riche*, and therefore stresses the psychological situation of the 'Ajam. Abu'l-Qāsim al-Barrād was a *mawlā* of the B. al-Hujaim in Baṣra. His mother tongue was Persian and his sons thought that it was necessary for him to be taught how to speak Arabic, so that he would become *mu'addab*. They therefore asked a well-known teacher, Abu'l-Arbād as-Sulamī to keep their father company and to instruct him in the Arabic language. One day when the old man saw a man carrying figs (*tīn*) on a plate he asked him; "How did you buy that clay?" (*kaifa tubā'u-ṭ-tīn*) His teacher said nothing; but next day, when the old man said to some one who passed by with a load of clay, *min aina ji'tum bi-hādha-t-tīni* "from where do you come with these figs?" the teacher gave up his job in despair.¹¹ The striking point in this story, apart from the *jeu de mots*, is the feeling of inferiority on the part of the 'Ajam, the newly manumitted *mawlā* who was striving to play a part in the Muslim community and felt his lack of fluency in Arabic as a handicap to his social ambitions. It is for the evidence contained in such anecdotes and occurrences that the saying attributed to the Prophet: "If Knowledge

¹⁰ cf. my article *Naḥw*, in *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, vol. III.

¹¹ The story is told in the *kitāb al-muḥabbar* by Muhammad b. Ḥabīb on fol. 122b, lines 6-17; see my edition, now in press at Hyderabad.

were attached to the end of the sky some amongst the Persians would have reached it," should be understood with a grain of salt. It is quite obviously an apology, a statement invented to make up for the inferiority complex on the part of the Persians, at least in early times. It does not become any more justified by its being used by Ibn Khaldūn¹² as the supporting evidence for the great share of the Persians in scholarship and the reasons for this phenomenon. His contentions seem to originate in his general thesis that however great the superiority of the Bedouin's morality, knowledge in the sense of sophisticated culture cannot be found with them. He seems to use the contrast and the antagonism between the Arab and the Persian as a striking instance of his main philosophical and sociological thesis.

Although in the framework of this introductory article, I cannot examine the question in detail, I desire to point, in conclusion, to an interesting use of the word *Adab* in later times. In the terminology of the mystics *Adab* means "Self-training", and a man who had *Adab* was one who devoted to his soul "constant watchfulness and care, in all times of activity and leisure, in silence and in speech . . . in its pleasure, in what it loves and hates, in its time of laughter and of weeping alike".¹³

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¹² *Muqaddama*, ed. Quatremère, Paris, 1873, vol. III, pp. 270ff.

¹³ see Margaret Smith, *An Early Mystic of Baghdad*, London, 1935, p. 52.

THE FORTY-THIRD TREATISE OF THE IKHWÂN AL-ŞAFĀ¹

[Regarding the nature of the way (al-tariq) to Allah, the powerful and the Glorious, Cairo text, 1928, pp. 73-81]

In the name of Allah, the Merciful and Compassionate:

Praise be to Allah, and peace upon His servants, those whom He hath chosen! Surely Allah is good, or verily they would be idolaters!

Know, O ye brethren, may Allah help you and help us by His Spirit (rūḥ), that Allah, the Blessed and Exalted, created the universe and put it in order, brought it under control and allowed it to operate, and then He ascended to the Throne (*al-'arsh*), and sat upon it. It was by the favour of His grace and the fullness of His generosity and the completeness of His mercy that He chose a group of His servants and drew them near to Him, and spoke to them, and revealed to them the mystery of His knowledge and the secrets of things that are hidden. Then He sent them to His people to call them to Him and to His protection. He told them of the hidden things of His mysteries in order that they might cease from the slumber of ignorance, and be aroused from the sleep of carelessness, so that they might live the life of the learned, enjoy the pleasure of those who are (truly) happy, and reach the perfection of those who exist in the realm of eternity (*dār al-khulūd*). For as He hath declared in His books and described by the tongues of His prophets: "He created the heavens and the earth in six days, and then He made for the throne" (vii: 52). He declared also, "Verily Allah hath chosen Adam and Noah and Abraham's people and Imran's people above the world" (iii: 30). Further He declared, "And Allah sent

¹ A recent edition (Cairo, 1928) of the Arabic text of the Ikhwān al-Şafā (Brethren of Sincerity) makes these learned Muslim discourses of the tenth Christian century more readily accessible to students. From this book, the earliest Islamic encyclopaedia, the treatises on Logic, Metaphysics, and Anthropology were translated by Dieterici into German in the years from 1858-1896, and are available in his *Die Philosophie der Araber* and *Di Abhandlungen der Ichwān-es-safā*.

The forty-third treatise, however, is one of those that has not been translated, and as it discusses the requirements of the human soul in order that the knowledge of God may be attained, it is of special interest to Christian students of Islamics.

prophets with good tidings and with warnings, and sent down with them the Book (*al-kitāb*)" (ii: 209). And further He declared, "Allah calls unto the abode of peace (*dar al-islam*), and guides whom He will to the right path" (x: 26).

And know, O ye brethren,—may Allah help you and help us with His Spirit—, verily, it is not possible to arrive there except with two requisites, of which the first is the purity of the soul (*ṣafā al-naḥs*), and the other is the straightness (*isti-qāmat*) of the path.

The first requisite, purity of the soul, is necessary because it is the essence (*lubb*) of the substance (*jawhar*) of man. Verily the term *insān* (man) includes both the soul (*al-naḥs*) and the body (*al-badan*). The body is the visible corpus (*al-jasad*), which is composed of flesh, blood, bones, veins, muscles, skin, etc. And all these are earthly masses (*aḥsām 'arḍiyya*) which are dark, heavy, changeable, corruptible. But the soul is a substance (*jawhar*) which is heavenly (*samāwīya*), spiritual, living, nimble, moveable, uncorruptible, and a continuous standard (*'alāmatu darākati*) for (discriminating) the (changing) forms (*al-ṣiwar*) of things.

In illustrating the soul's comprehension of things which can be experienced by our senses and minds, we may say that it is like a mirror: for if the mirror is accurate and its surface is clean, then material things may be seen in their reality. Likewise, if the mirror is not accurate, the reflections of material things will appear to be other than what they really are. And furthermore, if the surface of the mirror is not polished, then nothing will appear on it at all.

Such then is the condition of the soul, for if it is learned and forms of ignorance do not gather upon it, then it is pure in its essence and is not corrupted by mischief, it is clean in its substance and is not defiled by bad dispositions, and it is complete in its strength and is not made crooked by base ideas. In this case it will be able to have some conception of things spiritual, which lie within its realm, and will be able to comprehend their realities. By means of its reason and the purity of its essence it will be able to observe even the mysteries that are beyond sense perception. This it will do in exactly the

same manner as it observes material things, *i.e.*, by its senses when they are accurate and unimpaired.

On the other hand, if the soul is ignorant, is not pure in its essence, but is corrupted by mischief, has become rusty by immorality, or crooked by wrong opinions, while it stays in this condition it will be shut off by a veil from the comprehension of spiritual things as they really are. Thus it will be powerless to reach to God the Most High, and it will forfeit the enjoyment of eternity. For Allah hath declared: "Nay, verily, from their Lord in that day are they veiled" (lxxxiii: 15).

And know, O ye brethren,—may Allah help you and us with His spirit—that the veil which separates the soul from its Lord is its ignorance of its essence (*jawhar*), sphere (*‘ālam*), origin (*mabda’*) and ultimate return (*mu‘ād*). Know that its ignorance is from the rust which gathers on it from the evil of its actions and the baseness of its deeds. For Allah, the Blessed and the Most High, hath declared: "Nay, but that which they have gained has settled upon their hearts" (lxxxiii: 14). Its crookedness (*i’wījāj*) is due to its corrupted opinions and its depraved dispositions, for as Allah, the Most High, hath declared: "When they swerved, Allah made their hearts to swerve" (lxi: 15).

And know, O ye brethren,—may Allah help you with His spirit—if the soul continues to be inclined towards these characteristics, then it will be unable to perceive its true self (*dhāt*) or to appreciate in their real nature those beautiful, honourable, delightful and acceptable things which are by rights within its realm, for as Allah hath described and declared, "Therein is what souls desire, and eyes shall be delighted, and ye therein shall dwell for aye" (xliii: 71). Again He hath declared, "No soul knows what is reserved for them of cheerfulness for aye, as a reward for that which they have done" (xxxii: 17).

And know, O ye brethren,—may Allah help you with His spirit—if souls do not observe these things, then they will not long for them, nor seek after them, nor strongly desire them,

but they will remain rather as if they were blind. For as Allah the Most High, hath said, "For it is not their eyes which are blind, but blind are the hearts which are within their breasts" (xxii: 45).

And know, O ye brethren,—may Allah help you with His spirit—that if the soul becomes blind to the true nature of its state and if it imagines that it has no existence (*wujūd*) except in the condition in which it is at present in this world, then it will continue to desire to be in the world and to remain in it forever. It will be satisfied with the world, in which it will have a sense of security. Such a soul will despair of the hereafter and will forget the fact of the ultimate return (*mu'ād*). For as Allah, the Most High, hath declared, "They were content with the life of this world and are comforted thereby" (x: 7). And again He hath said, "They despair of the hereafter, as the misbelievers despair of the dead (*aṣḥāb-i-qubūr*)" (lx: 13). Then, when there is mention of Allah's command, which came down upon the tongues of His prophets—peace be upon them—that soul will not remember anything; as Allah, the Most High, hath declared, "And when they are reminded they will not remember" (xxxvii: 13). Such a soul will remain in its blindness, ignorance and wickedness till death,—always resisting and proud, as if it did not hear Allah's command. And when there comes the insensibility of death, which is the separation of the soul from the flesh and the giving up of the use of the body, then its separation is most reluctant. But when it becomes free from the use of the body and the comprehension of sensations, then it will revert to its true self and try to raise itself, but rising will not be possible. That will be because of the weight of its evil deeds, of some of its crimes, and of its bad habits. For Allah, the Most High, hath declared, "They will carry their crimes on their backs" (vi: 31). It will then be clear to that soul that it has lost the delights of sensations that it had by means of the body, and it will realize that it has not gained the intellectual delights that were possible for it. Then it will understand that it has lost both this world and the next—and that is manifest suffering! This is the conclusion.

The second requisite, *i.e.*, *the straightness of the path*, is shown in the case of every traveller towards an earthly goal. On his journey towards his goal he inquires for the nearest of the paths and the easiest way. For he knows that if he does not have a near path he will be delayed in reaching his goal. Moreover, if the way is not easy he will be hindered from reaching his destination or he will become weary as he proceeds. Now the nearest of paths is the one that goes in a straight line and the easiest of ways is the one without obstacles. So it must be also for those who are travelling towards Allah, the Most High, after purifying their souls; and for those who are eager for the delights of the hereafter in the realm of peace (*dār al-salām*); and for those who long for the ascent to the kingdom of Heaven, and entrance to the company of the angels. For reaching their objectives they must each inquire for the nearest of the paths, as Allah, the Most High, hath declared: "They strive after right direction" (lxii: 14). And He, the Praiseworthy, hath also said: "This is my right way: follow it then, and follow not various paths, to separate yourselves from His way; that is what He has ordained you" (vi: 154). And the Most High hath further declared: "Say, 'What if I come to you with what is a better guide than what ye found your fathers agreed upon?' " (xliii: 23).

Now we wish to make clear what the straight way is, which He hath commanded us to follow, by the tongues of His prophets—the blessings of Allah be upon them. And we wish to describe also how we ought to proceed until we reach that which our Lord hath promised us, as Allah, the Most High, hath declared: "We have now found that what our Lord promised is true; have ye found that what your lord promised you is true? They will say, 'Yea' " (vii: 42). But a true explanation of this is not possible for us except by speech that is weighed, by true analogy, and by clear proofs, similar to the explanation of Allah, the Most High, and the usage of His prophets—the blessings of Allah upon them—with an excellent description of all of Allah's miracles in the universe and also in our own selves, so that it may be clear to them that it

is indeed the truth; as Allah, the Most High, hath declared: "And in the earth there are signs to those who are sure, and in yourselves,—what! do ye not see?" (li: 20). And when we have done this, the doors of the treasured knowledge and the concealed mysteries, doors which cannot be touched except by those who are purified, these doors will be opened!

And know, O ye brethren—may Allah help you and us with His spirit—that no one should speak regarding the essence (*dhāt*) of the Exalted Creator, or of His attributes (*ṣifāt*), by way of guessing or conjecturing, nor argue about Him until after he has purified his soul. Otherwise this leads to doubts, perplexity and loss, as Allah the Most High hath declared: "But amongst men are those who wrangle about God, without knowledge, and without guidance, and without an illuminating book!" (xxxi: 19). We begin, therefore, before anything else, to show how we ought to purify the soul from the bad dispositions to which we have become accustomed from childhood.

These descriptions we have included in separate chapters in our disciplinary epistles. We have mentioned in each chapter varieties of examples, in order that the subject may be clearer in explanation, more readily understood, and more convincing in admonition. After that we have given in these treatises other illustrations, by which the nature of the straight path to Allah, the Most Powerful and Glorious, becomes clear. And how important it is that this description should employ carefully selected words and clear proofs, so that it may afford a plain road for those who seek to find it and direction for those who desire to follow it.

After having pointed out these two requisites, we now begin to show things that are living and divine, and to reveal treasured secrets, by what we have come to know through the ordinary inspiration (*ilhām*) of Allah the Most High, or by what we have discovered from the commentaries of His saints and the revelations of the prophets—upon whom be peace—and by what was current on the tongues of the philosophers in their allusions and metaphors. There is also that which may be logically deduced in the rational contemplation of

the beginning of the existence of the world, when it had not as yet come into being. We think also of the failure and pride of the soul, and the creation of the first Adam, the reason for his disobedience, and the account of the angels and their prostrating themselves before him. We recall the story of Satan and the Jinn, and of Satan's pride regarding the prostration. We mention further the everlasting tree and the kingdom which does not pass away, and think of Allah's reason for giving His covenant to the descendants of Adam. We call attention to the news of resurrection,—the blowing of the trumpet, the awakening, the rising and the judgment, with the decision of Fate, the passing over the path, the escape from the fire, and the entrance into Paradise. We call to mind the meeting with the Blessed and Exalted Lord, and whatever matters of this kind are mentioned, with the truths they teach, in the books of the prophets—upon whom be the blessings of Allah.

For among mankind there are groups who are rational, discriminating and philosophical, men who, although they think on these things and measure them with their minds, still are unable to perceive their significance. Their minds cannot accept what is apparently the literal meaning of what has been sent down, and thus they fall into doubts and perplexity. And as this perplexity remains with them, then in their hearts they deny the teaching, even though they may appear to acknowledge it with their tongues, on account of the fear of the sword.

There are also among mankind groups of people who are less than these in their knowledge and discrimination, men who think and teach that this literal meaning is indeed the truth. Others take it from them on authority without thinking it out for themselves. Another group of men resent such questions when they hear them, for they dislike such discussion, and to the speaker or questioner they are ready to attribute idolatry or heresy, or temerity in trying to explain what is not permitted. The souls of all these people are submerged in the slumber of ignorance. Their advisor should be a friendly doctor, who would treat them as kindly as he

could by advice from the divine books, and from what is available for them from the proclamations of the prophets, and the commandments of their laws, punishments, customs, etc. For all these provide demonstrations for the soul, serving to remind it of its carelessness about its return and its source. For example, the hypothetical quantities for special numbers, the commands of the prophets for known conditions, their performance at stipulated times, the facing in various directions, and worshipping in different ways,—whether according to the followers of the Taurât, the Injil or the Qur'ân. If you think of these people in connection with the apparent significance of the commands of their laws, and observe their eagerness and care in reading the books of their prophets, and their acceptance of the correctness of what they contain of commandments for religious and worldly affairs, then this is a proof that there were those who gave advice to them, when they had ignored things that lay within their realm, and had forgotten matters concerning their ultimate end or return (*mu'ād*) and their origin (*mubda'*). There is therefore a witness against them concerning what they denied of the significance of these questions we have mentioned. And if we assume that some of the people who deny the significance of these questions are worshippers of idols—of fires, the sun, the stars, or the like—nevertheless, there must surely be in their laws, in the symbols of their temples, or in their customary requirements, something that will afford similar demonstrations for them, as in the case of the laws of the religions of prophecy. But there remains the need for advisors who would know the truth.

Furthermore there is among mankind a group of men who are of such a nature that if they hear such questions, their souls are at once anxious to find answers for them and to determine their true significance. And when they hear the answer, then their souls accept it without argument or proof. The souls of these men are healthy, for they have not as yet been made crooked by corrupt opinions, and they have not as yet been immersed in the slumber of ignorance. Their advisor needs but to follow the method of teaching them grad-

ually, as we described in the first two treatises that we wrote for learners and seekers. For when their souls become refined, their minds clean, and their thinking strong, then they may have answers to these questions, as we have shown in the five treatises we have written concerning the nature of man, for there we explained the several proofs by examples that lie in the nature of man.

There is another group among mankind who have studied some of the sciences and who have read some of the books of the philosophers, or who have heard the discussions of scholars, philosophers or experts in the religious law. They consider these questions and give them different answers. But they cannot agree in any one thing, and certainty of opinion is not found among them, but rather disputations and contradictions! This is because they have not had one true basic principle, or one correct analogy, to use in answering these questions. Their principles are various and their analogies are capricious and not in agreement.

And know, O ye brethren,—may Allah help you and us by His spirit,—that answers according to differing principles, and judgments according to various analogies, may be contradictory and wrong. We have sought to answer all these questions, and more than these, according to what they all have in common, on one principle and with one analogy, and that is the nature of man. Because the nature (form) of man is the greatest proof of Allah that is to be found in His creation. It is the nearest of all, and its indications are clearer, and its proofs are more correct. The nature of man is the book which He hath written with His own hand, it is the temple which He hath built by His wisdom, it is a balance which He hath established in His creation, and it is the measure by which He determines what is deserved of reward and punishment on the Day of Judgment. The nature of man is an encyclopaedia in which all the worlds are described. It is a condensation of the sciences contained in the “Preserved Tablet,” it is a witness to every opponent, it is the way to all good, the path indeed that is stretched out between Heaven and Hell.

But whoever claims superiority in real sciences and says that he is able to answer all these questions, as mentioned above, ought to be required to give answer according to one basic principle and on one analogy. This he will not be able to do unless he makes the nature of man his principle, rather than anything else from among the forms of existing things, —whether the celestial orbits, the constellations, the component parts (*arkān*) of matter, the animals, or the plants. If he takes as the basic principle anything else than the nature of man, it will be impossible for him to find an analogy from it for all other existing things. He will find no answer for these questions, except by the example which we have provided and employed. But if he answers in this way, then everybody will agree on one opinion and one religion, and one sect! Disagreements will be removed and the truth will become clear to all, and this will afford a means for universal salvation.

But we do not allow anyone to discuss these matters, or to ask questions about them, until he has disciplined his soul, for as we have said in the two books dealing with the laws of Allah, the Blessed and the Exalted, He hath declared: "And we appointed for Moses thirty nights and completed them with ten" (vii:138). That was because Moses, upon him be peace, had prayed by night and had fasted by day, until his soul became pure, and then it was that Allah, the Most High, communed with him and spoke to him.

And it is related in regard to the Prophet—upon whom and his family be blessing and peace—that he said, "He who is sincere in his worship of Allah for forty days, Allah will open his heart and fill his breast with joy, and will give wisdom to his tongue, even though he be an uncircumcised foreigner".

Because of this it is incumbent upon wise teachers (*al-ḥukamā*), if they desire the opening of the door of wisdom to students and the revealing of secrets to (their) disciples, that they should first subdue them and train their souls by discipline, so that their souls may be purified and their dispositions may be cleansed. For wisdom is like the bride who

seeks for herself an unoccupied place. It belongs to the treasures of eternity. If the scholar fails to do that which is required in disciplining the students before revealing to them the secrets of wisdom, then he will be like the King's watchman, when he allows people to enter the presence of the King without rule or order. If he should do this he would most certainly be worthy of punishment. But if he does what is needful for their discipline, and the students fail to comply with it or to accept it from him, then of course the teacher is free from blame and the responsibility lies with the students. For when you offer food and drink to one who is hungry, then indeed you do your part to satisfy him, but if he refuses to eat and dies of hunger, then he is responsible for his own blood. And in this connection we have the declaration, "And whoso kills a believer purposely, his reward is Hell, to dwell therein for aye, and God will be wroth with him" (iv: 95).

May Allah, the Merciful Creator, make thee fit, O brother, and help us to right procedure, and assist thee and all our brethren, wherever they may be, for He is compassionate to His servants.

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THE DAUGHTERS OF BAAL AND ALLAH

In his article on "The Daughters of Allah" (*cf.* Quran 53:19ff. in *THE MOSLEM WORLD*, vol. 30, 1940, pages 113-30) Professor F. V. Winnett maintains that the idea of Allah's daughters is of northern origin. My purpose in writing this note is to present some new evidence confirming Dr. Winnett's thesis.

On the northern coast of Syria lie the ruins of Ugarit (or modern Ras Shamra), where Claude F. A. Schaeffer has unearthed a rich poetic literature of the Amarna Age, in a hitherto unknown Semitic dialect, recorded in a new cuneiform alphabet.¹ Most of the texts are mythological and deal with a pantheon, some of whose members are mentioned in the Bible; *e.g.*, El, Baal, Asherah and Astarte. Among the gods of Ugarit are also the three daughters of Baal: Pdry bt ar, Ṭly bt rb, and Aršy bt y'bdr. "Pdry" may possibly be a Hurrian name: "Pidriya." "Ṭly" and "Aršy" are quite likely Semitic, the first being connected with *ṭall* "dew" and the second with *'arš* "earth" (plus the suffix -y). Thus interpreted, the names of Ṭly and Aršy reflect their father's nature. As for Ṭly, Baal is known to be the god of dew and rain; *cf.* the following curse calculated to bring on an eight-year drought:

šb° šnt yšrk b°l
tmn rkb °rpt
bl ṭl
bl rbb²

Seven years may Baal fail
 Eight, the Rider of Clouds!
 No dew!
 No rain!

As for Aršy, note Baal's epithet *zbl b°l arš* "The Prince, Lord of Earth."³

The epithets of Baal's daughters are more problematic than their names. "Bt ar" may mean "girl of light" possibly in the sense of "lightning."⁴ While it would be natural to explain the epithet ("bt rb") of Ṭly, "the dew goddess," as

¹ For an introduction to Ugaritic studies the reader would do well to consult W. F. Albright's *Archaeology and the Religion of Israel*, Baltimore, 1942; *cf.* the page reference to "Ugarit(ic)" in the index.

² C. Virolleaud, *La Légende phénicienne de Danel*, Paris, 1936; 1:42-44.

³ C. Virolleaud, *Syria* 1931, pp. 193-224; I:14-15, III:3, 9, 21, 29, 40.

⁴ In this connection Professor H. L. Ginsberg calls my attention to Job 36:32 and 37:3, 11, 15.

meaning "girl of rain," it is difficult to do so because "rain" is *rbb* with two *b*'s. *Rb* can mean "chief" in Ugaritic (*cf.* *rb. khnm* "chief of the priests"⁵) and while a case might be made *a priori* for "daughter of the chief," Baal is not known to have the title "*rb.*" I have no suggestion to make for "*y^ebdr.*"

Although Baal's daughters are often mentioned in the Ugaritic poems, a couple of passages are all that need be cited for present purposes. (1) When Asherah and her brood remind the supreme god El that Baal still has no house, they point out that various other gods already possess houses, among which are:

<i>mtb pdry bt ar</i>	The dwelling of Pdry, Girl of <i>Light</i>
<i>mzll tly bt rb</i>	The Shelter of Tly, Girl of <i>Rb</i>
<i>mtb arsy bt y^ebdr⁶</i>	The dwelling of Arsy, Girl of <i>Y^ebdr</i>

(2) Baal and his daughters are again mentioned in a context according to which it seems that Baal sends a gift to the goddess °Anat as a token of the love of himself and his three daughters:

<i>l dd aliyn b^el</i>	For the love of Aliyn Baal
<i>yd pdry bt ar</i>	The affection of Pdry, Girl of <i>Light</i>
<i>ahbt tly bt rb</i>	The devotion of Tly, Girl of <i>Rb</i>
<i>dd arsy(y) bt y^ebdr⁷</i>	The love of Arsy, Girl of <i>Y^ebdr</i>

While it is to be noted that both Baal and Allah have three daughters, the names of the triads do not tally. Allah's daughters are called Allât, Al-°Uzzâ and Manât. In Thamudic and Safaitic theophorous names "Ruḏaw" takes the place of "Al-°Uzzâ" (Winnett, p. 117) but it would be precarious to posit any relationship between it and "Arsy."

That traditions regarding Baal should have been attached to Allah by pre-Islamic Arabs need not surprise us, for as Winnett has observed (p. 116), Allah had a rival at Liḥyān in the person of Baal Shamen.

The Ugaritic tablets substantiate Winnett's hypothesis of the northern origin of Allah's daughters and throw back this notion to the north Syrian littoral of the Amarna Age, at the beginning of the fourteenth century B. C.

CYRUS H. GORDON.

Washington, D. C.

⁵ Inscribed on the adze published by C. Schaeffer in *Syria* 1929, pl. LX, fig. 2.

⁶ C. Virolleaud, *Syria* 1932, pp. 113-163; IV:55-57.

⁷ C. Virolleaud, *La déesse °Anat*, Paris, 1938; III:2-5.

SAN'A, PAST AND PRESENT

Were the son of the king of Persia to return today, either on his magic horse or over the mountainous road that leads from Hodeidah to the capital, he would still find the city of San'a fair and the surrounding country beautifully verdant.

The houses are built to a great height. They are built of black or dark-coloured stone, of reddish burnt brick or sometimes just of bricks of sunbaked mud. Whatever the material, it weathers after a few years to a uniform dark brown colour. The window frames and the upper storeys are tastefully picked out in white stucco. With their height and slenderness they look rather like pieces of cake stood on end—and the freshness of the white stucco might be a decorative icing. I write at the end of December. We are just coming to the end of the grape season which began in May. In March we expect apricots, then plums and peaches, mulberries and apples. In recent years too we have had excellent oranges.

San'a is an ancient city. Her history reaches far back into pre-Islamic times. Stories are still told in San'a of the Sabeans and of the sons of Himyar who ruled the land for thousands of years. Camel men from Ma'arib bring in odds and ends dug out from the sands of their wadi and try to sell them in San'a as "antiquas." Often these are simply curiously shaped or oddly coloured stones—sometimes they are ancient beads or seals and occasionally silver coins inscribed in Himyaritic or gold coins of ancient Rome. In conversation with these men it is easy to get them to talk of the ancient dam and other ruins in their district but it is difficult to get a coherent picture from their talk. One large relic they always refer to as the throne of Bilkis.

Since the rise of Islam San'a has been a Moslem stronghold and the present ruler traces his line back through thirty-four generations to the founder of Islam himself. This ruler, the Imam Yehia El Mutawakil'ala Allah, is "Prince of the

Faithful" and the rightful successor to the prophet in the eyes of the Zaidis. So it is that San'a is the true centre of religion—Umm Ed Dunya—the very hub of the universe.

Historically the Zaidis are of the Shiah section of Islam. That is to say they insist that the rightful successors of the prophet must be of the family of Fatimah and 'Ali. All such descendants are here called Syeeds and most of the great ones of the country are Syeeds. From them the one chosen to be the prophet's successor is called, as we have seen, Imam. Before any Syeed is eligible for the Imamate there are fourteen points he must satisfy. Among them are these: he must be learned in the Zaidi legal code, he must be of upright character, he must be physically complete, he must be a good horseman and he must be able to swim.

Theologically the Zaidis are more orthodox than their Shafa'i neighbours in the Tehama. They frown on saint worship and pay but little attention to the tenth of Moharram. The Sunnis in Aden, recognising their orthodox theology, call the Zaidis—El Khamsin—the fifth division of orthodox Islam. The only differences the Shafa'is of Aden point to are that in prayer the Zaidis stand with their hands by their sides and they do not say "Ameen" at the close.

The first Zaidi Imam was Qasim bin Ibrahim bin Isma'il bin Ibrahim bin El Hassan bin Hassan bin 'Ali who married Fatimah, daughter of Mohammed, Founder of Islam. This Qasim is called El Qasim Er Rassi. He lived in Hejaz and is buried near Medina (d. A. H. 245). His grandson, the Imam Yehia El Hadi, was the first Imam in Yemen—his capital was at Sa'ada where he was buried in A. H. 298.

During the Turkish occupation of Yemen, the Yemenis repeatedly found a rallying point against the invader in the Imam. Imam after Imam proved a thorn in the side of the Turks. The great hero of the first Turkish occupation was the Imam Qasim El Mansoor A. H. 1006—A. H. 1030. This Qasim was the first to make San'a the Zaidi capital. Many stories are told of him and some of them go to show that while he is looked to as a brave warrior his memory is also revered because of his simplicity and integrity.

It is said that once when the Imam El Basim was being pursued by the Turks he got separated from his men and took refuge in a cave. He was without food, surrounded by enemies and at his wit's end. Just then, along the mountain path passing the mouth of his cave, came a poor farm labourer carrying a sack of onions to market. El Qasim stopped him and asked him to carry him, the Imam, in his sack through the Turkish lines. The man was ready to help and said "If they ask what's in the sack I'll say onions." But to this El Qasim would by no means agree. "No" he said, "no friend of mine will tell a lie with my consent. Say 'It's the Imam el Qasim.' " So off they went, the Imam in the sack on the man's shoulder instead of the onions. Sure enough, when they came to the Turkish lines the man was challenged—"Stop! What have you got there?" "Only El Qasim in a sack," replied the onion seller. The Turkish soldiers laughed uproariously at his "joke" and sent him on his way.

It is to this Qasim that the custom which the Imams have to this day of sanding their letters with red sand is attributed. It is said that on another occasion when his headquarters was a cave he wrote letters calling the tribes to arms. He sanded these letters with the sand of his cave and the sand was red. The result of that rising was a great victory and when El Qasim was safely back in San'a he remembered these red-sanded letters and continued the custom.¹

When the story of the Imams of San'a comes to be written, the Imam Yehia El mutawakil 'ala Allah—the present ruler—will certainly occupy a place of honour. Coming to the Imamate forty-seven years ago at the age of twenty-five he inherited from his father, the Imam Mohammed El Mansoor, the leadership of the Zaidi war against the Turks. After nineteen years of more or less incessant fighting he secured an honourable peace and was allowed to live in San'a as the recognised religious head of the Zaidis. This meant that, for the time being, he abandoned all aspirations to temporal power. Then, with the Turkish defeat along with Germany in 1918

¹ Another is that the Imams sand their letters with red in memory of the martyrs of Kerbela. Perhaps both stories are true. The custom may have started with Qasim and been continued as an appropriate memorial of the martyred ancestors.

the Imam's great chance came and soon he was master of the whole of Yemen and ruled over a territory almost as great as that of any of his predecessors.

Criticise as one may the state of Yemen today we are forced back to the basic truth that whereas before 1918 the country was unsettled and dangerous, today it is a country at peace and one may travel throughout its length and breadth in safety.

There is no doubt as to the loyalty and veneration of the great bulk of the people for the Imam. If, in conversation, the oppressive methods of some petty 'Amil are under discussion and the bystanders are inclined to blame the government, some one is bound to say "Yes, all that is true. If only the Imam knew about it he would stop it but he can't be everywhere and know everything," and then, as a chorus the whole crowd will murmur "Allah yehfadh El Imam."

Many stories are told of his wisdom and ability! Once soon after he came to power a Syeed was praying alongside a Shafa'i. He objected to the Shafa'i saying "Ameen," and generally praying according to the Shafa'i rite. He insisted that since the Zaidis now ruled, this man should pray according to the Zaidi rite. Finally he dragged the Shafa'i before the Imam and asked for an order on the matter.

The Imam was busy and told both men to sit down in his divan and wait. Time went on and the Imam was still busy with his documents. Sunset was drawing near when at last the Imam rose. He beckoned all in the divan to follow him to prayer. Out they all went, the Qadhis and the Syeeds, the clerks and the soldiers—and among them our two contestants. After ablutions in the great *birkah* close by they lined up for prayer. The Imam stood in front, and immediately behind him the complaining Zaidi. As they prayed, the Imam, leader of the Zaidis, prayed according to the Shafa'i rite. The bigoted Zaidi had his answer.

A chapter in the history of ancient San'a which we are bound to find interesting is that concerned with the great cathedral of Abraha. Ratjens and other authorities maintain that the present Grand Mosque of San'a has been a centre of

worship from time immemorial, being in turn, a sun temple of the Sabeans, a synagogue for the Jews and the Judaised Himyarites, the cathedral of Abraha and now the Grand Mosque of the Zaidis. Harris and Paul Harrison declare that its ruins or foundations are still to be seen in San'a today.²

The present inhabitants of San'a have their own site to show for Abraha's cathedral and their own story to tell. They say that Abraha, jealous of the fame, popularity and wealth of the Ka'ba at Mecca built a gorgeous cathedral in "Ghorqat-el-Kalis" but that it was deliberately defiled by a member or members of the Qoreish. This so angered Abraha that he marched on Mecca and was defeated in the famous battle of the Elephant referred to in the Sura of "The Elephant." Soon afterwards the great cathedral was razed to the ground.

Today Ghorqat el Kalis is a clearing in the centre of a square of houses in that part of the city immediately adjacent to the citadel—the ancient Qasr Ghamdhan. The present Grand Mosque is quite a distance from the Qasr and, they say, the ancient writers of Yemen often mention the proximity of the Qasr to the Cathedral. If this last statement is true it would seem to be a weighty argument in favour of accepting the local tradition for the site of Abraha's Cathedral.

The centre of Ghorqat el Kalis is surrounded by a mud brick wall and overgrown with tamarisk trees. In and near the buildings of the surrounding square are many ancient stones and sections of hexagonal pillars, certainly parts of some ancient building—parts perhaps of the old cathedral itself.

The local name "Ghorqat el Kalis" is of some interest. *Ghorqat* signifies a sunken place, more especially a place of flooding. The local story is that whenever there is heavy rain in San'a, and that is not infrequent, all the water in the district runs to the *ghorqat* and disappears underground. The superstitious are inclined to attribute this to some weird occult power hanging about an ancient place of worship. It may well be that extensive ruins under the present ground level makes the soil of the *ghorqat* more porous than the ground

² *A Journey through Yemen*, p. 321; *The Arab at Home*, p. 279.

round about. *Kalis* may very well come from the Turkish word for a church.³ Dr. Scott suggests that it is derived from the Greek "ecclesia."⁴

Ghorqat el Kalis would thus seem to mean the "sunken place where the cathedral was"—a name which would seem almost to be a parable. Few of us will feel that Abraha's desire to outrival Mecca was a praiseworthy Christian ambition or that his determination to be revenged was a worthy missionary aim. It is a sufficiently eloquent comment that in San'a today Abraha is known mainly by the "sunken place where the cathedral was" and that in the Yemeni capital Christianity was completely drowned out soon afterwards by the irresistible flood of Islam.

It is no part of our business to criticise Abraha. Rather we may humbly try to learn from his mistakes and not forget "what Spirit we are of." We may however pray that Abraha's successors, the Christians now in San'a, may so live that men will be attracted to their Master, may be so surrendered that He will be able to use them to overcome age-old prejudices and that in their love and patience men will come to see Christ's own true winsomeness.

WILLIAM ROBERTSON

³ As for example, in Bin Bir Kilis, mentioned in *Letters of Gertrude Bell*.

⁴ *Jour. Royal Cent. Asian Soc.*, Vol. xxvii, Jan., 1940 (Scott).

DESIDERATA FOR MISSIONARIES

Present and past missionaries among Moslems and specialists in Islamic studies are invited to scan with care the following list of subjects, regarding which former workers among Moslems have expressed a need for helps, beyond any of which they knew. This list has been compiled from replies to an inquiry made in 1941 under the auspices of the Committee on Work among Moslems of the Foreign Missions Conference of North America.

Correspondence from any source, calling attention to existing books or articles or telling of studies now in progress which cover any of these subjects, or expressing an intention to undertake such studies, will be greatly appreciated. Address the "Study Group of the Committee on Work among Moslems," Room 1101, 156 Fifth Avenue, New York City.

1. Books of Reference

Index to the Traditions. "Wensinck makes a beginning."

Index to the Qur'an. "Not a concordance. Weitbrecht Stahton's is far too limited and does not tell most of the things one wants to know."

Handbook of Moslem Dogmatics, comparable to a systematically arranged Handbook of Christian Dogmatics, properly indexed. "My most crying need has always been some treatise systematically arranged, where one could find quickly what one wanted."

Analytical Commentary on the Qur'an.

Historical Survey of Moslem Apologetics with reference to Christians.

Collection of parallel passages from the Qur'an and the Bible.

Collection of usable passages from the Qur'an.

2. Monographs.

Showing the spiritual experience of Moslems. "An example is the story which appeared in a Turkish newspaper, telling of the experience of a Moslem when his wife died, and expressing the comfort he found in the Moslem faith. . . . Probably found best in devotional literature. . . . Such personal testimonies and devotional helps would open a new field of sympathetic contact with the real religious values in Islam."

Telling what Moslems are doing in social service.

Explaining the hold which Islam has upon the common people as a popular religious faith.

Showing the reaction of the New Movement in Islam upon the religious life among the Moslems. "I have wanted information about this reaction, but I could not get it."

History of European-Moslem relations.

History of medical missions among Moslems.

An unbiassed study of Moslem ideas of Christ and of Christian principles.

A history of Muhammad without prejudice in either direction.

Biographies of missionaries among Moslems.

3. For Practical Guidance.

Detailed records of the experiences of Christian workers in their personal dealings with Moslems. It has been suggested that every missionary be urged to preserve such a record, these records to be made available in some suitable way.

Case studies of particular situations with individuals and groups, to determine specific objectives in those situations and possibilities as to method and result. "There is sufficient material on generalities."

Compendium of instructions for personal conduct according to Moslem ideas and usage. Should cover the daily life of both men and women, and should include the rules governing the conduct of Moslems towards Christians.

Survey of fields of possible cooperation with Moslems and of possible programs of *rapprochement*.

Toward a non-controversial basis on which Christian and Moslem can find their way together into deeper truth and can work out modern problems.

JOHN E. MERRILL.

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BOOK REVIEWS

Al-Minhaj: Being the Evolution of Curriculum in Muslim Educational Institutions in India. By Dr. G. M. D. Sufi. Lahore, Shaikh Muhammad Ashraf, 1941. pp. xv.+238. Rs. 4/—.

This useful book covers the history of their curriculum, from the appearance of the Muslims in India, down to 1935. It is a pity that the author has not seen fit to record recent, most interesting advances in the educational outlook. The background of studies in India lies in Western Asia and in Europe. From the beginning, the Muslims insisted upon reading, starting with the Qur'an. Elementary schools appeared almost at once, and were attached to the mosque, or were situated near by. The art of writing was associated with that of reading. Emphasis upon some knowledge pertaining to religious duties, and grammar for non-Arabs who would read the Qur'an followed. Then exegesis, literature, poetry, geography, mathematics (including algebra), history, logic, theology and philosophy received attention. Medicine was added to the curriculum after contact with India. The whole range of studies which was to control Muslim education for centuries was imported. These subjects were divided among the schools of various grades.

Very often travel was a necessary concomitant of general education. After Aurangzib's time, learning in India decayed; but the curriculum remained much the same; and a cast of it, which was formulated in Lucknow, has held the field, with modifications, until now. The principle on which the system was based is that the one most difficult and comprehensive book on a subject should be the text. One is impressed with the breadth of the curriculum under Turk, Afghan and Moghul.

The Calcutta Madrasa was founded in 1781, at the request of Muslims. Warren Hastings, who was interested in the institution, encouraged Arabic learning and the teachings of Muslim law. In 1791, the seven years' course included natural philosophy, theology, arithmetic, logic, rhetoric and grammar. In 1850 it had Arabic, Anglo-Arabic, English and Bengali departments. There were many private schools conducted by professional scholars who aimed at proficiency in Persian and in Muslim theology and law. Both Persian and Arabic schools existed, the latter covering a wide range of subjects.

In the earliest universities in India, work in Arabic, Persian and Urdu was meagre; but there has been increasing emphasis on oriental studies. The institution for Muslims at Aligarh opened in 1875, and in 1878 became a second-grade college. All subjects were taught in English; and Arabic, Persian and Sanskrit were taken up as secondary languages. In 1920 the Aligarh Muslim University Act came into force. In addition to ordinary university subjects they offered courses leading to Bachelor's, Master's and Doctor's degrees in theology and used both these and Islamic terms for these diplomas.

"The Aligarh Muslim University has yet to give proof of advancement of learning in Muslim history, philosophy, literature and art".

The course includes interpretation of Islam in terms of modern philosophy, the study of the scriptures of other religions of the world, and elocution.

The Osmania University in Hyderabad uses Urdu as the medium of instruction, but makes English compulsory up to the B.A. There is a women's college section.

The author argues for a radical reorientation in Muslim education, so that the Qur'an and the Traditions may be interpreted in terms of modern knowledge. He speaks for the widest possible curriculum, with provision for manual training and for co-education. He would continue English as the language of the educated, but insists on the mastery of the mother tongue for all. Teachers should be well trained; and for those in secondary schools facilities for foreign travel should be provided. In short, he is an enthusiast for the modernization of Muslim education. Dr. Sufi has had a distinguished career in education in India.

GEORGE W. BRIGGS.

Drew University.
Madison, N. J.

My Life: A Fragment. By Mohamed Ali; Afzal Iqbal, Editor. Lahore, Sh. Muhammad Ashraf, 1942. pp. xii+273. Rs 5/4-.

Mohamed Ali came into prominence in India in connection with the founding of the Moslem League, the controversy over Turkey during the first World War, "the Amritsar affair", Mr. Gandhi's *satyagraha*, the Hijra to Afghanistan, the Moplah uprising, and the Califat agitation. He died in 1931 and was buried in the Mosque of Omar in Jerusalem. During his political activities he was imprisoned more than once; and it was while he was interned in Chindwara (1915-19) that he began the serious study of the Qur'an. Out of this arose a new spiritual life in which he found, in his Scriptures, "a never-fading freshness". He decided to write on "Islam: the Kingdom of God". This was to be in four parts, but was never finished. The first two parts are covered in this book. Part One is autobiographical, showing his enthusiasm over his discovery of the Qur'an and how a Muslim reacts to his own Scriptures. The Appendix to this book is entitled, "The Misunderstanding and its Causes". Here Mohamed Ali reviews the history of the expansion of Christianity and of its contacts with Islam; but he does not, in any useful way, make use of what he records. The editing is well done, and the book is attractive.

GEORGE W. BRIGGS.

In the High Yemen. By Hugh Scott. London, John Murray, 1942. Illustrated. pp. 260. 18/-.

This is primarily a contribution to science, as the journey into the highlands of El Yemen was taken for entomological purposes. The author is on the staff of the British Museum and has made collections of insect fauna in the Seychelles Islands and Abyssinia. With a companion, E. B. Britton, he set out in 1937 by way of Aden and (although encountering the usual difficulties and restrictions due to the autocratic rule of the Imam Yahya at Sana'a, the capital) brought back 27,000 specimens of beetles, flies, etc.

More than that, he brought back also lively experiences with the Arabs, an understanding of their ways and an admiration for Jew and Arab alike. Dr. Scott comments on the ill effects of *Qaat*, the local drug, which still has ten thousands of votaries and is, unfortunately, not forbidden in the Koran, as Mohammed never heard of it. He describes the gorgeous scenery of these semi-tropical highlands which, once seen, can never be erased from one's memory. The numerous illustrations, such as that of Taif with its beautiful mosques, brought back to this reviewer memories of his two journeys along the same route in 1891 and 1892. At that time, as now, every petty official telegraphed to headquarters every movement and plan of the foreign visitor, and the people, naturally hospitable, restrained their hospitality until they received permission to show it! Civilization has made slow progress during the past forty years in this remote corner of Arabia. War and international jealousy have kept the doors in Asir and beyond the Aden Protectorate only slightly ajar. Dr. Scott made the most of his somewhat limited opportunities. He speaks highly of Dr. Petrie, the medical missionary stationed at the capital, to whom patients come from all over the country. It is refreshing to read a review of this book from the scientific angle in *Science* (Sept. 18, 1942) in which the reviewer, Professor T. D. A. Cockerell, of the University of Colorado, has this to say: "It is not possible to modernize these backward countries in a short time and the process, though justified on economic and commercial grounds, may be far from beneficial. One feels that the 'infiltration' of Europeans that is really needed is not that of the commercial or military types, but that of scientific men and Christian missionaries who are committed to the international point of view and have no reason for seeking profit at the expense of the people". Dr. Scott himself says of the medical missionaries whom he met: "I would emphasize the immense value of their work from every point of view, for the direct alleviation of suffering, for the betterment of understanding between the nations represented on either side and on the highest spiritual grounds." Altogether, this is an attractive picture of a forgotten corner in the world of Islam. It used to be called Arabia Felix, but the author, remembering his chasing of insects through rough bushes and undergrowth, says a more appropriate name would be Arabia Spinosa.

SAMUEL M. ZWEMER.

New Testament Studies. Critical essays in New Testament interpretation with special reference to the meaning and worth of Jesus. Edited by Edwin Prince Booth, Professor of New Testament Literature and Interpretation, Boston University. Abingdon-Cokesbury Press (no date) pp. 290, \$2.50.

The purpose of the eleven essays that form this volume is "to contribute to the understanding of Jesus". The editor thinks, and this view is obviously shared by all the collaborators, that "to forward such a purpose the New Testament text must be subjected to the most rigorous historical and literary criticism." The standards for such criticism are borrowed from German theologians, mainly of the so-called school of Form Criticism. Six of the eleven essays present in a somewhat tedious repetition the views of that school from various angles. In an introductory chapter E. A. Leslie describes adequately what has been done in recent years for the elucidation

of the Semitic background of the New Testament. Most satisfactory from the reviewer's point of view are the essays on *The Problem of the Messiahship of Jesus* (C. T. Craig), *The Christology of the Apocalypse of John* (D. M. Beck) and *Jesus and the Pharisees* (C. B. Marlatt). While these articles are no less scholarly than the rest of the book they show that their authors are well aware of the limitations of the critical method. F. W. Clelland's essay on *The Race Consciousness in Jesus* helps little for the solution of modern problems, because it neglects the necessary distinction between the Jews as an ethnological entity and as a religious group.

With one or two exceptions the book represents rather uncritically the position of liberal, humanistic and Unitarian Protestantism. Books written by men that believe in the authority of the Bible don't seem to exist for the writers of this book. If these men were as consistent as they are radical and sceptical in their New Testament studies—which fortunately they are not—they would sever all connections with Christianity and the church.

OTTO A. PIPER.

A Christian Archipelago: Religion in the Philippines. By Alexander McLeish. World Dominion Press, London. pp. 30. 9d. net.

Burma. Christian Progress to the Invasion. By Alexander McLeish. World Dominion Press, London. pp. 28. 9d. net.

Survey of Evangelistic Opportunity in Bengal. Calcutta National Christian Council, 1939 (Mr. Whitaker). pp. 80.

All of these excellent brief surveys can be obtained from the World Dominion Press in London and are proof that the work of the Kingdom is not at a standstill although hindered by the war. The first booklet is a revised statement to take its temporary place while plans for a full survey were interrupted. It deals with the people, languages and recent history of the Philippines and has an excellent map which shows the distribution of all missionary societies. There are a half million Moslems in Mindanao, among whom three Societies have work. The Burma survey is up to date in its statistics and shows the remarkable progress of a native church which is now under severe test. "Burma for the Burmans" is being interpreted as Burma for the Buddhists. There are 584,839 Moslems, however, and 331,106 Christians. The Buddhists number over twelve million. The Moslem population is a neglected factor in the missionary program. Bengal is one of the largest and most populous of all the provinces of India. It is also one of the great mission fields. This survey is a result of the Madras Conference resolutions and gives in great detail, "progressive fields, arrested mass-movement fields and unfruitful fields." The survey adds encouragement regarding work for Moslems, who constitute so large a proportion of the total population. We read: "The Moslem population, though more self-conscious and progressive than of old, is friendly and Christians live in close daily contact with them. The vast majority of individual accessions in recent years have been Moslems" (Nadia district). And for all the districts it is stated, "Further, large numbers of the population in the villages are Moslems, members of a religious community which in every country in the world has proved difficult to evangelize. The history of Christian missions in Bengal has shown, however, that neither Hindu conserva-

tism nor Moslem rigidity is wholly impervious to the influence of the gospel. The many and notable conversions which have taken place among members of both religious communities in the past give ground for believing that similar results are still possible."

S. M. ZWEMER.

Urbane Travelers. By Boies Penrose. University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia, 1942. 251 pages, \$3.00.

Contemporary events in the Mediterranean area are thrown into sharp contrast by the description of the life seen by the seven British travellers who explored that part of the world between 1591 and 1635. In the final chapter of this interesting volume the author attempts to summarize these observations. The reader's attention is called to the fact that the defeat of the Armada and the battle of Edgehill found Italy the lodestone of Europe with Constantinople ranking second to Venice as a traveller's objective. The Middle East was beginning to catch the attention of these urbane voyagers. Both Thomas Coryate and Sir Thomas Herbert, to whom the longest chapters are devoted, travelled to India and Iran while John Cartwright, who contributed "The Preacher's Travels", also covered the Middle East although not having had quite as hair-raising adventures nor having written so voluminously.

To one who has lived in the Middle East it is fascinating to piece together from the observations of these different adventuresome Britons a picture of the court of Shah Abbas in Persia, of the Turkish-Persian feuds of the period, and of the Mohammedan point of view. Sir Thomas Herbert covered somewhat the same route on his return from the ill-fated embassy of Cotton and Sherley that Reza Shah Pahlevi travelled after his recent abdication from the Peacock Throne. One wonders whether Reza Shah Pahlevi is as intrigued with the dodos on Mauritius as was Sir Thomas Herbert!

Unfortunately the excellent and interesting illustrations of the volume do not include a map of any sort, so that the reader has to follow the Urbane Travellers either on a separate map or in one's memory.

HERRICK BLACK YOUNG.

Turkey. By Barbara Ward. London, New York, Toronto, Oxford University Press, 1942. pp. 121. 2s. 6d.

The attention of this skeletal volume is focused upon Kamal Atatürk (1881-1938) and the transformation of Turkey under his leadership, while it purposes to satisfy part of the war-awakened curiosity of Anglo-Saxon readers, unfamiliar with the history of what is known in this country as "the Near East" and in England as "the Middle East". Not only are the one-party political system, the ramifications of the social revolution, and the manner in which State Socialism has organized the country's industry handled by a critical pen, but also the status of the comparatively unaffected peasantry (who constitute about 80% of the population) and the shifting patterns of foreign trade and foreign policy. Benefiting from residence in the country she describes and from her journalistic experience, Barbara Ward has written a balanced essay—for it is hardly more than that. Its merits, however, are numerous, chief among them being its readability, its

clarity, its remarkable compactness, its surprising accuracy. The author does not conceal her sympathy for the new institutions, a sympathy which at times is indistinguishable from apology.

Nevertheless a few inaccuracies punctuate the pages and oversimplification has produced occasional distortion. Most pronounced is the omission of mention of Rashid Pasha, whose "reforms" preceded those of Midhat Pasha by almost two decades (p. 27). Moreover, as the overwhelming majority of the population of the Ottoman Empire, Muslims were not organized into a *millet*, whereas there were both Armenian and United Armenian millets (p. 20). Less excusable are the use of "*Seriat*" when "*Shari'a*" is intended and the greatly exaggerated estimate of the number of French troops in Syria before the collapse of France. The author's reference to "half a million trained French soldiers" (p. 109) is more than double the most reliable figures. The several errors notwithstanding, the book definitely serves its purpose.

J. C. HUREWITZ.

*Columbia University,
New York City*

Al Andalus: Revista de las Escuelas de Estudios Arabes de Madrid y Granada. Vol. VI, Fasc. 2, Madrid, 1941.

We note this issue of the leading Spanish Review on Islamics and Arabic, because it has a special article on the Jubilee of the distinguished Arabist Miguel Asín, with portrait, by Emilio Garcia Gomez. Our readers will remember the work by Miguel Asín Palacios on the Arabian source of Dante's Divine Comedy and also his Ghazali studies. The present issue has, among other articles, an account of some Arabic MSS in the Escorial Library, and also an illustrated translation and description of an Arabic amulet from the library at Barcelona; a sketch of Almoravide numismatics; a summary of the Naqṭ-al-'Arūs of Ibn Ḥazm; an illustrated article on the ornamentation of the columns of the great mosque at Cordova and other ancient buildings at Granada, etc. There are fourteen pages of book reviews.

S. M. Z.

British and Axis Aims in Africa. By Kingsley Ozuomba Mbadiwe. New York, Wendell Malliet and Company, 1942. pp. 248+xxviii. \$2.75.

A very ambitious title, not supported by the contents. Full of errors, contradictions and misleading statements. A distortion of historic data and research. An attempt at special pleading, which fails to convince by reason of its obvious inaccuracies.

A. C. L. D.

Note on the Pre-existence of Mohammed

In the October issue of the *International Review of Missions* there is a review of Dr. Zwemer's recent book, "The Cross above the Crescent." The reviewer states in criticism of a statement on the Arabian Prophet: "It can hardly be claimed that 'to all Moslems everywhere Mohammed is the being who existed before Adam,' since this belief is only held by some branches of Shi'ite Islam." And this criticism is

given as a sample of "some questions of fact," without giving a *single* other example.

Facts are stubborn things, and in this case they are on the side of the author and not on the side of the reviewer.

1. Wensinck in his Handbook of Early Mohammedan Tradition (p. 162) gives detailed reference in Tirmizi, Ahmad ibn Hanbal and Ibn Sa'ad (all orthodox Sunnis and authoritative) that Mohammed was a prophet before Adam's creation (Ibn Sa'ad, Vol. I, part 1, pp. 95 sq. Ibn Hanbal IV. 66: 127).

2. The article in the Encyclopaedia of Islam on *Nur-Muhammadi*, by Louis Massignon, gives the history of the dogma of Mohammed's pre-existence as the essence from which all souls emanate. He tells of the origin and growth of this teaching, both among Sunni and Shiah theologians.

3. We are indebted to Professor Arthur Jeffery for the statement that the reference in Ibn Sa'ad "is proof-positive of its early acceptance by Sunnis." He also says that Al Ghazzali wrote a treatise, *an-Nafkh wa't-Taswiyya*, in which he combats the extravagance of this pre-existence doctrine, while Taqi-ad-Din as-Subki takes Ghazzali to task for objecting to so glorious a dogma.

Tor Andrae, in his book, *Die Person Mohammeds* (1918) devotes twenty pages to this pre-existence doctrine (pp. 313-333), and Goldziher wrote a special article on it, *Neuplatonische und gnostische Elemente im hadith*. (*Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, XXII, 324 ff.)

4. The most popular and celebrated panegyric poem on Mohammed is the *Burda* by Al Busiri. The author was born in Egypt and his poem is recited in Cairo (under the very shadow of the American University) and all over the world of Islam, on the Prophet's birthday. This poem has the most extravagant assertions of Mohammed's pre-existence. Dozy, the Dutch Orientalist, designated a commentary on the poem, by Marzuk of Tlemcen (died 842) as *stupendus et horrendus* (Art. *Burda*, Encyclop. of Islam). Ninety commentaries, in Arabic, Persian, Turkish and Berber, have been written on this one Coronation Hymn of the Moslem faith. The poem practically attributes to the great Arabian the same place in creation that Paul does to Christ our Saviour in Colossians. We agree that such a dogma (even in poetry) is to the Christian mind *stupendus et horrendus*! But this teaching is the tap-root of present-day totalitarian Islam.

Z.

CURRENT TOPICS

Arabic Poetry Broadcast

We are pleased to learn from the *London Times* that for the second year in succession the B.B.C. has organized and given a wide public hearing throughout the Near East to an Arabic poetry competition. Many entries have been received from all those regions where Arabic is spoken—from Iraq, from Syria, from Palestine, from Egypt, from the Sudan, and southwards to Aden and the Persian Gulf. This poetry competition received the hostile attention of the Axis broadcasters. The aim of these broadcasts has been to think not so much in terms of propaganda as of good broadcasting. Cultural values are linked with hopes that people will respond to approaches to their best motives. The broadcasts have included readings from the Koran, in the voices of Cairene sheikhs famous throughout the Moslem world, and also more popular debates and discussion in various provincial dialects.

The poems entered for the competition were to be written in classical Arabic, although both modern and classical metres were admitted. Cairo, Jerusalem, Baghdad, Khartoum and Aden each announced and held their own individual competitions and broadcast what were, in the opinion of local authorities, the most successful entries. Judges in London representing the whole Arab world awarded first, second and third prizes for the entire competition. The winning poems were then broadcast by the B.B.C. from London. The prize-winners were:—First, Muhammad al-Asmar (Egypt) for his poem on "Al-Dimuqratiya" (Democracy); second, 'Abdallah 'Ibn 'Ali al-Zayid (Bahrein) for his poem on "Al-Harb al-Bahriya" (War at Sea); third, Muhammad 'Abdu Ghanim (Aden) for his poem on "Al-Wahdatu'l-'Arabiya" (Arab Unity).

Progress in Iran

The Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions (U. S. A.) tells of new freedom in Iran:

"War has finally embraced Iran in its ever-widening scope. What of the future of our work there? The simple answer has been furnished by letters which continue to arrive from the field in the unsteady trickle of the mail. Without exception all tell of the increasing freedom to do evangelistic work, of the lack of interference with all forms of work, of the increased desire of the Iranians and the Iranian Government that the Mission extend its service to the country. The situation has never been more favorable than it is at present.

"The entire evangelistic program of the Mission and the staff in all of the stations has been reorganized and placed under the direction of the Iranian Church. Significant changes have taken place within the Church—women elders have been elected for the first time in Meshed, young men have been made elders in Tabriz; efforts have been made to get the family as a group into church activities; home prayer meetings have been developed; courses in education for home

and family life have been made a part of the program for all churches; some churches have been able to maintain their financial independence, and others have increased their pledges through the Every Member Canvass plan; in Teheran the boys' school has been purchased by the Christian group and turned into a flourishing church school and Christian center."

Travel in Yemen Seventy Years Ago

In 1891 the Editor met the son of a distinguished Jew at San'a, Hayyim Habshush, who accompanied Joseph Halévy on his travels in Najran in 1893-1894. Now the Hebrew University Press at Jerusalem has just published in Hebrew a remarkable, extensive diary kept by Habshush, the companion of Halévy. It deserves translation into English as it fills in the untold story of the intrepid French scholar and throws new light on his discoveries. *The Geographical Journal* remarks:

Habshush, a coppersmith whose interest in inscriptions may have been first aroused by his acquiring Sabaean bronze tablets simply as metal for his work, and who, like many Yemenis, used Sabaean letters for magic without knowing their meaning, was a grown man in 1858. After his journey with Halévy he was employed by Glaser and other later travellers to copy inscriptions and to collect old books. He died in the winter 1899-1900. Beginning to write late in life, twenty-three years after his journey with Halévy, he displayed wonderful powers of memory. Like some other oriental helpers of European travellers, he could recall places, people, and incidents in great detail. Some of the places visited with Halévy he had, indeed, revisited in the meantime, and he recorded additional facts, even geographical and archaeological details, omitted by Halévy. His service with the latter opened his eyes. He was interested in almost every aspect of the country. He characterized persons and groups with much insight. Though a townsman, he comprehended the pride, bravery, and frugality of the rough tribesmen. This insight into character was extended even to his employer and himself; for he frankly contrasts his own timidity and relative inability to endure hardship with Halévy's courage and frugality. While expressing immense admiration for Halévy, Habshush relates various tricks which he played on his master. In spite of realizing to some extent the attitude of mind of nineteenth-century Europe, Habshush always remains "a religious, shrewd and witty man of San'a"; herein, says the editor, lies the peculiar charm of the book.

While Halévy was detained by illness in San'a, Habshush went alone to Gheiman, some miles south-east, where, despite difficulties arising from the suspicions of the people, he copied many inscriptions and excavated part of the pre-Islamic city-wall. When at length Halévy and Habshush set out on their journey, the whole Jewish community, not excepting the Chief Rabbi, who alone understood the archaeological objects in view, thought the real purpose was to search for the lost Ten Tribes. Habshush enthusiastically hoped to find the warlike tribe of Dan.

A Turkish View of the Moral Crisis in Europe

Under the title, *The Moral Crisis of Our Time*, an author in *Jumhuriyet*, Istanbul, writes:

Europe which has set for the whole world during these last centuries the standard in the realm of thought, feeling and knowledge, to-day faces a spiritual rather than a material crisis. It is impossible to deny this fact. For the most authoritative voices both of the conquered and conquering nations proclaim loudly that civilization in its present condition is a rotten system. Marshal Pétain holds the French people responsible for their sudden defeat and he thinks the cause of this is their indulgence in pleasure and vice. On the other hand Hitler, seeing that the old order has gone to pieces, has driven Germany to a life and death struggle in the hope of building a new order. Churchill and Roosevelt may say what they like, there exists a crisis in Europe which is the brain of the world, and this cancer is first of all spiritual or moral. All the suffering which humanity is facing is the result of this disease. . . .

. . . Especially for the Turkish nation which, in the hope of finding a brand-new life, has destroyed every institution which had lost its vitality, this question of moral anarchy is a matter which should be dealt with before everything else. . . .

We are being westernized. But our old leader (the west) is seeking a new way. Obviously she has lost her way in the moral realm. . . .

A certain type of youth of to-day does not like to enter into any controversy over the religion which he has appropriated, or over the ethics that emerge from this religion. He lets his vicious instincts and passions go free, and feels no remorse over the satisfaction he receives from these things. The thing called remorse does not exist for these young people anyway. They are so sincere in their ugly actions that they are not aware of the ugliness of their deeds. All their lives are the glorification of instinct and desire. For they see the manifestation of their existence as a great reality only in these actions. It seems to be a necessity for them to carry their belief in matter so far as to deny their spirits, and they find unlimited happiness in this. They pass by, looking at everything, and never pause at any stage. They do not believe that anything can have an objective, independent value of its own. They act without thinking it necessary to judge whether their action is good or bad. They love without knowing whether it is the evil or the good they love. And their suffering is only chagrin over the pleasures of which they have been deprived. . . .

If we look at the book called "Sodome et Gomorrhe" by M. Proust, we immediately see that human consciousness has no place whatsoever in this book. In none of the characters filling the pages of this book is there any trace to be seen of the simplest moral anxiety, or the slightest remorse, or the slightest desire for perfection.

If literature is a material and moral portrait which is made more or less in the likeness of a society, it is obvious that this society whose ethics are thus pictured is rotten clear through. The intellectual person is like salt giving savor to everything. If salt loses its own savor, who can restore this quality to it? It is the mind which makes everything fit into permanent health and order, but if the mind loses its

way, who shall lead it in the right direction? Such a society is sliding down a precipice. While whirling down, she is drunk with the pleasure of her fall. Losing the soul is losing everything, both for an individual and for society. What shall it profit a man if he gain the world and all external things but lose his own soul? There is only one torture in life: that is not to be able to attain the greatest perfection through the grace, the virtues, the will and the ability which God has bestowed upon us. . . . The necessary strength in order to continue life comes from the conscious pressure we put on ourselves and from reasonable forcing of ourselves; and it dies under uncontrolled freedom. As Hallaji Mansur has said, in the realm of ideal love two rounds of prayer cannot be perfect without the baptism or ablution of blood (*kanla abdest*). In order to obtain permanence, self-sacrifice and virtue are necessary. It is only a society consisting chiefly of virtuous men that is a nation, and not just a herd. Virtue is the product of great unchangeable faith. . . .

Where there is no faith, there is no abiding beauty nor even ordinary truth.

Islam in Turkey Today

Ahmet Emin Yalman throws light on the present status of religion in Turkey (*Vatan*, Istanbul, Dec. 1941):

Every person who sees the interest shown by the people in mosques on the day of a Mevlud (singing of a hymn in praise of the Prophet, performed for the rest of a soul 40 days after death) or of a Bayram or Ramazan, must come to the conclusion that there is a real interest in religion, and that the need for it is felt. It is necessary to give our citizens the spiritual nourishment they are in search of, in its highest and most reasonable form. The emptinesses that exist in the social life and especially in the realm of moral sanctions would in this way be filled up, the wholesomeness, harmony and balance of society would be increased, and the general level of social values would be raised.

First of all, the tendency to belittle ourselves and the effort to blindly imitate outside examples would stop; the fact that we are proud of our own characteristics would be made manifest, and in this way and in its fullest sense our independence would be strengthened.

As a result of our wrong and very destructive understanding of progress and social revolution, religious institutions have been very painfully neglected. On the one hand, the Evkaf has taken an unprecedented care to see that the mosques are kept clean, repaired and well illuminated; on the other hand, the religious leadership profession has become very unpopular and shown that the religious career is in decay. To-day, there are those who have chosen "imamlik" (religious leadership) as a career whose salary is based on only seven liras (\$4.00) a month. Being related to the Department of Religion these men are considered as government officials and therefore the law forbids them to hold any other occupation. How can we expect those who are to keep us in touch with certain social values to work peacefully on seven liras a month? It is necessary not only to do everything possible in order to raise religious preaching to the level of a

popular and esteemed career, but also our mosques and the radio must be open to competent preachers who can meet the social need of the hour, and also for all other classes of men of knowledge and intellect. . . .

The Story of an Arabic Gospel of John

The following touching incident is from the report of the American Bible Society for 1942:

"One outstanding incident that has encouraged us all was when a very poor, aged Indian knocked at the door of the depot in Baghdad during the height of summer. Thinking he was shy to enter, as some people are, we held open the swing door for his entry and saw immediately how exhausted he was from the heat. We gave him a chair, and after he had been sitting under the whirling fan for some minutes in silence, and had regained his breath somewhat, he took from his bosom a very much-worn Gospel of St. John in the Arabic. The covers, which had come apart, he had tied together with a tape, and almost every page was loose; they were curled and, in some instances, torn from constant fingering.

"Handling it with great care, he put the little volume in tidy shape, and then rising to beg us handle it with care too, he held it out with both hands, and gave it to our keeping, and at the same time requested another, but as cheap as we could possibly supply it. Naturally we told him we would gladly give him another free of charge in place of his worn one, but this he would not accept; he insisted on paying.

"He was a most interesting gentleman. We learnt that he had been looking for the depot for several days, and, on our inquiring, told us he had bought the Gospel of St. John from one of our colporteurs some eight months previous. It was the very first portion of the Scripture he had had. It was interesting and became more so; for he read it often. It had been in his possession some months already, and as he was reading it one afternoon while sitting alone, the light dawned upon him. Salvation and the joy of his Lord had come out of the pages of the little volume into his heart. He told us much of his joy, and, after listening eagerly, we knew then why the little volume had become so precious.

"We wrapped the worn-out Gospel very carefully, and placed it in a drawer, where, we told him, it would be safe, and that he could have it any time he called. His gratitude for this little service he could not express; but we knew by the light in his face what he felt. He told us after a while that the Word of God was the greatest treasure he had ever possessed in his life.

"We offered him a complete New Testament free; for never having possessed one, he had never had the opportunity of discovering other precious things about his Saviour. Very reluctantly he declined our offer by saying he had paid for his little Gospel, and it had brought him life's greatest joy, and it was his own. He would very much like to possess one, but could only do that when he could actually buy it. We thereupon made an offer to loan him one, but even this he declined. We then made the further suggestion that we personally pay for the Testament now; that he take it and read it and pay us back in instalments whenever he could afford it. This he considered care-

fully, and at last, giving his consent to the suggestion, we entered the sale. He went away with a glow on his face and a joy in his heart, the proud owner of a New Testament."

A Slave Freed as Punishment

A slave in the Protectorate of Makalla (Southern Arabia) has been punished for spreading Axis propaganda by having his freedom restored to him. This odd punishment is one of the most severe that he could receive, states *Reuter*. It means that the man will be completely unemployed and will be the poorer by £5 a month.

The Sultan of Makalla freed the slave while on a tour of his kingdom during which he warned the tribesmen against the spreading of enemy propaganda.

Slavery exists in the Protectorate on a small scale, and on the understanding that any slave will be granted his freedom the moment he asks for it.

The Millenary of al Azhar in Cairo

There will be general regret in Egypt and in other Moslem lands that the celebration of the millenary—as computed by lunar months—of the famous University of Al Azhar in Cairo has had to be postponed in consequence of the indisposition of King Farouk. It may, perhaps, be decided to postpone this ceremony until after the conclusion of the war, which involves some Moslem nations and threatens others and must prevent the delegations of other Moslem universities from visiting the venerable foundation. Al Azhar has had a remarkable history. Supported by the endowments of the pious in Egypt and in many another land in the far-flung domain of Islam, it has given free instruction and maintenance to more than thirty generations of students drawn from every corner of the wide region that extends from Morocco to Java and from the Balkans to Somaliland and Zanzibar. It cannot be said of Al Azhar that its scholars played the same leading part in the preservation of Greek science and philosophy as the colleges of Baghdad and Nishapur in the ninth century of our era or the astonishing if all too brief succession of philosophers who were the later glory of Moslem Spain. Al Azhar by the twelfth century had become a stronghold of conservative orthodoxy, but as such it continued to exercise a mighty influence on Moslem thought and doctrine for many centuries, and that influence is far from negligible even to-day.

During the last decade there has been a persistent attempt to modernize the curriculum and the methods of the University which the Amir Gawhar founded at the behest of the Fatimite Caliph. Its Moslem critics felt that it had become something of a museum piece; that it had preserved the forms rather than the spirit of the middle ages, and that, however attractive its teaching remained to traditionalists, it represented an arrest, even a petrification of learning. Something has been done to adapt Al Azhar to present-day needs, but progress has been delayed by numerous conflicts between modernists and traditionalists, between the partisans of academic independence and the advocates of an increasing measure of State control. The numerous strikes of recent years should not be regarded merely as

manifestations of youthful indiscipline. The complete curriculum at Al Azhar may last for fifteen years and a high proportion of its scholars are old enough to take a passionate interest in the problems which are exercising the modern world and notably the problem of religious education in the national State. It is fortunate that the present Rector, Sheikh Mustafa el Maraghi, enjoys the esteem and respect of the progressive elements of Egypt and, indeed, of all the lands where the Arabic speech and culture are predominant.

—*The London Times.*

The Rev. George Hunter Released

Our readers will recall "A Tragic Call to Prayer," in the October, 1941, issue of our quarterly. We now print a sequel to that appeal.

Chinese Turkestan (or Sinkiang—"New Frontier"—as the Chinese have called it) from the point of view of missionary occupation is probably the most strategic of all the needy lands of Central Asia, surrounded as it is by no less than nine of them! These are Tibet, India, Afghanistan, Russian Turkestan, Siberia, Outer Mongolia, Inner Mongolia, China Proper (Kansu province) and Kokonor. Each of these actually borders on it. It is, therefore, something for which to praise God that for nearly fifty years up to 1940 Christian missions were operating there. Correspondingly it is something that challenges us to pray as never before that this great neighbor of so long closed Afghanistan must now be added to the sad list of lands where missionary activity is not permitted.

Last year Mrs. H. D. Hayward told of the serious restriction of missionary work in Sinkiang, of three of us leaving in 1938 via Kashgar, where the last three workers of the Swedish Mission joined us on the trek through the mountains into India, of the final closing down of the work . . . and of reports having come through of Mr. George Hunter's imprisonment in Tihwa (Urumchi) in 1940. Subsequent events will no doubt be of interest to those who read that account and to all who pray for Central Asia.

The reports referred to were little more than rumors but were sufficient to give rise to fears for the worst. Months passed by with no definite word till the silence regarding this lone warrior of Christ was suddenly broken on July 26, 1941, by a telephone message from the office of the air transport company in Lanchow, Kansu, to the C. I. M. missionaries there that (to quote their own words) "an old man named Hunter was arriving that noon from Sinkiang and there was the fare from Hami to pay on arrival." Their account continues, "A number of us waited eagerly at the square for the air bus, and a smiling face greeted us as it drew up. We quickly got jinrickshas and put him in and his few belongings, thrown together in a couple of blankets, and brought him home. He seemed very tired and dazed. The very first thing our dear friend requested was a Bible. For thirteen months he had been without one and it was a touching sight later that afternoon to see him sitting in his chair reading his precious possession."

Three days after his arrival was his 79th birthday. A little celebra-

tion was held at which he told of his experiences. He was printing hymnbooks in his house in Urumchi when the police came to search the premises. He was taken to the police office and finally brought before two Russians (!) who tried to make him confess that he was a spy, threatening to shoot him if he refused. Over a year's imprisonment followed, during which period he was taken out seven or eight times—to die, so he thought. He was without a Bible or any other book; was not even allowed a pencil, nor a needle to mend his clothes. He repeated Scripture and sang all the hymns he could remember. He was able to preach the Gospel to other prisoners—Chinese, Russian and Turki. At last he was released but only to be forced into a plane and flown away to China Proper. We are told that “although the door has closed fast behind him, his great desire and frequent topic of conversation is his return to that land.” Mr. Hunter himself says, “I have been nearly dead several times but God has preserved me. I have never lost my love for Him and I feel He has been very gracious. I think if God gives me a few more years of life I ought to use them for Him.”

Are we to regard the above story as the last chapter of Christian missions in Chinese Turkestan, or do we heartily believe that God can and will reopen the door of witness in that dark land, so many of whose 4,000,000 peoples have not heard the Gospel? Let us pray for this and for the Christians who are there now—Russians, Chinese and even ex-Moslem Turki. Let us dare to believe that defeat will be turned into victory throughout Central Asia. It will be, but only if we, like Joshua of old at the second attack on Ai, maintain uplifted the spear of intercession and faith till the work of evangelization is done. See Joshua viii; 18 and 26.

RAYMOND H. JOYCE.

China Inland Mission.

Mrs. J. Gordon Logan

On August 30th Mrs. Logan took her Bible Class for girls, and then spent a quiet evening at home in West Kilbride. That night she fell asleep quietly and from that sleep awoke in Heaven.

Through her death, those interested in the evangelization of the Moslems have lost a good friend, and sorrow with her husband and family. Mrs. Logan, many years a missionary in Egypt with her husband, under the Egypt General Mission, was organizer of the Fellowship of Faith for Moslems, a world-wide group which prayed and worked for missionaries to Moslems. Mrs. Logan's personal letters to hundreds of lonely workers throughout the world brought joy and inspiration and comfort.

Our great loss is their gain in the Better Land, but who will now take her place—give talents and time and faith and zeal to follow in her train?

ELIZABETH Z. PICKENS.

SURVEY OF PERIODICALS

BY SUE MOLLESON FOSTER

Union Theological Seminary Library

I. GENERAL

A GREAT ENGLISH SCHOLAR IN TURKEY. Sidney Balister. (In *The Asiatic Review*, London. April, 1942. pp. 173-176).

Sketch of the life of Sir James William Redhouse (1811-1892) whose Turkish-English dictionary entitles him to lasting fame.

THE LIFE AND WORKS OF AMIR HASAN DIHLAVI. M. I. Borah. (In *The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta*. Vol. 7, 1941. pp. 1-59).

Detailed account of this 14th century Indo-Persian poet. With bibliography.

A SURVEY OF MUSLIM CONTRIBUTIONS TO SCIENCE AND CULTURE.

Mohd. A. R. Khan. (In *Islamic Culture*, Hyderabad. January, 1942. pp. 2-20; April, 1942. pp. 136-152).

Extensive recital of the many-sided activities of Moslem scholars through the centuries.

II. ARABIA

ARABIA AWAITS THE OUTCOME. P. B. Cornwall. (In *Asia*, New York. May, 1942. pp. 277-278).

Presents a picture of the vague feelings of the Arabs about the war.

PRINCE OF ARABS. Joel Carmichael. (In *Foreign Affairs*, New York. July, 1942. pp. 719-731).

Describes the career of Ibn Saud, so powerful and so much needed on the side of the United Nations.

III. HISTORY OF ISLAM

CIVIL STRIFE IN THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE, 1481-1503. Sidney Nettleton Fisher. (In *The Journal of Modern History*, Chicago. December, 1941. pp. 449-466).

Recounts the conflicts between the Ghāzī 'ulemā and the Moslem Institution during the reign of Bayezid.

FUTŪHAT-I-FIRŪZSHĀHĪ. N. B. Roy. (In *The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta*. Vol. 7, 1941. pp. 61-89).

Contains a revision of a historical work by this Tughluq sultan, who lived in the 14th century and was a most enlightened ruler.

THE ORIGINS OF PAN-ISLAMISM. Dwight E. Lee. (In *The American Historical Review*, New York. January, 1942. pp. 278-287).

The author believes that the influence of the imperialistic powers as well as of Moslem countries has been responsible for the movement toward Islamic unity.

THE POLITICAL AIMS OF MUSLIM INDIA. Sirdar Ikbal Ali Shah. (In *The Asiatic Review*, London. April, 1942. pp. 151-164).
Studies the evolution of political expressions and progress from 1860 to the present.

IV. KORAN, TRADITION, THEOLOGY

FREE-WILL AND FATALISM IN ISLAM. M. U. Ahmad. (In *Islamic Culture*, Hyderabad. January, 1942. pp. 37-46).

Discusses the connection between ethical freedom and theological fatalism.

POLITICAL THEORIES OF CERTAIN ISLAMIC WRITERS. H. K. Sherwani. (In *The Indian Journal of Political Science*, Allahabad. January-March, 1942. pp. 225-236).

Presents briefly the thoughts of Ibn Khaldūn, Ghazzālī, Fārābī and Tūsī.

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An exposition of the prolegomena (Muqaddima) of the famous "History of Muslim Civilization," suggesting parallels with world conditions of today.

V. RELIGIOUS AND SOCIAL LIFE

DEVELOPMENT IN MODERN TURKEY. Major H. M. Burton. (In *The Journal of the Royal Central Asian Society*, London. January, 1942. pp. 17-29).

Praises advances in industry, culture and education.

THE MILITANT SIKHS. Sant Singh Sekhon. (In *Asia*, New York. May, 1942. pp. 299-302).

Tells of Pakistan's most effective opponents.

VI. POLITICAL RELATIONSHIPS

ALLAH FLAYS JAPAN. John Kin. (In *Asia*, New York. March, 1942. pp. 172-174).

The Chinese Moslems are loyal to China and are unmoved by Japanese bribes and propaganda.

HAIFA, RAILWAY JUNCTION OF THREE CONTINENTS. Norman Bentwich. (In *The Contemporary Review*, London. June, 1942. pp. 358-362).

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IRAN AND THE MODERN WORLD. L. P. Elwell-Sutton. (In *The Royal Central Asian Journal*, London. April, 1942. pp. 120-128).

Surveys Britain's position in Iran and notes recent developments in the country.

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Steady efforts are being made to win India and the Near East for the Tokyo government.

THE LIFE AND WORK OF AGAOGU AHMED. Muslih Ferid. (In *The Asiatic Review*, London. April, 1942. pp. 177-178).

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PALESTINE, THE JEWS AND THE WAR. Israel Cohen. (In *The Contemporary Review*, London. March, 1942. pp. 158-163).

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A SOLUTION FOR PALESTINE. John Van Ess. (In *Asia*, New York. May, 1942. pp. 271-274).

Plans for a United States of the Near East, possibly under Turkish mandate.

VII. MISSIONS TO MOSLEMS

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Founders Lodge, Mildmay Park, London, N.I
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