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ATONEMENT BY BLOOD SACRIFICE IN ISLAM

The three great theistic religions of the world all commemorate in some solemn way the celebrated sacrifice on Mount Moriah by Abraham the friend of God. In Judaism we have not only the full record of this heroic faith but the *Akedah* prayer, which recalls the binding of Isaac, has a place in the Jewish ritual to this day. In the New Testament there are several references to the faith of Abraham (Heb. 11: 17-20; James 2: 21-23.). The first announcement of the Messiah by John, "Behold the Lamb of God that taketh away the sin of the world," runs like a golden thread through the epistles and the book of Revelation. The substitutionary death of Christ for sinners is the theme of the New Testament. In Old Testament Judaism and in New Testament Christianity it is obvious that without the shedding of blood there is no remission of sin. This basic principle of sacrifice as atonement is also found in nearly all of the ethnic religions, even in primitive tribal customs.

In Islam there are also sacrifices, blood-covenants and consecration by blood, of which many seem unaware. The chief feast day in the world of Islam is the Feast of Sacrifice held at Mecca during the pilgrimage and simultaneously in every Moslem community from Tangier and Timbuctoo to Bombay and Bokhara.

The sacerdotal function in Islam as in all religions is that of blood-sacrifice. Abraham not only made the great renunciation at Mount Moriah but was a priest to his household, built altars and sacrificed. Melchizedek was a priest of the most High without special consecration. So among the Semites the patriarch was priest. Among the Arabs we also find blood-sacrifice as a household rite before Islam and in Islam; and the great festival, the Feast-of-Sacrifice was consecrated and perpetuated by Mohammed at Mecca when he acted as priest-prophet for his followers for the first time as conqueror of the old Arab shrine.

There are six words used in the Mohammedan religion to express the idea of sacrifice. *Zabh*, used in the Koran (5:4) for Abraham's sacrifice of his son. *Qurban*, this word occurs three times in the Koran. In two places (3:179; 5:30) it obviously means an offering or sacrifice;

in the third passage (46:27) the meaning is obscure. In Christian-Arabic the word signifies the Eucharist. The *Lisan* dictionary gives two striking traditions: "The characteristics of the Moslem community lie in the fact that their *qurban* is their blood," i.e., those who died in *jihad* as martyrs. And the other: "The daily prayer is the *qurban* of every pious man." This same word, however, is used in Persia and India and China for the sacrifice at the great festival, 'Id-i-Qurban.

Nahr, to cut the jugular vein, is used in the Koran (108:1-2) in a command to the prophet to sacrifice a camel. *Udhiya* is the word used in Moslem tradition for the annual sacrifice at Mecca (*Mishkat* Bk. IV, ch. 19). *Hady* occurs four times in the Koran for animal victims sent to Mecca when the pilgrim himself is not able to be in time for the sacrifice, (2: 193 and 5: 2, 96, 98). It signifies a vicarious present. Finally, there is the word *mansakh* (Koran 22: 35). "We have appointed to every nation a *rite*." The commentator, Baidhawi, explains this as sacrifice (*Tafsir*, p. 91).

There are two main occasions when Islam enjoins a blood-sacrifice, namely, at the birth of a child ('*aqiqa*), and at the annual feast in Mecca which is also celebrated in every Moslem community. The first is a sacrament of *initiation*, like Christian baptism. The second is *commemorative*, as the Eucharist also is in part. Yet both have features and prayers which seem both expiatory and vicarious.

Elsewhere there is a full account of the '*aqiqa* sacrifice.¹ Suffice to say it consists in shaving the head of the new-born child, killing a sheep or goat as sacrifice, *no bone of which may be broken*, and offering this prayer: "O God, here is the '*aqiqa* for my son [giving the name], its blood for his blood, its flesh for his flesh, its hair for his hair and save my son from the fire, etc." (The full prayer is given by Herklot's and Westermarck).² Doughty states that this sacrifice is the most common of Islamic religious ceremonies in the Arabian desert. It may be derived from Arabian paganism but it has Jewish features and, in parts of the Moslem world (e.g., Morocco and China), the sacrificer is not the father of the child but the *mullah* or *imam*. So this custom is common everywhere in Islam today. What does it signify? Why does a Moslem child need blood-atonement?

The great Feast of Sacrifice in the world of Islam is annually celebrated to commemorate Abraham's faith in willingness to sacrifice his son. That was Mohammed's attempted unhistoric explanation of the ancient pagan ritual at Mecca which he perpetuated. The details

¹ *The Influence of Animism on Islam*, pp. 87-103.

² Westermarck, *Ritual and Belief in Morocco*. Vol. II, pp. 387-397. Whoever it be that pronounces such a prayer, father, *imam* or *mullah*, is *ipso facto* a priest. The exact words of this prayer are also given in Herklot's *Qanoon-i-Islam*, London, 1832, p. 30. He describes popular Islam throughout all India.

of the annual celebration at Mecca have been described by Burckhardt, Burton, Hurgronje and later travelers. The whole ceremony is based on an injunction of the Koran (22: 33-38). It includes prayers, a brief exhortation, the killing of a sheep, goat, camel, or other clean animal, a partaking of the sacrifice, ablution, and shaving of their hair. Although the sacrifice can be made by *any* male Moslem, the religious part of the festival is always in charge of an *imam* and is conducted in a *muşalla*, a special area set apart for prayer on this annual occasion.³ Everywhere the head of the sacrificial victim must be turned toward the Ka'ba. Edmond Doutté and Westermarck have written extensively on this feast of sacrifice and other blood-sacrifices common among Moslems of North Africa and in Islam generally. There are such sacrifices at laying foundations of a house, launching a ship, in time of epidemic, to fulfill a vow or to atone for some omission in the ritual of Islam. The idea of expiation and the sanctity of the sacrificer when he officiates are so evident that Doutté, a Roman Catholic, closes his chapter with this observation: "With us the sacrifice of the Mass renews every day this expiation and the Church defines justification as the application of the merits of the sufferings of Jesus Christ to the sinner. Moslems have not reached that far. The idea of redemption has not penetrated their thought as it has Christian thought. But we have told enough to show the great importance of the idea of sacrifice in the development of their dogma in this respect."⁴

Westermarck tells of blood-sacrifices made by Moslems at the tombs of saints to secure their intercession; on the sea for a safe voyage; at the eclipse of the sun or moon; on the threshing-floor to bless the harvest; on taking a solemn oath; or even to consecrate a new market place in a village.⁵ He also gives traditions and practices regarding the expiatory value of the blood shed at the annual animal-sacrifice feast.

We may well ask, what does all this mean to a thoughtful Moslem? The Koran denies the death of Christ on the Cross and yet makes sacrifice, the great Feast of Islam at its focal centre, Mecca, obligatory on true believers.

There is also no question that for orthodox Jews, Yom Kippur has as its central significance, atonement for sin (Lev. 17:11) by penitence—but today usually without the shedding of blood! The day Christians call Good Friday brings to memory the perfect and final atonement and satisfaction for sin on the Cross of Calvary by the world's Redeemer, the Lamb of God. He died for our sins and arose from the dead for our justification.

³ Cf. Wensinck on *Festival, Victims and Muşalla* in his *Muhammadian Tradition*.

⁴ *Magie et Religion*. p. 495.

⁵ *Ritual and Belief in Morocco*, Vol. I, pp. 70-90; 554-559, 568, etc. Similar sacrifices are common in Arabia and in Lower Egypt.

Does the *Aqiqa* sacrifice with its beautiful prayer for expiation and the many traditions regarding the value of the sacrificial victims slain at Arafât, for crossing the *Sirat* on the day of doom, give no deeper and worthier message?

Is not the Cross of Christ the one missing link in the Moslem creed? "For without the shedding of blood there is no remission of sin." And Allah is merciful and forgiving to sinners.

"Note, for example," says an Anglican priest, "how universal has been the institution of sacrifice in all ancient religion. Whatever the differences between ancient religions—and they are very many—they were united in their recognition that man had offended his gods and that their anger must be placated. How incredibly shallow were the rationalists of the so-called Enlightenment in their attitude to this fact. The fear of the gods, if you please, was the invention of priests. O sancta simplicitas! Deep down in the roots of his being, ancient man knew that he had 'offended against Thy holy laws.' It takes much more than the superficial idiocies of the French rationalists of the eighteenth century and of the still greater idiocies of their modern successors to get over that fact."⁶

The great day of Atonement, *Yom Kippur*, and the annual sacrifice at Mecca seem to have much in common. Both date back to the days before the Hegira; and there was a time, as we all know, when the followers of Mohammed turned toward Jerusalem to pray. Read the description of the Day of Atonement in Leviticus 16 and in Numbers 29: 7-11 with the contrast drawn in Hebrews 9: 6-28. The Jewish high-priest offered sacrifice for himself and for all the people annually, as now at Mecca there is the annual sacrifice. In both cases we have "ordinances of divine service and a worldly sanctuary." "But Christ being come an high-priest of good things to come . . . neither by the blood of goats and calves but by His own blood entered in once [for all] into the holy place having secured eternal redemption for us. For if the blood of bulls and goats . . . sanctifieth to the purifying of the flesh: how much more shall the blood of Christ, who through the eternal Spirit offered himself without spot to God, purge your conscience from dead works to serve the living God?"

Good Friday, 1946

SAMUEL M. ZWEMER

⁶ D. R. Davies, *Down Peacock's Feathers*, 1944. p. 37.

CHRISTIANITY IN SOUTH ARABIA*

It is not yet possible to write the history of the planting and early spread of Christianity in South Arabia. It is not that there is a dearth of documents, but rather a lack of the right kind of documents such as would guide us to an understanding of how rightly to interpret and use those we already have. Most of our information as to the history of Arabia comes, of course, from the Muslim chroniclers and antiquarians writing in Arabic. They have a great deal to say about South Arabia, and the older authorities, such as Caussin de Perceval, were inclined to follow them rather than the Greek writers who also dealt with South Arabian affairs. The discovery and interpretation of inscriptional material in the old South Arabian languages, however, has shown that the Greeks spoke truly and that the Arabic accounts were largely legendary. For this reason the accounts of South Arabian Christianity in the Muslim Arabic sources, while they may contain elements of truth, and even preserve names of real people and reminiscences of things which really happened, yet must be used with extreme caution even after the obvious legendary accretions have been removed.

The information given in Christian Arabic writers is very meagre, and is often nothing but a repetition of what they found in Greek and Syriac sources. The ecclesiastical writers in Greek, Syriac, Ethiopic and Coptic, provide us with an abundance of isolated bits of information about the spread of Christianity in South Arabia and its fate there, but these bits are extremely difficult to fit together, and still more difficult to fit with what we learn from the Byzantine chroniclers, who themselves, indeed, are by no means in agreement in what they tell us about South Arabian affairs. The old Arabic poetry has been used by Louis Cheikhó as a source; but the learned Jesuit's enthusiasm and imagination ran away with him in his *Christian Arabic Poets*, and all we can really garner from this old poetry is a collection of isolated references which, while they may be good independent evidence for the presence of Christianity at various points in that area, do not tell us very much. The geographers, whether Byzantine or Arab, tell us very little more than what they had themselves learned from the antiquarians, and in South Arabia it has not yet been possible to make even such surface archaeological investigations as have uncovered the ruins of numerous Christian monasteries, churches and settlements in North Arabia. Among the South Arabian inscriptions are some Christian inscriptions, such as the famous Gl.

* Reprinted from *Anglican Theological Review*, Vol. XXVII, No. 3, July, 1945.

618 from the mound of Ma'rib, which opens with an invocation to the Trinity, but so far the net result of gleanings from the inscriptions is meagre.

Thus the task of writing the history of Christianity in South Arabia is that of weaving together a great number of strands gathered from one source or another, never quite certain that some strands are really going to hold, and very conscious that there are great gaps where we have no strands at all to help fill out the picture.

There are, of course, legends of the Apostolic origin of Christianity in this region, of how Thomas stopped there for a while on his way to India, of how Bartholomew preached there before going on to his martyrdom in the land of the Parthians, and left there a Hebrew Gospel that was later found there by the Alexandrian catechist Pantaenus, who brought it back to Egypt, and of how the Ethiopian eunuch, besides his labours in Africa, preached also in Arabia Felix and on some islands in the Red Sea. All the early notices, however, labour under the confusion that in their days the word *India* was used to mean not only India proper, but also South Arabia and at times even Abyssinia and the neighbouring coasts, so that we are never quite sure to what area these Apostolic legends refer.

The other accounts of the planting of Christianity in these regions agree only in the suggestion that it was of lay origin and not the result of planned ecclesiastical endeavour. Arabic sources both Muslim and Christian tell of its planting there by slaves who were sold to South Arabian masters and who introduced their faith among those with whom they had newly come to dwell. Greek and Syriac sources suggest that it was founded there by merchants who were either born in Christian communities abroad, or had learned the Christian faith while in foreign centres of trade and brought it back with them to South Arabia, where later it became important enough to need ecclesiastical supervision.

We really reach something tangible, however, only when we come to the great persecutions of the sixth century. The Martyrdom of the Christians of Najrān is celebrated in the Roman Martyrology on the 24th of October; in the Jacobite Menologies on December 31st; in the Arabic Feasts of the Melkites on October 2nd; in the Armenian Synaxarium on the 20th of October, and in the Ethiopian Senkesar on November 22nd, so that it was an event of some notoriety. The Arabic chroniclers know that the invasion of South Arabia by the Abyssinians, which put an end to the old Tubba' dynasty, was brought about as a consequence of the persecution of the Christians, and they have long accounts of the deeds of one Dhū Nuwās, a local ruler who had become a Jew and whose massacre of the Christians was notorious, and which may even be referred to in the Qur'ān LXXXV, 4 ff. It was

this persecution that led to Abyssinian overlordship in South Arabia, an overlordship that was associated in Muslim legend with the famous Year of the Elephant, the year in which tradition says Muḥammad was born. The legend is clear evidence of the fact that the Abyssinian suzerainty was Christian, for the reason for the great expedition against Mecca, with which the legend of the Year of the Elephant deals, was to mete out chastisement on the city for a desecration committed by two Meccans on the new Christian church the Abyssinian viceroy had just completed at San'a. A later native rising against the Abyssinians brought the Persians into the country, invited by the native princes to help them against the Abyssinians, but remaining to rule, and that struggle so weakened the country that the Muslim conquest, even in the lifetime of the Prophet, was an easy matter. When the Caliph 'Umar in 635 compelled the Jews and Christians of Najrān to emigrate to Mesopotamia and take up new lands there, the fate of Christianity in South Arabia was sealed.

The history of Christianity in South Arabia was thus not a long one, but it had apparently a vigorous life, and though short was yet long enough to seal its faith by martyrdom and so have a place in the remembrance of the Church universal. The story of that martyrdom was brought vividly to mind in 1924 when Axel Moberg published some Syriac fragments that had been rescued from the binding of an old Syriac liturgical MS, and which proved to be odds and ends of a *Book of the Himyarites*, which once contained the full story of that martyrdom. This, however, is only one document, and as the documents dealing with this brief history of Christianity in South Arabia have an interest in themselves, and deserve to be known to a wider group than the very small circle of Orientalists who have access to them at present, three of them have been selected as typical examples.

The first consists of the two divergent traditions on the introduction of Christianity into Najrān, taken from the Muslim Arabic sources. The selection here is from the *Sīrat an-Nabī* of Ibn Hishām (†834). It is the earliest extant Life of the Prophet Muḥammad, and is based on the earlier Life of one Ibn Ishāq (†c. 768), which he frequently quotes in extenso. In the early part of this work the author gives some account of the condition of affairs in Arabia before the coming of Muḥammad, and is at pains to explain the presence of Jewish and Christian communities in the peninsula. The stories of Phemion and Ibn ath-Thāmir are on pp. 20-25 of Wüstenfeld's edition of the text. The legends have been studied by Axel Moberg in his *Über einige christliche Legenden in der islamischen Tradition*, Lund, 1930.

The second is an Abyssinian legend of the planting of Christianity, which some have thought connected with the above Arabic

story of Phemion, and which certainly has been translated into Ethiopic from some Arabic source. Conti Rossini published the Ethiopic text of *Acta Azqir* from a MS in the British Museum and one in the d'Abbadie collection, in Tome XIX of the *Rendiconti dell'Accademia dei Lincei*, Roma, 1910. In its present form it cannot be earlier than the XIVth Cent. but as the martyr Azqir is commemorated in the Ethiopian Synaxarium on the 24th Hedar, the legend may be fairly old.

The third is the famous letter of Simeon of Beth Arsham over which so much controversy has raged since Assemani first published the text in his *Bibliotheca Orientalis*. The text used here is that published by Ign. Guidi in 1881 in Vol. VII of the *Memorie della R. Accademia dei Lincei*. Its authenticity was denied by J. H. Mordtmann in the *ZDMG* for 1881, in his discussion "Die himjarisch-äthiopischen Kriege noch einmal," and Halévy impugned its genuineness in his articles in the *Revue des Études juives* for 1889, where he tried to prove that the persecutors in South Arabia were not the Jews but the Arians. Curiously enough both Duchesne and D. S. Margoliouth have been willing to give up the genuineness of the letter, though that has been strongly defended by both Dillmann and Nöldeke, who have more right to be heard on such a question. The genuineness of the letter, of course, only means that the letter was written by Simeon of Beth Arsham in much the form in which we have it, but does not guarantee that all that Simeon tells of in the letter actually happened as he describes it. Simeon was the monophysite Bishop of Beth Arsham, who preached the monophysite doctrine at al-Hira, the capital of the Lakhmid kingdom, which perhaps explains why he was part of an embassy from Justin II to the Lakhmid king al-Mundhir III, and so was there when the news of the massacres at Najrān reached the Lakhmid court. Halévy in his articles in the *Revue des Études Juives* laboured hard to prove that the persecutions were not at the hands of Jews, but there are numerous odd pieces of evidence to show that there was some sort of Jewish hegemony there at the time, and the documents from one point of view are rather interesting as documents of anti-Semitism, showing the sort of things that were being said and the arguments used in that sad business in the sixth century. However, it is as documents illustrating the stories that were circulating in that century as to the history of Christianity in South Arabia that they are presented here.

IBN HISHĀM ON PHEMION
(ed. Wüstenfeld, pp. 20-22)

Now in Najrān there were adherents of the people of the religion of Jesus the son of Mary, who followed the Gospel, a kindly and up-

right people as are the people of their faith. They had a chief named 'Abdallah b. ath-Thāmir. The place where that religion first took root was Najrān, which was the centre of the Arab country at that time. Its people, like the rest of the Arabs, worshipped idols, and the reason for Christianity starting there was that a man of the Christian faith, named Phemion, settled among them and led them to his religion, which they adopted.

Said Ibn Ishāq: Al-Mughīra b. Abī Labīd, the client of al-Akhnas, related to me from Wahb b. Munabbih the Yemenite, that the story of the coming of that religion to Najrān, was that a man of the adherents of the religion of Jesus the Son of Mary (upon whom be peace) named Phemion, who was a pious, earnest, unworldly man, whose prayers God heard, used to wander about from village to village, never staying long enough to be well-known in one village ere he set off to another where he was not known. He was a builder and brick-layer, and never ate save what he earned by his own labours. He used to honour the Lord's day, for when it was the Lord's day he would not labour, but would go out into the open places to pray until evening came.

He was in one of the villages of Syria working in his unobtrusive way when he caught the interest of a man of the place named Šāliḥ. This Šāliḥ conceived such an affection for him as none before him ever had, and used to follow him wherever he went, though Phemion took no notice of him, till one Lord's day he went out into the open spaces as was his wont, and Šāliḥ followed him without Phemion being aware of it. Šāliḥ sat down within sight of him, but concealed from him, not wishing him to know where he was. Then Phemion rose up and prayed, and while he was praying there drew near him a *tinnīn*, that snake which hath seven heads. When Phemion saw it he cursed it and it died. Šāliḥ saw this snake, and not knowing what had happened to it, he feared what it might do to Phemion, so he began to lament and cry out, "O Phemion, the *tinnīn*! it is coming after you." But he did not turn round, but went on with his prayers till he finished them. Then evening came and he departed. But he knew now that he was taken notice of, and Šāliḥ knew that he had seen his spying-place. So he said to him, "O Phemion, you know that I have never loved anyone as I love you. I desire your companionship and to be with you wherever you are." Phemion answered, "As you will. My condition is as you see, so if you think you can bear it, well and good." So Šāliḥ followed him.

Then the people of that village also began to take notice of him, so that when he returned home any slave who had sickness would come to him and he would pray for him, and he would find relief, but if he were summoned to anyone in sickness he would not go to him.

Now there was a man in that village who had a son who was sick. He asked about Phemion, and was told that he never came to anyone who summoned him, but that he laboured for daily wage as a builder. So the man went to his son and laid him in a room and put a cover over him. Then he went to Phemion and said, "O Phemion, I have some work that needs doing at my house, so come along with me that you may see it and I will strike a bargain with you about it." So he went along with him till they reached and entered the room. Said Phemion, "Well, what do you want me to do for your house?" He said, "Thus and thus." Then the man pulled the cover from off his son and said, "O Phemion, this is a servant of God to whom has befallen what thou seest, so pray to God for him." Then Phemion prayed for him, and the youth rose up whole.

But Phemion knew that he had become known, so he departed from the village, and Šālih followed him. Now while he was journeying along in a part of Syria he passed by a very ancient tree, when a man called to him, "O, Phemion!" "Yes," answered he. Said the man, "Long have I been looking for you and saying, Will he never come? Then I heard your voice and knew that you were he. Do not leave this place till you have attended to me, for I am about to die." Straightway he died, so he attended to him and buried him, and then moved on. Šālih continued following him till they set foot in a certain territory of the Arabs, who fell upon them. Afterwards a caravan of some Arabs took them and carried them off and sold them in Najrān. At that time the people of Najrān followed the religion of the ancient Arabs, worshipping a tall date-palm they had there, for which also they had an annual festival when they hung upon it the finest garments they could find, and female ornaments. Then they would come and dance around it the whole day.

Phemion was bought by one of the nobles, another of whom bought Šālih. Now when Phemion rose up by night to pray in the house in which his master had set him to dwell, it shone brightly for him till morning came, so that he had no need of a lamp. His master noticed this and was amazed at what he saw, so he asked him about his religion. Then Phemion told him and said to him, "But you people are in error; this palm tree neither harms anyone, nor does it benefit them, and were I to curse it, my God whom I worship, would destroy it, for He is God alone Who has no partner." Said his master, "Then do it, and if you succeed we will enter your religion and abandon ours." So Phemion arose and purified himself and prayed a two-bow prayer, and called down God's curse upon it. Then God Almighty sent a wind which tore it up by the roots and cast it away. Thereupon the people of Najrān embraced his religion, and he brought them over to the religious laws of the religion of Jesus the

Son of Mary. Afterwards there entered among them those innovations which came among people of their faith all over the earth. Thus was the origin of Christianity in Najrān in the land of the Arabs.

Said Ibn Ishāq: "This is the narrative of Wahb b. Munabbih, which he got from the people of Najrān."

ANOTHER ACCOUNT OF THE INTRODUCTION OF CHRISTIANITY
INTO NAJRĀN¹

(Ibn Hishām, ed. Wüstenfeld, pp. 23-24)

Said Ibn Ishāq: Yazīd b. Ziyād related to me from Mḥd b. Ka'b al Qurazī an account which I heard also from certain people of Najrān, who had heard it from their forefathers, how that the people of Najrān were polytheists, worshipping idols. In one of the villages near Najrān, for Najrān itself was the capital city of that country, there was a magician, who taught occult arts to the youth of Najrān. When Phemion came there (the story of Ibn Munabbih does not name him, but says—"a man came there"), he set up a tent between Najrān and that village where dwelt the magician, to whom the people of Najrān used to send their youths to learn occult arts. Now it came to pass that ath-Thāmir sent his son 'Abdallah along with the youths of Najrān, and as he passed the owner of that tent he was astonished at what he saw of his prayers and his worship. So he began to take his seat near him and listen to him, which resulted in his conversion, so that he turned his face to God and worshipped Him. Then he began to ask (Phemion) about the religious law of this faith, and when he was well instructed therein, began to ask him about the mightiest names of God. But though Phemion knew this he concealed it from him, saying, "My child, you could not bear it; I fear you are too weak for it."

Ath-Thāmir, 'Abdallah's father, had no idea that his son was not going to the magician like the other youths. When 'Abdallah saw that his friend kept this knowledge from him and feared his weakness, he went and got some divining arrows, and wrote on these arrows all the names of God that he knew, for every name one arrow till he finished the number. Then he lit a fire for them and began to throw them in, arrow after arrow until he came to the arrow on which was the mightiest name of God. He threw this arrow in but it leaped out without harming him. So he took this arrow and went to his friend (Phemion) and told him that he now knew the name which he had kept from him. Said he, "And what is it?" He said, "It is such and such." Said (Phemion), "And how did you learn it?" Then he told him what he had done, and (Phemion) said, "My child, you have obtained it, but

¹ This story is now connected with the name of Phemion, though obviously it had originally no connection with his story. The connection is probably due to Ibn Ishāq himself.

keep yourself under control, a thing which I am afraid that you will not do."

Then 'Abdallah went back to Najrān, and never did he meet anyone in distress but he would say to him, "Servant of God, will you admit the unity of God and join my religion? Then will I pray to God for you and He will relieve you from all the trouble you are in." He would say, "Surely," and would confess the unity and be converted, whereupon 'Abdallah would pray for him and he would be relieved. This went on till there remained not in Najrān anyone in trouble or distress who had not come to him and submitted to his command that he might pray for him for relief. Then the king of Najrān heard of him and commanded him to come to him, and said, "You have turned against me the people of my city and have transgressed against my religion and the religion of my fathers, so I shall make an example of you." Said ('Abdallah), "But you cannot do that." Then the king had him taken to a high mountain and cast down head first, but he reached the ground unharmed. Then the king sent him to a pool they had in Najrān wherein everything that fell perished, and had him cast therein, but he came out unharmed. When he had brought him to the end of his resources, 'Abdallah said to him, "You will never be able to kill me till you confess the unity of God and believe in what I believe. If you do that you will have power over me and be able to kill me." Thereupon the king proclaimed the unity and confessed the faith of 'Abdallah b. ath-Thāmir. Then he struck him with a stick that was in his hand and fractured his skull a little so that he died. But the king perished at the same moment.

Thus did the people of Najrān agree upon accepting the religion of 'Abdallah b. ath-Thāmir, and it was then just as Jesus gave it in the Gospel and as He ordained. Later there affected them also those corruptions that affected all the people of this religion. Such was the origin of Christianity in Najrān.

THE ACTS OF AZQĪR

In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, one sole God. The spiritual conflict and martyrdom of the holy martyr Azqīr, priest of Najrān, who was the first teacher of the Christians in the city of Najrān, and who spread Christian religion in the time of Sarābhīl Dānkēf, king of Ḥamēr. He set up a tent for an oratory, and set up a cross. Learning of this the chief people of the city of Najrān of the She'ebān and the Qēfān, sent men who threw down the tent which was his oratory, broke the cross, arrested the holy Azqīr, and cast him into prison in darkness. This cavern was called Qafnāyt. While he was in prison there came those men whom he had

instructed before being imprisoned, whom he made neophytes, and who now came to seek baptism. The holy Azqīr said to the guards of the prison, "Open to these men," but the guards of the prison refused to open. Then the holy Azqīr rose to his feet and prayed, saying, "O my Lord, Jesus Christ, Who didst open the iron gate for Peter and loosed his bonds, do Thou order for these that the door stand open all night, and close not till Thy servants have entered and have received Thy grace." The door then opened of itself by the power of the Lord, and those men to the number of fifty entered. The prison guards rose up to shut the door, but they were afraid, and they were about fifty. The prison guards did not succeed in shutting the door to hinder anyone from entering in to the holy Azqīr. Then the prison guards recognized that such a miracle was from the Lord, and being afraid they fled, abandoning their post. So those fifty men entered in to the holy Azqīr, who made a pool in the prison and baptized them into the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost, so that those men received baptism that night. The Saint led prayers, and there appeared to them full light within the prison. So it was, and this was the first miracle that the holy Azqīr did, being in prison.

The king Sarābhēl was annoyed by what the holy Azqīr had done, and the king sent a messenger to the chiefs who were in Najrān, saying, "Bring quickly that man who has introduced a new religion into my country." Then there ran to the holy Azqīr, as he was in prison, a man named Kiryāq, who spoke and said, "I am come to give you good news, because the king of Ḥamēr has sent a message regarding you, for which reason they will take you to him for martyrdom." The holy Azqīr said to this man, "Truly, yours is good news, and this good news of yours will be at my expense" (i.e., for me to reward). The inhabitants of the city came and spoke to the holy Azqīr, brought him out of the prison, and bound him with that man who had held discourse with the holy Azqīr. At that moment there arrived many merchants from Tonāḥ, with whom they sent the Saint to the king of Ḥamēr. As they went out from Najrān many people followed him, accompanying him as far as the place called Wāḏḥo, about fifteen furlongs from the city of Najrān. Arrived there, two men besought him to baptize them, so he made there a place of prayer, near a rock, caused water to flow, and there baptized them that day. Although there was no water in that place it flowed at the prayer of the holy Azqīr and still flows to this day. The place where the water flowed is precipitous. When he who was bound with him saw this prodigy, he begged of him, saying, "Remember, O my lord, that it was I who spoke to you when you were in prison, and you said to me, 'At my expense is thy good news.' Fulfil now the promise of what you were going to give me for my good news. I desire not, indeed, gold or silver,

or any such thing; but baptize me, and that will be my recompense for my good news." The holy Azqîr thanked the Lord for this man, and straightway baptized him.

II

Passing beyond that place, as they proceeded they came to the desert called Gaw'an. As it says in the Book, "My soul had thirst in the desert land, where there was neither tree nor water," so in that land there was neither tree nor water. Gaw'an in Arabic signifies "hunger." When they arrived in that place there came all the travelers, and found themselves in great tribulation, both they and their beasts, on the day of that dry stage. So they begged the holy Azqîr and besought him, saying, "Pray the Lord for us, to everyone's advantage, that we die not of thirst. For we know well that whatever thou dost ask the Lord He will grant thee." Said the holy Azqîr, "Give me a drinking-trough." So they brought him a drinking-trough. Then he separated himself from them, placed the drinking-trough in front of him, stretched out his hands, raised his hands to the heavens and prayed, saying, "O my Lord Jesus Christ, who hast created the heavens and set them as a vault; who didst change the water into wine, and didst satisfy a great multitude with five loaves, work now a miracle. Send Thy mercy and quench the thirsty soul." Then a cloud came down on the drinking-trough to the height of a man's palm, and the drinking-trough was filled with water. Men and beasts drank, quenched their thirst, and furnished themselves for the voyage. The number of men who drank from that water was more than six hundred, besides the beasts. That drinking-trough still exists today in Tonâh, in the house of a spiritual descendant of Azqîr. This is the third miracle wrought by the holy Azqîr in the name of God, after his imprisonment.

III

Passing beyond there they came to Şefâr, to the king of Ḥamêr. They made him enter to the king, but as he entered he made no salutation. The king looked at him with supreme disdain, and said to the holy Azqîr, "What is this new religion that you have introduced into my country?" The holy Azqîr said to him, "But this is not a new religion, for indeed, the Prophets and the Pentateuch foretold it." Then he began to discuss with the Jews, basing himself on the Holy Scriptures. Said the king to him, "What does it profit you, O Azqîr, to go into all this question? Think rather of yourself and of your life in this world, since Christ in whom you have believed will not avail you. So take heed lest I inflict on you a great and terrible punishment." The holy Azqîr answered him, "Life in this world is death, and your condemnation to death, which is in your hand, to us is life." Then

the king began to tempt him with riches, but the holy Azqīr said to him, "Gold and silver are but ephemeral, whereas Christ will abide for ever." After this one of the Rabbis rose and said to the king, "My Lord, these Christians have a magic beverage which they make men drink. If one spits it out directly, he may deny Christ, but if it enters anyone's marrow he will never deny Christ for ever; prolong no further discussion with him, but send him back to his country and to his Christian companions, that he may be judged in Najrān, where his own people may see and fear." The king granted this request and wrote to the chiefs who were in Najrān, the She'ebān and the Qēfān. He sent the holy Azqīr to Najrān and wrote as follows, "When Azqīr is come to you, let him not be executed in secret, but publicly. Attach him to a stake; pile around it wood, and keep it burning so long as he is still alive." The holy Azqīr went out from the king as one rejoicing, having heard how the king had written that he be suspended and burned with fire for Christ's sake. Back in Najrān he taught and made converts to Christianity. At break of day they led him without the city, planted there a stake, and suspended him thereon. Then they brought much wood of palm branches, and lay them close together against him. A Jew said, "Let Christ come and save you who have trusted in Him, if He is able." Said the holy Azqīr, "I have put my trust in the Lord, in my Lord Jesus Christ. Were fire set to all the wood in your country laid against me, it would avail naught against me." Then they lit the fire against him, and it burned up all the wood and the cords with which they had bound his hands and feet, but the holy Azqīr descended from the stake and stood in the midst of the fire like gold purified. The Jews said, "This man who has vanquished the fire is a sorcerer and magician." They also said, "Leave him. We will stone him with stones."

IV

There was a Jew there with his wife and his sons. Having put on festal attire they had come out to take part in the death of the holy martyr Azqīr. He and his wife were the first of all to hurl stones at the holy Azqīr. The stone did not reach the holy Azqīr, but the little son died before his father's eyes, even though his father was protecting him. His stomach split and he died. Also his wife, while still alive, was devoured by worms. The Jews said among themselves, "Come now, let us beat him with sticks." One of them said, "How long will you put up with this man? Come along now, let us make enquiry and prepare a sword with which we shall kill him." And they found a Najrānite whom the same holy Azqīr had before converted to Christianity, and this man carried a sword. They begged of him to lend it to them, but he refused to lend it. But the holy Azqīr desired to end his

spiritual combat, and said to the disciple, "My son, lend your sword. If you lend it not you will have no share and common heritage with me." So straightway he gave his sword to a Jew. The holy Azqîr stretched forth his neck, and the Jew struck with the sword and severed the head of the holy priestly martyr Azqîr. Many miracles were worked at his tomb. May his prayers be with us for ever and ever. Amen.

Moreover others had the crown of martyrdom also. They flinched not, but gave themselves to the fire as a sacrifice for love of the name of our Lord and Redeemer Jesus Christ, to receive the crown of martyrdom, disdaining the world. In the territory of Najrân there received the crown of martyrdom metropolitans, priests, deacons, monks, men and women, and many people together, and were judged. The number of those who were killed was thirty-eight. Their commemoration is on the 24th day of the month of Ḥedâr in Greece. To us be their prayers, and may we have share in the reign and the heritage of all the saints and martyrs, in the presence of our Lord Jesus Christ, to Whom be praise and glory, majesty and power, and of His Father, together with Him and the Holy Ghost, the giver of life, the celestial one, now and always, throughout all the ages. Amen and Amen.

LETTER GIVING AN ACCOUNT OF THE HIMYARITE MARTYRS

By Simeon, Bishop of the Persian Christians; sent from Ḥirta de
Bêth Nu'mân

We would have you know, beloved, that on the 20th of Second Kanun of this present year 835 of Alexander (i.e., January, 524 A.D.), we went out from Ḥirta de Nu'mân with the most excellent Mar Abraham, the priest, son of Euphrasios, who had been sent from Justinian, King of the Romans, to Mundhir, King of Ḥirta, to make peace with the Romans. About him we have already written in our previous letter, for we and all the faithful who are with us are in receipt of his goodness, for in everything he is assisting our part of the faithful, and he knows well what formerly we wrote and what we now are writing.

When we had journeyed in the desert towards the south and the east a journey of ten days, we overtook King Mundhir, over against the mountains called the Sand Mountains, in the tongue of the Arabs of the place called Ramleh. When we came into the camp of Mundhir there advanced to meet us the pagan Arabs and the Ma'adites, saying to us, "What is there then for you to do from now on, since your Christ has been expelled by the Romans, the Persians and the Himyarites, and from all lands?" And when with these and the like reproaches Mar Abraham the priest was reproached, and we also with

him, by the pagan Arabs and Ma'adites, great sorrow came upon us, and it was a great affliction for all true believers. As we approached there came a messenger from the King of the Himyarites to Mundhir King of Ḥirta, having a letter full of vaunting, in which he told him what evil things he had done to the Christians of Najrān, the Himyarite city. And thus did he write to him:

That king whom the Cushites set up in our land is dead; and the winter season having arrived the Cushites were not able to come across to our land, so I have taken the rule over all the land of the Himyarites, and before all else, this I intend to do: all the Christians will I exterminate from the whole land of the Himyarites, unless they deny Christ and become Jews like us. First, all the Cushites who were left in our country to guard the church which they hoped they had built for themselves in our land, I was able to unsettle, and laid hold on them and killed them all, 280 men, both clerics and laymen. And that church of theirs I made into one of our synagogues. After this I led 120,000 troops with me, and went to the city of Najrān, and besieged it for not a few days. But when I saw that it was not soon subdued, I gave them the word of an oath that they should suffer no evil if they surrendered to me their city of their own accord. By this they were brought into subjection and opened the gates of the city, and all their leaders came out unto me. But it did not seem to me right to keep troth with Christians, so I demanded of them first that they bring me their gold and their silver and all their substance, and when they had brought it to me, and I had taken it from them, I demanded of them that they show me Paul, their Bishop. He, they told me, was dead, but I did not believe them till they showed me his tomb. His bones I took and burned with fire. I burned also their church and their priests, and all that was found therein. After this I demanded of them that they deny Christ and the cross and become Jews like us, but they were not willing. Then I said to them, "Lo! now the Romans recognize that Christ was a man, why do you go astray after Him? Ye, surely, are not better than the Romans?" And we said to them, "We are not demanding of you that you deny God, the maker of heaven and earth, nor that you worship the sun or the moon or other luminous bodies, or any other creature, but that you deny Jesus, He who considered Himself as God, and say only that He is man and not God." And with many such (words) we distressed them, but they were not willing to deny Christ, nor were they willing to say that He was man; but in their foolishness they were saying, "He is God, and the Son of the Merciful." And they elected to die for Him. Their leader, moreover, spoke much against us, and as he deserved so was he recompensed, and all their chief men were killed. Then the remainder fled and hid themselves. These we have not yet come upon,

but we have given command that all, wherever they are found, are to be put to death, unless they deny Christ and become Jews like us.

After this we brought out their womenfolk and said to them, "Lo! ye have seen with your eyes that your men, because they blasphemed and said that Christ was God and was the Son of Adonai, have all been killed. But do ye now spare yourselves and your sons and your daughters by denying Christ and His Cross, and become Jewesses like us, and ye shall live, but if not ye shall surely die." But these women, more even than their husbands, were blaspheming and saying, "Christ is God, and the Son of the Merciful. In Him do we believe, the cross do we adore, and for Him will we die. Far be it from us that we should deny Him, or that we should survive our husbands. With them and like them we will die for Christ." We demanded of them that they confess that Christ was man, and live; but they would not so say, and chose for themselves death for the sake of the deceiver and sorcerer.

Moreover those women among them who are called the religious we saw disputing with those whose husbands had been put to death and who were saying, "It is right that we should die first after our husbands," for they were running and contending with one another who should die first. But we, when we heard their striving and saw them contending with one another as to whom of them should die first, laughed at their madness, such that they went astray after a man who had the audacity blasphemously to pretend that He Himself was God. And we were amazed that even the children, whom we supposed would not know anything about it, had been brought up in that error. So when we saw that they were thus in their foolishness striving with one another (for the honour of martyrdom), we gave command that all these women be put to death. One of them, however, because of her noble birth, her lineage and her beauty, we were hoping would perhaps spare herself and her daughters, and be persuaded to deny Christ, so we gave command that she be not killed. Thus she came into the city, grieving that she had not died.

On the third day we sent for her (telling her) that if she would deny Christ she should live, but if not she should die. But she, when she heard this word, ran out into the market place in the middle of the city, although, as we have heard of her, she was a woman whose face no man had at any time seen, nor had she ever gone out in the daytime into the city until that day in which she stood in the city with uncovered head. And, as those who were there tell me, she cried aloud, saying, "Women of Najrān, my comrades, Christians, Jews and pagans, hearken. Ye know me, how that I am a Christian, and ye know my lineage and family, of whom I am and whose daughter I am, and that I have gold and silver and slaves and maid servants and

fields and produce, and that I lack nothing. And now my husband has been killed for Christ's sake, and if I desired another husband, a husband for me would not be lacking. But here I am saying to you that on this very day I possess 40,000 stamped darics stored up in my treasury apart from the treasury of my husband, and apart from gold and silver and jewels and pearls and jacinths for my adornment. These things there are women among you who have seen in my house. And ye, my comrades, know that a woman has no happier days than the days of her marriage feast. From then onward are anxieties and sighings, the bearing of children in anguish and the suckling of them. And when she is deprived of children she is in grief and sorrow, and when she buries sons she buries them in weeping and lamentation. But I, from today on, am free from all these things. In the days of my first marriage feast I was joyful; and my virgin daughters who have no husband I have adorned for the Christ. Rejoice with me, O my comrades, for twice have ye seen my face: on my first marriage feast, and now this second time. At that time with unveiled face before you all I went to my first spouse; now with unveiled face I go to Christ my Lord, my God and the God of my daughters, like as He came to us. Rejoice with me, my comrades; rejoice with me and with my daughters, that I am not less beautiful than you, and with it I go to Christ my Lord, unspoiled by Jewish unbelief. This beauty of mine will be for me a witness before my Lord, that he was not able to lead me astray into the sinfulness of unbelief in Christ. My gold and my silver, and all the jewels that are my adornment, my slaves and my maid-servants, and all that I have, shall be a testimony for me, that not for love of them have I denied Christ my Lord. And now the king has sent for me to deny Christ and live; but I have sent to him (saying) that were I to deny Christ I should die, but if I die for Christ's sake I shall live. Far be it from me, O my comrades, far be it from me to deny Christ my God, He in whom I have believed, and in whose name I was baptized and had my daughters baptized, whose cross I adore, and for whose sake I die, I and my daughters, as He died for us. Earthly gold I leave to the earth. Whosoever wishes to take my gold, let him take it; and whosoever wishes to take my silver and the jewels of my adornment, let him take (them), for I have abandoned everything that I may go to take from Christ my Lord its recompense. Blessed are ye, O my comrades, if ye hearken to my words. Blessed are ye, O my comrades, if ye know the truth for which I and my daughters die. Blessed are ye, if ye love Christ. Blessed am I; blessed am I and my daughters, who are going to this blessedness. Henceforth peace and tranquillity will be with the peoples of Christ. The blood of these my brothers and sisters, who were slain for Christ's sake, will be a rampart to this city, if it remains faithful to Christ my

Lord. Behold, with uncovered face I am going from this city, in which I was as in a temporary dwelling, but I am going with my daughters to another city, that there I may betroth them. Pray for me, my comrades, that Christ my Lord may receive me, and pardon me that I have been living these three days after the father of my daughters."

Then we heard a voice of lamentation from the city, such that we were all disturbed, for we did not know why the women were lamenting. But when the men came whom we had sent, and told us that all these things (above) related had raised an audacious uproar before the entire city, and that on account of this the women were lamenting, we were desirous of putting them to death for having permitted her to speak all this discourse and to stir up the city with her enchantments. After this she appeared in the city with uncovered head like an insane person, with her daughters, and came and stood before me with uncovered face, unashamed and holding her daughters with her hands, adorned as for a marriage festival. Then she loosed the tresses of her hair and wound them in her hand, raised her neck and stretched forth her throat with her head bowed before me saying, "A Christian am I, and so are my daughters. For Christ do we die. Cut off our heads, that we may go and overtake our brothers and our sisters, and the father of my daughters." But I, after all this foolishness, again urged her and incited her to deny Christ, and say only that He is a man, but she was not willing to say it. One of her daughters, indeed, waxing bold, had the audacity to insult us when she heard us asking her mother to deny Christ. When I saw that there was no chance of her denying Christ, I gave orders, in order to terrify all the Christians, and she was thrown to the ground. Then we commanded that her daughters be slain and their blood poured into her mouth, after which her own head would be cut off. Thus did we deal with her. Afterwards I commanded that she be raised from the ground, and I asked her how the blood of her daughters tasted. But she in her foolishness swore by that same deceiver, "Like to a pure sacrifice, without blemish, thus was I tasting in my mouth and in my soul." Then we gave command and her head was struck off. But I swear by Adonai, King of Israel, that I grieved much because of her beauty and that of her daughters, and greatly did I wonder at her foolishness, and how she went astray after a man, a sorcerer and deceiver, who had had the audacity to blaspheme and give Himself out as God, and that she did not spare either herself or her daughters.

As for the sons and daughters of those who had been killed, it seemed good to our chief priests and to us to deal with them according as is written in the Law, that the son shall not be recompensed for the sins of the father. So we gave commandment that the children be left until they reached full age. Then if they denied Christ and be-

came Jews they should live, but if not they also should be put to death. So we divided them among our chiefs.

These things have we written to your Majesty, that you may rejoice that we have not left a Christian, not one, in this land of ours, and that you also may act likewise, that all the Christians who are in your dominions you may make followers of your religion, as we have done in our dominion; but as for the Jews who are in your dominion that you be their helper in everything, and whatever is needed in your dominion in return for this, send to us that we may dispatch it to you.

All these things the king of the Himyarites wrote to Mundhir king of Ḥirta just as we came to him in the desert with the excellent Mar Abrahām the priest, son of Euphrasios, of whom we have spoken above who was sent from Justin the king, with the reverend and venerable Mar Sergius, Bishop of Bēth Rūṣāfā, to make peace between the Persian Arabs and the Romans. Now when these things thus written were before Mundhir of Ḥirta, and before many—and there were many other things that the legate of the Himyarites said in mockery, laughing at and deriding the Christians and exulting, for these things that the king of the Himyarites spitefully did against the blessed martyrs and against the noble dame Dūmā and her daughters, all this the king of the Himyarites did not write in his letter, but the legate told these things to the king—before Jews and pagans. Then was there great sorrow to all the Christians, and joy to the pagans and the Jews. And these things have we written from (what was in) the letter to Mundhir, and from the words of the legate.

Now after the reading of this letter, which had been sent from the king of the Himyarites, before Mundhir king of Ḥirta, (recounting) how the Christians there had been killed, and how persecution and great affliction had come upon them for the name of Christ, Mundhir the king waxed wroth, and in derision and scorning he cried out to all the Christian people of repute who were under his dominion, and said unto them, "Pay heed, ye Christians, to what I have said to you, and ye did not hearken, for I told you to forsake Christ, but ye were not willing. So forsake now the religion of Christ. Ye have already heard what happened to those who did not deny Christ, how the king of the Himyarites killed and destroyed them, and also burned their church. See how Christ has been rejected by Himyarites, Persians and Romans. Do ye not assent to forsake Christ? I am not better than the kings of the Persians and the Romans who have driven away and put out the Christians, nor than the king of the Himyarites, who has killed and exterminated them from his land. Pay heed to what I have said to you. But ye are not hearkening to me, nor are ye rejecting Christ."

When king Mundhir had said these things before all his grandees, one of his grandees, a Christian, moved by great zeal, rose, and with great courage said to the king, "It is not fitting that thou speak thus, O king. It was not in thy time that we became Christians, that thou shouldest counsel us to reject Christ and deny our Christianity. We, indeed, are Christians, but so were our fathers and the fathers of our fathers." Then the king was moved to anger against him, and said to him, "Has thou made bold to speak before me?" Then that grandee, who was a believer, answered and said before the king, "On behalf of the religion of God am I speaking, and I am not afraid; nor is any man able to hinder me, for my sword is not shorter than that of another. For the religion of God do I stand until death, and will fight, and I am not fearful." Then when king Mundhir saw his courage, and how he fearlessly spake before him, he was unable to say any more against him, because of his family, and because of his recognition, for he was a great man in the world, and one of the head men of Ḥirta.

When we came to Ḥirta de Nu'mān on the Monday of the first week of Lent, we learned some things that were not written in the letter to Mundhir, for certain Himyarite believers, with a Christian ambassador who had been sent to king Mundhir from that Christian ruler whom the Cushites had set up to rule in the land of the Himyarites, when they were in Ḥirta de Nu'mān, heard of the death of that Christian ruler who had sent them. Wherefore they hired a man from Ḥirta and sent him to Najrān to see and find out the truth and bring them word from Najrān. So this man went and brought word thus. When the king had given the Najrānites an oath, and they had opened the gates of the city and come out to receive him and surrender the city to him, he was false to his oath, took their gold and their silver, burned the bones of the Bishop with fire, and burned the church with the monks and the people and all that was found in it. Next they brought all the chief people before him, to the number of 340 men, and he began to speak threateningly to the great and illustrious Ḥārith b. Ka'b, who was their chief (saying), "Why did you desire to revolt against me and rely on that sorcerer and deceiver? Did you think that you would escape from my hands? But now spare your old age and deny that deceiver and His cross and thou shalt live; but if not thou shalt surely die an evil death, thou and thy companions, and all who will not deny Christ and the cross." The old man said to him, "Truly I am grieved for all the Christians my companions, who have been with me in the city, to whom I spake, but they would not hearken to me. For I was prepared to come out against thee to combat and fight with thee for the name of Christ, and either you kill me or I kill you; for I was relying on Christ my Lord to give

me victory over you. But my companions would not allow me to do this. Again I desired to lead my family and servants alone and go out against you to fight you, but the Christians shut the city gates and would not allow me to go out. Again I told them to guard carefully the city, and not to open the gates to you, and was relying on Christ my Lord that the city be not subdued by you, seeing that in it there was nothing that lacked. But in this again my companions did not hearken to me. And when you sent them an oath, I told them not to believe you, telling them that you were false and the truth was not in you. But my companions would not be persuaded to hearken to me, and now in my old age you are telling me to deny Christ my God and become a Jew like you. Yet I should not survive a single hour or one day after I had denied (Him). You seek to alienate me from Christ my Lord in my old age. In truth thou hast not spoken like a king, nor acted like a king, for a king who is treacherous is no king. I have seen many kings, but I have not seen kings who are treacherous. I still am ruler over myself, and in my dominion I will not be false to Christ. Far be it from me to deny Christ, God, in Whom I have believed from my youth, in Whose name I was baptized, Whose cross I adore, and for Whose sake I die. In truth I am blessed, in that in my old age Christ has thought me worthy to die for Him. Now, indeed, I know that Christ has loved me, for long have I lived in this world through the bounty of Christ my Lord. Happily have I lived and I have lacked nothing. Children and grandchildren, lineage and all things has Christ my Lord given me abundantly in this world. In many battles have I been victorious through the power of the cross. I am confident that remembrance of me will not fail in this city, nor among my family, knowing now that I shall not die for ever. For I know and am assured that like as when a vine is pruned its shoots increase, so our Christian people shall increase in this city. Do not pride yourself that you have accomplished anything, for lo, I am telling you that this city shall wax eminent in Christian living, and there shall be built again this church which today has by you been burned with fire. Christianity will have dominion and will command kings and rule, and will extinguish your Judaism. Your kingdom will pass and your dominion fail."

When the honourable and illustrious old man had said these words, he faced around behind him, and said in a loud voice to the faithful who were around him, "Have ye heard, my brethren, what I have said to this Jew?" And they all cried out "We have heard everything that thou hast said, our father." Again he said to them, "Are these words true or not?" And they all cried out, "True and in truth are they." Again he cried and said unto them, "How does it seem to you? Is there perhaps among you someone who fears the sword and

would deny Christ? let him come out from among us." But they all cried out, "Far be it from us, far be it from us, to deny Christ. Be of good cheer, our father, be of good cheer. Do not be grieved about this, for we are all like thee, and with thee will die for Christ. There is no man of us who will remain alive after you." Again he cried aloud and said, "Hearken unto me all of you, Christians, pagans, Jews. If any one, whether my wife or my sons or my daughters, or any of my race or family, deny Christ and remain alive with this Jew who disbelieves in Him, he is not of my lineage or of my family, and I have with him no portion or share in anything. Everything that I possess, let it be for the church that later shall be built in this city after us. But if my wife or any of my sons or daughters remain alive by any chance, yet have not denied Christ, let everything be theirs, but those three properties that the church will choose let them be for the church."

Having said these things to all the people, the old man turned toward the king and said to him, "Lo, thou hast heard for thyself all these things; do not now recommence asking us anything of this kind. Far be it from us to deny Christ our God. Behold now there is no obstacle to our dying for Christ. Behold the moment of eternal life. Rejected be everyone who denies Christ. Rejected be everyone who does not confess that Christ is God and the Son of God. Rejected be everyone who submits to you and to the Jews your companions. Behold we stand before you. Whatsoever you desire to do, do. Truly I tell you, I am wont to drink the first cup at the banquet before my companions, so now this cup of death for Christ's sake, let it be mixed first for me. Behold I seal myself and all my companions, as is our custom, with the life-giving sign of the cross, in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit." Then they all cried out, "Amen and Amen," and sealed themselves with the sign of the cross. And all cried out, "Rejected be everyone who denies Christ. Be of good cheer, our father, be of good cheer. Behold Abraham the Patriarch, an old man like thyself, gazes upon thee. Rejected be everyone who denies Christ and remains alive after thee."

When the king saw that there was no hope that they would deny Christ, he commanded that they be brought near to the valley that is called Wādī, and ordered their heads to be cut off, and their corpses cast into the valley. When they came to the valley they stood all of them together and stretched forth their hands to the heavens and said, "Christ, our God, come to our help. Christ, our God, give us strength. Christ, our God, receive our spirits. Christ, our God, may the blood of Thy servants, which is being shed for Thy sake, be acceptable unto Thee. Christ, our God, make us worthy of the vision of Thyself. Christ, our God, behold we have confessed Thee as Thou hast taught us, do Thou confess us before Thy Father as Thou hast

promised us. Christ, our God, build this church that has been burned this day by this Jew. Christ, our God, appoint a Bishop for this city in place of the saintly Mār Paul, whose bones have been burned this day by this Jew." And they all cried out, "Let us salute one another." Then after they had saluted one another, the old man stretched out his hand to them and spake, crying out, "The salvation of Christ, which was given to the thief on the cross be with our brethren." And the robust men, the companions of the old man, ran and were supporting him, and bringing him near to the executioners like the master of a banquet, rejoicing and saying, "Christ receive our father, and us with him, for we are being put to death for Thy sake." Then the old man knelt down on his knees, while his companions were holding and supporting his hands, like to Moses on the top of the mountain. Then the executioner smote and cut off his head, while his companions ran and took his blood and rubbed it on their faces and on their bodies as an act of piety. And everyone of them, wherever he saw a sword unsheathed, ran and knelt on his knees to receive the sword. Thus did they all receive the sword. Now the name of that illustrious victor was Ḥārith b. Ka'b.

This also that follows was not written in the letter to Mundhir, but that man who came from Najrān, told as follows. There was a child of three years whose mother was brought out to be put to death, and his mother was holding on to him as he was running along. But when he saw the king sitting clothed in royal robes, he broke from his mother and ran and embraced the knees of the king. The king took him and began to caress him and say to him, "What do you desire, to go and die with your mother or to remain with me?" The child said to him, "O Lord, O Lord, with my mother do I wish to die, and for this did I come out with my mother, for she said to me, 'Come my son, let us go to die for Christ's sake.' But let me go and return to my mother, lest she die and I see her not, for she told me that the king of the Jews had given command that all who would not deny Christ should die, and, O Lord, I am not denying Christ." The King said to him, "And how do you know Christ?" The child answered, "O Lord, every day I see Him in the church with my mother, and if you will come to the church I will show Him to you." The king said to him, "Do you love me or your mother?" The child answered, "O Lord, it is my mother I love better than you." The king said to him, "Do you love me or Christ?" The child answered, "O Lord, O Lord, the Christ do I love better than you, and He is better than you." The king said to him, "Then why did you come to embrace my knees?" The child answered, "Because I thought you were that Christian king whom I had seen in the church. No, O Lord, had I known that you were a Jew I would not have come to you." The king said to him, "I

will give you nuts and almonds and figs and everything you desire." The child answered, "No, by Christ, I will not eat the nuts of Jews." The king said to him, "Why?" The child answered, "Because the nuts of the Jews are unclean; but let me go to my mother that she may not die and leave me alone." The king said to him, "Remain with me and be my son." The child answered, "No, by Christ, I will not remain with you, for your breath stinks, and my mother's breath is more pleasant than yours."

Then the king said to those who were standing before him, "See this evil root; he speaks thus even from his infancy. See how that deceiver and sorcerer has been able to deceive even a child." Then said one of the king's grandees to the child, "Come with me, and I will take you to the queen, and she shall be a mother to you." But the child answered, "May your face be buffeted. By the Lord, I prefer my mother to the queen, for my mother takes me to the church. But let me go, for behold my mother has gone and left me alone." And when the child saw that the king would not let him go, he bit the king on the thigh, saying to him, "Let me go, Jew, evil one; let me go to my mother. Let me go, for my mother is dead and I want to die with her." Then the king lifted up the child and gave him to one of his grandees, saying to him, "Keep him, and when he is grown, if he deny Christ he shall live, but if not he shall die." So that man, who was his servant, took him, while he was howling and kicking his legs and crying to his mother, saying, "My lady, my lady, the Jews are taking me away. Come and get me that I may go with thee to church." Then the mother when she beheld him, cried to him, saying, "Come, my son, I commit thee to Christ. Weep not, my son, behold I am coming to thee. Go, my son, and wait for me in the church near Christ, until I come, my son. Lo, I am making my way to you. Do not weep, my beloved. Behold, Christ is there in the church; beside Him wait for me, beside Him wait for me, my son, I am coming after thee." When she had thus spoken they cut off her head.

The following also was not in the letter of the king of the Himyarites to king Mundhir, but he who came from Najrān spoke thus, (telling) of how the little daughter of the blessed Dūmā, who was a girl of nine years of age, when she heard how the king told her mother to spit on the cross and deny Christ, filled her mouth with spittle and spat in the king's face, saying to him, "May you be spat at, who wert not ashamed to tell the queen my mother to spit on the life-giving cross and to deny Christ. May you be rejected, and all the Jews your companions; and may everyone who denies Christ and the cross be rejected like you. Christ knows that my mother is better than thy mother, and that my lineage is better than thine, yet thou hast presumed to tell my mother to deny Christ and spit on the cross. May

thy mouth be closed, Jew, killer of his Lord." Thus spake the daughter of that blessed one to the king, and straightway she was slain, and her sister, as was written above. The name of that worthy and victorious matron was Dūma, daughter of Azmeni.

Now when letters such as these were read before Mundhir the king, and before many, there was great sorrow among all the Christians. And straightway we wrote a copy thereof, and sent it to you, beloved, urging that swiftly and in haste, without delay or negligence, these matters be made known to the reverend and holy bishops, fugitives with Christ in Egypt, that by their hands the Patriarch of Alexandria may get to know of all these things, that they may stir him up to write to the king of the Cushites not to neglect the affairs of the Himyarites, but swiftly and in haste may march (to their aid). These things have also been made known to the cities of the faithful Antioch, Tarsus of Cilicia, Caesarea of Cappadocia and Edessa, and other cities of the faithful, that they may make commemoration of the holy martyrs, male and female, of whom we have written above, and that they may pray for the tranquillity and peace of the holy church and the kingdom. Let the Bishops also know how the Jews are destroying the asylum of the church and the oratory of the Roman martyrs. These evil deeds the Jews and their companions are doing to the Christian people who are in the land of the Himyarites. Yet the Bishops of all the Roman cities, ancient and modern, in order to gain a few pieces of money, sell to the Jews the church buildings and oratories of the martyrs, and they pull them down beneath the cross (i.e., even in lands under Christian rule). Those Jews who are in Tiberias send priests of theirs year by year and season by season to stir up commotion against the Christian people of the Himyarites. If the Bishops are Christian and desire to see Christianity flourishing, and are not partners with the Jews, let them urge the king and his grantees to take revenge on the chief priests of Tiberias and the other cities, so that they be shut up in prison. Yet we do not bid them to render evil for evil, but make them give security that they will not send letters or persons of quality to the king of the Himyarites, he who did all these evil things that we have written above to the Christian people of the Himyarites. Let them say to them that if they will not do this they will burn their synagogues, and they shall be expelled from beneath the cross, and the Christians shall have dominion over them. When the king of the Himyarites hears this perhaps he will wish to spare his Jewish companions and cease from persecuting the Christians. But I know that Jewish gold is flowing and covering up the truth, and that the vaunting of Jews and pagans is exceedingly great. Also love of silver and gold is strong in the church, and the love of the pastors has grown cold, for which reason the flocks are be-

reft of pastors who will suffer for their flocks. But what we say let them themselves do. That which has appeared is Christ, God, and a good pastor who gave Himself for His sheep, who provides help for His flock, bought by His precious blood. To Him be glory and honour, renown and reverence, now and at all times, for ever and ever. Amen.

(Says) the writer—These things I found and searched out and learned from those who had gone and come from that region, who had been sent from the king. They say that the Cushites came upon that Jewish king, bound to his neck pottery vessels of great weight, and cast him from a boat into the midst of the sea. Then there reigned a king named Alparna who built a church and an oratory for those blessed ones, by whose prayers may the humble writer be kept from all evil. Amen.

Finished is the story of the Himyarites.

ARTHUR JEFFERY

Columbia University

New Airfield in Saudi Arabia

C. L. Sulzberger informs the public through *The New York Times* that the United States Army has just about completed a magnificent new airfield at Dhahran off the Persian Gulf coast of Saudi Arabia and under an agreement with King Abdul Aziz Ibn Saud it will remain an American military airport for three years after its completion. It was originally laid out as part of the long-range strategy to defeat Japan.

The Dhahran airport is capable of handling the largest aircraft known, even those still in the drawing-board stage, and has a rock foundation. It is manned by United States officers and men.

Two emergency landing fields between it and Palestine and Egypt for forced landings also are manned by small groups of United States Army personnel.

Under the agreement with King Ibn Saud, when the three-year contract terminates the field will revert to the Saudi Arabian Government, but it will be operated by American civilian personnel. American civil airlines will have favored rights in employing it.

The field retains strategic importance to the United States, even after Japan's defeat, in view of the current unsettled conditions in the Middle East, especially in Iran, and in view of the immense American oil interests in Saudi Arabia.

Oil experts say that not only are more than \$100,000,000 already invested in Saudi Arabia but that within a decade probably \$1,000,000,000 will be invested there.

"ABU HANIFAH, CHAMPION OF LIBERALISM AND TOLERANCE IN ISLAM"

A volume, with the above title, was recently published in Egypt, in the Arabic Language.¹ It is evidently not a work of pure scholarship but a popular presentation of the life and character of the earliest of the four great Imams, the founders of the four orthodox Schools or Rites of Islamic Jurisprudence. As a popular treatment of the life of one of the early leaders of Islam, this book falls in line with some twenty-five or more books that have been published in Egypt in the last dozen years, of this popular "Hero" type. In 1933 Dr. Taha Hussein published his popular work on the biography of Muḥammad, "*Alā hāmish al-sirah*" ("On the margin of the prophetic biography"). Since that time almost all the leading literary figures, and a number of aspirants for this title, have produced publications dealing with some aspect of the Islamic past. Only a minority of these works can claim to be scholarly either in intent or execution. The majority are frankly popular presentations. Several volumes have dealt with the life of Muḥammad the prophet, others with the land of inspiration and the inspired message of Islam; others with Abū Bakr, 'Umar and 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, the early Caliphs; still others with Ḥusain, the son of 'Alī, and with 'A'ishah, the favorite wife of the prophet; and so on, for characters, political, military, religious and literary. The work on Abū Ḥanīfah adds another title to this rapidly growing list. This present article will try to give a summary of this modern Arabic work on Abū Ḥanīfah and to preserve the impression of the great Muslim jurist which this work attempts to give.

Of the considerable bibliography cited by the author of this book, the writer of this present article has checked only "*Ta'rīkh Baghdād*" ("History of Baghdad") by al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī—whose dates are 392-463 A.H., corresponding to 1002-1071 A.D. That is almost exactly three centuries after Abū-Ḥanīfah. The fourteen volumes of the history treat not only of the founding of the city and its subsequent history, but also of several hundred individuals of note, whose activities are identified in some way with the city. The account of Abū Ḥanīfah is found in vol. XIII, pages 323 to 423. Some accounts by well-known western scholars of the life of Abū Ḥanīfah have also been checked against this modern Egyptian account.

The work begins in modest enough fashion. We read in the Introduction: "This book is a '*ṣūrah*' not a '*sirah*'; that is to say, it is a 'portrait' and not a formal 'biography,' and again, the author says:

¹ "Abū Ḥanīfah Batal al-Ḥurriyah wal-Tasāmuh fi 'l-Islām." By 'Abdal-Ḥalīm al-Jindī. First edition, Cairo, Sa'd Miṣr Printing and Publishing House, 1945.

"It does not contain details as much as it contains colors, by which I have tried to portray to the Muslim peoples the personality of the great Imam" (p. 5). The book consists of ten chapters and a conclusion. The titles to the chapters are too brief and stylized to convey alone an idea of the contents of the book. Some brief description is necessary in addition. They may be given, accordingly, as follows: I. *The Man*: his origin, his personality, his environment; II. *The Merchant*: the light which his occupation throws upon his principles of conduct and his character; III. *In the Mosque*: an account of his life, first as a member of a group of students of canon-law, and later as leader and teacher of the group; IV. *The Thinker*: his philosophical approach to the problems of Jurisprudence; V. *The Disciples*: some account of the more famous of his disciples, who helped to develop his system; VI. *In Iraq*: a more detailed view of the disturbed conditions of the time, incident to the passing away of the Umayyad Dynasty and the coming to power of the Abbasid Dynasty; VII. *In Kufa*: dealing with the search for Traditions and particularly, with their fabrication, a matter which closely affected the development of the systems of jurisprudence; VIII. *In Jurisprudence*: a more detailed account of his methods in dealing with problems of the law; IX. *The Imam of the advocates of "Opinion"*: the principle for the use of which Abū Ḥanīfah and his disciples became renowned; X. *In the Judiciary*: an account of how Abū Ḥanīfah refused to accept appointment as a judge and suffered for this refusal; *Conclusion: In History*: a summary of the estimate placed by succeeding Islamic generations upon Abū Ḥanīfah and his work.

I. Abū Ḥanīfah was born at Kūfah, in Mesopotamia, in the year 80 of the Muslim calendar, which corresponds to the year 700 A.D. The author notes that he was born at the highest point of Umayyad glory when 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān was ruling and when the governor of the province of 'Irāq, of which Kūfah was the capital, was the notorious al-Ḥajjāj, the "Nero of the East," as our author calls him.

Abū Ḥanīfah was a surname and not the original name of the person now known only by his surname. His name was al-Nu'mān and his father's name was Thābit. This name, states the author, was given to him in honor of a former king of 'Irāq called al-Nu'mān bin al-Mundhir. The author in one place (p. 145) discusses the various reasons that have been assigned for the surname "Abū Ḥanīfah"; since, so far as is known, he had no son by the name of "Ḥanīf" or "Ḥanīfah," so that he should be called "Abū Ḥanīfah," that is "the father of Ḥanīfah." After mentioning several possible sources for the name, the author quotes, with some reservation, an opinion that he was given the name because of his constant association with "ink,"

which, in the idiom of the people of 'Iraq, was called "ḥanīfah." At any rate, the author concludes, there would be a certain fitness in such a derivation inasmuch as Abū Ḥanīfah and his pupils are associated with the writing down of the regulations of jurisprudence for the first time.

The fact is that Abū Ḥanīfah was not an Arab. His forbears came from Afghanistan, which accounts, our author notes, for Abū Ḥanīfah's yellow color. His grandfather, named Zuta, was a slave to a member of the Arab tribe of Bani Tayyim. He was later emancipated and he and his son after him became "clients," (*mawālī*) or adherents, of the tribe. Although it is sometimes stated that Abū Ḥanīfah was a Persian, the fact of real significance is that he was a non-Arab and lived in the period when the movement of the non-Arab Muslims to a position of equality with the Arab Muslims was gaining impetus under the secret agitation and manipulations of the family of 'Abbās who were to come to power eventually as the ruling dynasty. Our author makes the appropriate comment in regard to the "clients": "Their shoulders upheld the pillars of the 'Abbasid state until it became firmly established, and they did the translating and the composing of books and fecundated the Arab civilization with the pollen of the Persians, the Greeks, the Nabataeans, the Chaldaeans, the Assyrians, the Babylonians, the Byzantines, the Indians and others and made the new civilization to be an inclusive Islamic civilization" (p. 24). If the author dulls the edge of this declaration somewhat, as if in apology for this reflection upon the purity of the so-called "Arab civilization," by immediately saying that Arabia produced Muhammad b. 'Abd Allah (that is, the prophet) and he is sufficient, it is to be recalled that such a statement is the sort of cliché which a popular book would be expected to make.

Our author preserves a story illustrating the growing extent to which the "clients" were assuming the position of leadership in the Islamic community and were rapidly displacing the Arab who formerly had claimed the position of leadership by right of being of the stock through whom revelation had come. It is related of Hishām b. 'Abd al-Malik, Caliph of the Umayyad Dynasty at the beginning of the second Islamic century, that he inquired of one of his court, "Who is the *faqīh* (jurist) of Madīnah?" When he was told his name, he inquired further, "Is he an Arab or a 'client'?" He was told a "Client." In the same way the Caliph inquired in turn about the representative of the law in Makkah, in al-Yaman, in Yamanah, in Syria, in Mesopotamia, in Khorasan, in Basrah, in Kūfah. The answer in each case except the last, Kūfah, was a "client." Then the Caliph said, "My spirit was about to fail me, if you had not mentioned one Arab" (p. 23).

Abū Ḥanīfah is described as tall, of medium weight, with fine beard and of great impressiveness of bearing. He walked with his eyes directed to the ground, and did not look to right or left. When he heard the sound of voices, he turned away in another direction. He did not talk except to answer questions but when he spoke it was, in the words of the author, "as though an angel inspired him." He was always well-dressed, we are told, and much given to the use of perfumes. When he prayed at night he was accustomed to put on his best clothes and to comb his beard, choosing to appear before God in his best, even if concealed by the darkness, on the ground, as he said, that to adorn one's self for the sake of God is more fitting than to do so for the sake of man. He was of serious disposition, not given to light talk and jesting, never laughed and seldom smiled. His piety is acknowledged even in the accounts of him that report the hostility and opposition of his critics. Many are the references to his practice of repeating verses of the Qur'ān, especially verses concerning the Last Hour; Whereupon he would burst into weeping and repeat many prayers. He is said to have repeated the whole Qur'ān (as one single recital, *khatm*) seven thousand times. It was his custom to give sixty recitals of the whole Qur'ān during the month of fasting (Ramaḍān): one recital by day and another by night.

Abū Ḥanīfah was by occupation a silk-merchant (*khazzāz*), with a shop in Kūfah in a house belonging to one 'Amr b. Ḥuraith, one of the Companions of the prophet. His partner in business for thirty years was Ḥaḥṣ b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān. Many stories are preserved concerning the exceptional honesty of Abū Ḥanīfah in his commercial dealings, such as his refusal to accept for a garment more than the amount which he considered the just price, and his insistence that a customer who had been defrauded by one of his employees should be searched for and due return made to him. One naturally suspects in such stories the tendency of generations of admiring followers to idealize the figure of the great Imām. Our author does not suggest this. He only notes the fact that the various systems of jurisprudence recognize the possibility of "permissible deceit" and "permissible lying" existing side by side with upright character.

It was through the influence of al-Shāfi'ī, a scholar of reputation at that time, that Abū Ḥanīfah was led to take up the study, first of theology, then, a year later, of canon-law (*fiqh*). He joined himself to a group of students attending the lectures of Abū Ismā'il Ḥamād, a jurist well-known in his day, with whom he remained a pupil until the master's death in 120 A.H., when Abū Ḥanīfah was forty years of age. For ten years of this time, he was in closest association with his master as a favorite disciple. As a recollection of this association, Abū Ḥanīfah named his son, the only son so far as

known, Ḥamād, and this son in turn, named his first son Ismā'īl. It is natural, in view of this close relation of master and pupil, that Abū Ḥanīfah should succeed to the leadership of the circle (*ḥalaqah*) of students that had gathered around Ḥamād as their teacher. In time, Abū Ḥanīfah became firmly established as a teacher, his reputation grew, and his following became extended until he had the most numerous following in the city of Kūfah. The circle met in the large mosque of the city (*al-masjid al-jāmi'*), where various other circles of students were accustomed to meet. To his class, or circle, Abū Ḥanīfah came, to quote the author, "not from retirement, but from his shop, or from his travels, or from his house, that is to say, from the world" (p. 47).

II. The method which Abū Ḥanīfah followed for thirty years with his students was to propose to them various problems of jurisprudence or have them propose problems or cases. These problems were divided into parts and each part was assigned to a section of the class. After days and nights had been spent in discussion, first in the section, and then in the whole group, and the necessary principles underlying the cases had been formulated, the group would then proceed to discover what obligatory actions might be based on these principles and grow out of them (p. 59). With this account of Abū Ḥanīfah's method the judgment of Dr. Duncan Black Macdonald, in his "Muslim Theology," (p. 95), essentially agrees when he calls Abū Ḥanīfah "a speculative or philosophical jurist," who attempts to "build up on scientific principles a set of rules which would answer every question of law." One can understand the feeling of achievement that must have been experienced by Abū Ḥanīfah and his group of students upon reaching what seemed to be a satisfactory result of such pioneering in canon-law as they were doing. For it is to be remembered that Abū Ḥanīfah's system was the first of the four surviving systems of orthodox Islamic law to be formulated. The picture preserved by our author of the class at work will bear repeating. "They were accustomed to devote themselves to certain questions for long periods at a time until they arrived at a suitable solution. Then they would shout, joyfully, 'Allahu Akbar.' After arriving at such a solution, Abū Ḥanīfah would say, 'Put it in such and such a section'" (p. 32). The author's comment seems just. "Abū Ḥanīfah did not wish to dominate through his ideas, as a tyrant or dictator. He did not want them to accept his statements without understanding them. He wanted them to learn freedom through him that they might be free towards others. He said, 'It is not permissible for the one who gives a *fatwa* (legal decision) from my books to give the *fatwa* until he learns the grounds on which I have said what I have said'" (p. 50).

One problem which greatly engaged the concern of Abū Ḥanīfah and his circle was the problem of ceremonial purification. They came to the conclusion that water which some one else has used for the ceremonial ablutions (*wuḍū*) before the prayers is no longer pure. Therefore, they began the use of a portable form of water-vessel having a water-cock or water-tap, so that running water might be available for their ablutions. Consequently, the water-tap to this day bears his name in Arabic (*ḥanaṣiyyah*). As the author sententiously remarks, "So the present-day use of the *ḥanaṣiyyah* is a constant reminder of Abū Ḥanīfah's particular taste twelve hundred years ago" (p. 48). In similar manner, Abū Ḥanīfah held that the use of the *siwāk*, or tooth-stick, is one of the requirements of religion. Accordingly, he prescribed its use at every prayer period. On one's rising from sleep it should be used three times, with three different waters. It is regarded as preferable that the stick should be flexible and not dried, that it should be washed before being used and that the user should not use it while lying down (p. 48).

In regard to *wuḍū* (ablution), Abū Ḥanīfah did not require a declaration of the *niyyah* (intention) as a part of the ritual of the *wuḍū* as essential to its validity, as do the other systems (*madhāhib*). He held that if water was put on any part of the body, the intention in doing so was purification, that is, whether the "intention" was stated in words or not. He also held that if one has performed the act of purification, he becomes ritually pure. Further, in regard to the order of performing the *wuḍū*, the order specified in the 'Qur'ān, namely, face, hands, feet, is held by the other systems to be essential to validity, whereas Abū Ḥanīfah did not consider this order to be a *fard* (obligatory duty). A further refinement of essentials held by the other systems is that each one of the various parts of the body to be washed must be washed before the part previously washed becomes dry. But Abū Ḥanīfah imagines the possibility of the water becoming exhausted before the *wuḍū* is completed, thus requiring some time to procure more water. During this interval the part previously washed becomes dry. In such a case, Abū Ḥanīfah allows the one performing the *wuḍū* to begin again where he left off (p. 71).

In regard to the prayers, he permitted a person on a journey to shorten the prayer consisting of four *rak'ahs* (cycles—making one integral section of the prayers) to two. In this he is in agreement with the other systems, except that, in his view, the shortening is required. His reason for this position is that God did not prescribe four *rak'ahs* for a journey, but only two. Therefore, if a traveller makes it his "intention" (*niyyah*) to perform four, two should be considered *fard* (obligatory) and two *nāfilah* (supererogatory) (p. 72). Abū Ḥanīfah does not require the raising of the hands at the beginning of the

prayers. Further, he permits the opening of the prayers by repeating "*Allāhu Akbar*" in any language, even if the one who is performing the prayers can repeat the words in Arabic. For the purpose of the phrase is to magnify God and this can be done in any language. Indeed, Abū Ḥanīfah does not require the exact expression "*Allāhu akbar*", but one can use the *tasbiḥ* (expression of praise) which is *Subḥān Allāh*, or the *tahlīl*, which is the expression *la ilāha illā Allāh* (There is no deity but God) (p. 71).

The author also notes that Abū Ḥanīfah is the only one of the Imams who permitted the reciting of the Qur'ān in a foreign language, even though the reciter can recite it in Arabic. It is said, however, that he later gave up this idea (p. 72).

In regard to divorce and remarriage, the general position of Muslim canon-law is that if a woman is irrevocably divorced, she cannot remarry the husband who divorced her until she has been married to another man and by him been divorced. The divine intention in this requirement, the author states, is to discourage divorce. But what if the two parties agree to an intervening marriage in order that they may be remarried, the second husband thus becoming merely a *muḥallil* (legalizer) who accepts this position when he marries the woman? Abū Ḥanīfah says that the contract of *muḥallil* marriage is valid even though the condition of *tahlīl* (legalizing) is in itself invalid. The condition does not vitiate the marriage. On the contrary, he states that the purpose of marriage has, to all intents, been fulfilled. The case, he maintains, is equivalent to the act of sale, where the purpose of the buyer does not cancel the sale (pp. 74-76).

In the field of social economy, Abū Ḥanīfah did not favor interfering with the law of supply and demand (*qānūn al-'arḍ wa'l ṭalab*). He did not permit forcible fixing of prices. He believed people should have free control over their own goods to deal with them as they pleased. The fixing of prices is the right of the buyer. The ruler has no right to interfere unless some public harm is connected with the matter. A monopoly of foodstuffs should not be permitted if this would bring harm to the public. So much was he the foe of restriction wherever it occurs that he opposed the institution of the *waqf* (religious endowment), on the basis that it is a restriction on the liberty of handling property. Those who hold that he permitted it, say that he permitted only *waqf* of the income (*thamarah*) from a property, not of the property itself, for property should not pass out of the control of the owner but should, at the owner's death, pass to his heirs (p. 70). In the matter of benevolences, according to our author, Abū Ḥanīfah was very up-to-date. He reserved for himself of his income only four thousand dirhams, which was the amount of his expenditures. He thought that all that was above this belonged not to him,

but to the people. "Thus," comments the author, "he anticipated Tolstoi by eleven centuries." The author claims for Abū Ḥanīfah the distinction of being in advance, not only of the position of the other systems of Muslim law but also of the practice of European nations, such as France and England, in advocating that women should be permitted to sit as judges in matters concerning which the testimony of women is acceptable (p. 69).

III. "Analogy (*qiyās*)," says our author, "was the spring from which flowed the Jurisprudence (*fiqh*) of Abū Ḥanīfah" (p. 150). Our author notes that Abū Ḥanīfah used any one of four names to apply to this practice: "analogy" (*qiyās*), or "deduction" (*istintāj*), or "forming one's own judgment" (*ijtihād*), or "opinion" (*ra'y*). Further, he remarks that Abū Ḥanīfah's example in this has been followed by the other systems, except that of the Zāhirites (Literalists), who claim that there is sufficient written legislation in the Qur'ān and the Sunnah to provide for all the needs of the Islamic peoples. The manner in which this principle operated can be illustrated by the charge which Abū Ḥanīfah is said to have delivered to one who was about to assume the position of judge in one of the provinces. Abū Ḥanīfah said, "If giving a decision becomes difficult for you, turn to the Book and the Sunnah and the Agreement; if you find anything plainly stated there, act according to it; if you do not find anything plainly stated there, then turn your case back to cases like it and look for supporting evidence for it from the principles (*uṣūl*: that is, of the Book and the Sunnah), and then act in accordance with what is nearest to the principles and most like them" (p. 150).

On occasion, Abū Ḥanīfah went beyond "analogy," if he found that to pursue "analogy" strictly would lead in some circumstances to a result that did not seem to him entirely just. "So he gives a decision according to his own feelings," explains our author, "different from the decision which would result from 'analogy'" (p. 158). The term applied to this procedure is called *istiḥsān* (to consider better). The illustration given by the author of the way in which the principle works is the following incident. Two sisters were given in marriage to two brothers. But in the wedding festivities the wrong sister was given to the wrong brother. In perturbation the father applied to Sufyān al-Thawrī (a prominent jurist of the day) for a solution of the difficulty). He gave decision that each brother should pay the dowry for the sister that he had actually taken and then each sister should return to the husband to whom she had originally been given in contract. But Abū Ḥanīfah, when asked for his opinion, after ascertaining that each of the brothers was satisfied with the sister whom he had taken by mistake, gave decision that each brother should divorce the wife that was his by contract and, in a new contract, marry the sister

whom he had actually taken to wife. Both legal decisions were correct, the author states, according to the law covering the case. But Abū Ḥanīfah's judgment was based on the psychological effect upon all the parties that would have resulted from the return of the wife who had already revealed her charms to another (p. 159).

IV. Although we are chiefly interested in Abū Ḥanīfah as the founder of a law-system, some reference should be made to his theological beliefs. On the subject of what constitutes a true believer, which was a hotly contested topic among the early Muslims, Abū Ḥanīfah held that faith is completed in belief (*taṣḍīq*) in the heart and confession (*iqrār*) with the tongue (p. 64). The other three Imams hold that faith consists of belief and confession and works; although they all maintain that faith remains in spite of neglect of works (p. 66). Because God created man weak, Abū Ḥanīfah said, it is man's duty to do good in this world and repent of his sins, preserving for himself the grace of faith and hoping for God's forgiveness on the Day of Accounting (p. 65). At a time when the Kharijites (Khawārij = Separatists) were declaring in every place that great sins, such as murder and adultery, constitute unbelief; and neglect of what God has commanded, such as prayers and fasting, constitute unbelief; and while the Mu'tazilites (Mu'tazilah = Rationalists) were saying that one who does not do what God has revealed is an evil-doer (*fāsiq*), neither a believer nor an unbeliever; at such a time Abū Ḥanīfah maintained that all these are believers, upon whom one may call down blessings and for whom one can hope, expecting that God will repent towards them and guide them in the right path (p. 66). Because of this attitude, Abū Ḥanīfah was accused of being a Murji'ite (a postponer), one of the sect counted heretical, who postpone judgment on all actions to the accounting of God alone.

V. To complete the "portrait" of Abū Ḥanīfah, the teacher and founder of the law-system bearing his name, some pictures of his disciples must be included, and this the author has done. He quotes a saying of Ismā'īl b. Ḥamād, the grandson of Abū Ḥanīfah, referring to the pupils of his grandfather, as follows: "Our companions are thirty-six in number; twenty-eight are competent to be judges; six are competent to give *fatwas*; and two of them are competent to discipline the judges and the givers of *fatwas*," referring to Abū Yūsuf and Zīfī (p. 102).

Abū Yūsuf is perhaps the most famous of the pupils. He served as judge under three 'Abbasid Caliphs, al-Mahdī and al-Hādī and Hārūn al-Rashīd. Under al-Rashīd he reached the highest point of his glory, becoming the companion and confidant of the Caliph and also his Chief-Justice, with the title *Qāḍī 'l-Quḍāt*. He is said to have written forty books, most of which have not come down to us. The

most renowned of them is *Kitāb al-Kharāj* ("The Book of the Land-Tax"), which he is said to have written at the request of the Caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd. The connection of Abū Yūsuf with the court of the ruling dynasty at a time when the empire was yet largely intact, gave to the system of Abū Ḥanīfah a standing and importance in Islam which it has never lost.

Another pupil, scarcely less famous and even more influential in developing the system of Abū Ḥanīfah than Abū Yūsuf, was Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan, known also as al-Shaibānī. Our author points out that all four Imams and all four systems of Jurisprudence were united in Muḥammad. Thus he studied under Abū Ḥanīfah and under Mālik b. Anas in al-Madīnah for some years after his former master's death; al-Shāfi'ī studied under Muḥammad and Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal studied under al-Shāfi'ī. Among the influential books written by Muḥammad may be mentioned *al-Mabsuṭ*, an exposition of his system, which is the system of Abū Ḥanīfah.

The two foregoing are known to history as the "*two friends*," that is, of Abū Ḥanīfah. A third friend was Zifr b. al-Huzail. He is said to have been the one of the Hanafite jurists most accustomed to make use of "analogy" (*aqyās al-Ḥanafīyyah*). He was the oldest of the pupils of Abū Ḥanīfah and took over the leadership of the circle when the master died. Zifr died in the forty-second year of his age and Abū Yūsuf assumed the leadership.

VI. Abū Ḥanīfah died in Baghdad, whither he had been taken by the Caliph Abū Ja'far al-Manṣūr, in 150 A.H., 767 A.D., after fifteen days in prison, according to the account which our author favors. The reason for his having been cast into prison was that he had refused the offer of a judgeship made by the Caliph, al-Manṣūr, indeed the office of chief judge. Abū Ḥanīfah had said to one of his pupils who was about to accept the office of judge: "Act towards the ruler as you do towards the fire: benefit by it, but keep away from it, and do not come too near for you will be burned" (p. 171). This represents his own attitude in this instance. While the judge was ostensibly in a position of great power in the empire, the author remarks, in reality he was "the sport of the Caliph in foisting upon the administrative officers refinements of oppression under the guise of justice" (p. 206). Upon Abū Ḥanīfah's refusal to accept office, the Caliph had him thrown into prison and beaten with one hundred and ten lashes, ten each day, until the blood, it is said, ran down to his heels. Four days later he died. The author argues against the idea, sometimes advanced, that the real reason for Abū Ḥanīfah's imprisonment was that he had been involved some five years earlier in an insurrection led by the two great grandsons of 'Alī b. Abī Ṭalib. And he does not mention another account which attributes his death to his having been poisoned at the instigation of 'Abdallah II.

VII. The author, in summing up the contribution of Abū Ḥanīfah to the canon-law system of Islam, remarks that his School has the credit of being the first to present questions of *fiqh* for discussion and solution; and that the School also was the first to record and classify and arrange cases (p. 164). With the death of Ṭabarī in 310 A.H., continues the author, there disappeared the last of the early generations (*al-awwalīn*); and after his death, people began to say that the door of *ijtihād* (private judgment) is closed and the door of *taqlīd* (blind acceptance) is opened. The result has been that the science of *fiqh* has become stamped with the characteristic of rigidity; and its spirit has become transformed and legal cases have become mere riddles (*alghāz*).

The key to the personality of Abū Ḥanīfah the author finds in freedom, tolerance and leniency: "between himself and his pupils, between himself and people in general, in his words and deeds and possessions, his acts of worship and his opinions, in selling and buying and in everything" (p. 68).

To somewhat different effect is the judgment of Juynboll in the "Encyclopaedia of Islam," Vol. 1, p. 90: "The opinion of many European writers that Abū Ḥanīfah worked on quite new principles and erected a very tolerant system in which he made the greatest concessions to the speculative method of deduction (*qiyās*) is quite unfounded. . . . In any case, there is in general no real difference of principle between the different *Fiqh* schools in Islam."

However, without attempting to settle the point of issue between these two quotations just mentioned, we bring our study to a close by quoting a reputed saying of Abū Ḥanīfah, quite in the spirit claimed for him by our author: "We have learned this, it is our opinion; if any one comes to us with a better we will receive him" (p. 68).

CHARLES C. ADAMS

*American University at Cairo,
Cairo, Egypt*

NORTHWEST CHINA—A CHALLENGE FOR TODAY

The boundaries of Northwest China are but vaguely apprehended. The Central Government of China, officially, knows no such unit. Various Missionary Societies both within and without China, even those interested in unevangelized and unreached peoples and lands of Central Asia, use the term but without exact definition. The sketch map accompanying this article shows exactly what the term will comprise here. Four provinces of China form its composite. Lanchow the capital of the largest and most populous Province, Kansu, is, without competitor, the strategic metropolis, not because centrally located, but because of its unique position at the hub of the ancient and modern routes of trade. The cities of Sining and Ningsia, with their immediate districts, less than three decades ago, were mapped within the Kansu border. Probably for more thorough control of wild-wastes and with astute foresight, the Government of the Republic of China severed these from their dependency on Lanchow, joined them with extensive, homogeneous, nomadic lands, of Tibet and Inner Mongolia respectively and created two new Provinces; Tsinghai and Ningsia. This arrangement certainly strengthened the prestige of Islam in the Northwest for these have both had Moslem Governors from that time. Beyond, and next door, to the north and west lies that predominantly Moslem Province of Sinkiang, or New Frontier, that vast expanse with an area about twice that of Texas. A straight course from eastmost Kansu to westmost Sinkiang is more than 1800 miles and the width where the latter joins the other three Provinces is more than 750 miles.

Outside this perimeter as noted on the map lie ten cities which are Northwest China's geographical but seldom topographical neighbors. A mere repetition of these names calls forth a pageant of diverse history, scenes and cultures: Urga to the northeast, then three in China Proper, Paotow, Sian and Chungking, then Batang and Lhasa, Delhi and Cabul, Samarkand and to the far north Semipalatinsk. The map also shows in large shaded letters the various mediaeval influences that have left their stamp upon the peoples and civilization of this area. There are here populous Chinese countrysides as in Southeast Kansu, deserted sparsely settled regions as in Sinkiang, where ruined caravanserais of the ancient silk and tea trade are inhabited by giant bats and wild boar. Tsinghai claims the highest salt water lake in the world, Kokonor, after which the Province is named, more than 10,000 feet above sea-level, and with an area almost equal to Great Salt Lake. Three mighty rivers, the Yellow, the Yangtze and the Mekung, take their rise from amidst the craggy mountainous table-

lands of southern Tsinghai. One massive peak of the Omne Machen Range, as yet unmeasured, and only superficially explored, may one day be ranked with Everest's nearest competitors, whilst in the sun-baked depressions of Sinkiang are spots below the level of the sea.

This is a land of unsolved mysteries and puzzles—a veritable paradise for the ethnologist, the historian, the geographer, the linguist, and the students of sociology, culture and religion. Just try this little



Map of Ancient Cultural and Linguistic Influences in Northwest China

concrete test: How many readers have heard of the terrific earthquake that shook this area about a quarter of a century ago, that the world at large promptly forgot, that caused mountains to “walk” and “flow,” that incidentally buried alive a great Moslem leader and that checked an incipient Moslem rebellion?¹

A few generalizations will provoke interest and provide a necessary background. This is a land of the “Miao” (idol temple), the Mosque and the Lamasery; it is a land of the incense bowl, the rosary and the prayer wheel; and in it the Bactrian camel, the shaggy mountain yak and the ubiquitous donkey of the mountain trails, are all at home. This is also a land where the ancient Classics in Chinese ideographs meet the Buddhist Classics in their Sanscrit garb, where colloquial Chinese and the National language blend and where Mul-

¹ The Call of China's Great North-West, by Mrs. Howard Taylor, pp. 45-65; also, The Crescent in Northwest China, by G. Findlay Andrew.

lah-Chinese² mingles with Eastern Turki, Nomad Tibetan, and Mongolian in the babel of the Bazaars. The alphabet scripts are, mainly, Arabic (for Arabic, Persian and Turkish), Mongol, Sanscrit, and latterly Roman, among students of English. In the sphere of religion, there are three which are mutually inclusive, Confucianism, Taoism and Chinese Buddhism. There are two which are mutually exclusive, Lamaism and Islam.

The challenge for today, we limit to that phase of religion known as Islam, as it has become rooted for centuries in Northwest China. And my approach to this subject is as a Protestant. Roman Catholic Missions were first to arrive in parts of this area, but their presence has usually confirmed Islam in the accuracy of its normal opposition to Christianity and only increased its bigotry. It is my firm conviction after more than twenty-five years of experience among Tsinghai and Kansu Moslems, a conviction shared by others who have labored, toiling, praying and weeping, for these souls in Islam's relentless bondage, in Sinkiang and Ningsia, as well, that evangelical Protestant witnesses for the Lord Jesus Christ have the most adequate message to meet Islam's challenge, and win souls to Him in China's great Northwest.

When we consider how this challenge is to be adequately met, we discover four attitudes that must be considered. These are, hesitancy, urgency, persistency, and expectancy. The first must be overcome, if Protestant Missions there are not to be "bogged down"; the second is that which spurs to advance; the third warns against lagging, and is almost the opposite to the first; and the last gives hope of ultimate victory.

1. Hesitancy. Some reasons for this attitude in the past immediately suggest themselves. (1) Lack of information as to the real nature of Islam's challenge. (2) The inaccessibility of the areas where these Moslems live; the extreme isolation and climatic conditions, to be faced. The work is tough and hardships many. (3) So few Missions have had a comprehensive, definite plan with these Moslems in view. (4) Even where there has been a plan there has been a paucity of volunteers with a definite, persistent, unswerving call to these souls. (5) Missions, responsible for other fields or areas as well, have found that open-doors elsewhere absorb most of the new recruits. (6) In comparison with other unevangelized populations, these Moslems appear to be such a small proportion. The maximum population for the area cannot exceed twelve million. Of this total, Moslems form more than a third, or between four and five million. (7) The meagre-

² A combined Persio-Arabic colloquial Chinese, spoken by Moslems in China, written in Arabic characters, introduced by the Mullahs (cf. Persio-Arabic-Hindi [Urdu], Mussalmani Bengali, Tamil, etc. in India).

ness of results thus far, considering the lives already laid down. I think especially of Botham,³ and Dr. King,⁴ whom I knew personally, and Mather and Dr. Fischbacher of Sinkiang.⁵ No, all these factors should not make us hesitant but should suggest, urgency.

2. Urgency. There are doors now closed that only a few years ago stood open.

How shall we face the open doors that have long been open, and are still unentered? Pleading with God to open areas that are closed will not excuse us for neglect or delay in entering those wide-open. Post-war mission-planning appears to be taking on a new urge. That old missionary hymn the young people used to sing, "Speed away," is seldom heard today. Is this because so many sang these words but so very few sped away with the message of Light and Life? Missions laboring in Northwest China, such as the China Inland Mission and its associate, the Scandinavian Alliance Mission, along with the Christian and Missionary Alliance on the Tibetan Border, are planning advance, even in face of a greatly depleted missionary force, due largely to the very realistic exigencies of war. Missions from the Indian border are looking beyond the Himalayan Table-Lands to the regions bordering on Afghanistan and even to far-away Sinkiang.

Whether or not the Swedish Mission will again resume its work around Kashgar is not yet certain. The blood of martyrs has already consecrated that pioneer soil. Where such beginnings have been initiated, just as with land once dedicated to the Mosque or Gumbay,⁶ although the former may lie in ruins and the latter be the debris of a fallen dome, and yet the Moslem reckons that site sacred in perpetuity, shall there be permanent retreat? Or may not the future prove, to use a different metaphor, that the recession was but temporary, like the wave to be followed in due course by a deepened and ever spreading tide?

A generation ago, God focussed the attention of the world on the urgency of evangelism in Northwest China, by an act of His fathomless providence. He permitted a young life in early prime, before reaching the distant sphere toward which his face had been steadfastly set, to be closed as far as earthly service was concerned in a tragic manner in Cairo, Egypt, in April 1913. A biography⁷ of this remarkable life, later recorded:

"There was scarcely a newspaper in the United States that did not publish some account of a life which had combined elements so unusual."

³ Two Pioneers—Thomas and Mark Botham, London, C.I.M. 1924.

⁴ George King—Medical Evangelist, London C.I.M. 1930.

⁵ The Making of a Pioneer, by Mildred Cable and Francesca French, N. Y. 1935. Page 285.

⁶ Common term throughout China for the tomb of a Moslem Wali or Saint—from Persian "Gunbad" (pronounced in Urdu Gumbad and in China Gumbay) Meaning: vault or dome.

⁷ Borden of Yale '09, by Mrs. Howard Taylor, C.I.M. Phila. 12th Printing 1943. P. XI, and 280.

A brief example from one of these accounts is the following:

"It was not the million dollars that came to this young American that made his life a victory and his death a world-wide call. . . . It was in things that every man can share that William Borden found the way to the life which is Christ and the death which is gain. And China and the Moslem world shall yet share that gain, as his burning torch is used to kindle in other lives the fires of a like passion for Jesus Christ."

At the Memorial Service, in the American Mission in Cairo one who had been a great influence in his life, well aware that only a few years before in Edinburgh this youngest of all the delegates there had mentioned as his prospective field, the Mohammedans of Northwest China, with true insight testified:

"At college as well as here in Cairo, Borden felt the call of urgency, and to him this was linked with thoughts of the Moslem world. I found underlined in his Testament: 'I must work the works of Him that sent me while it is day.'"

That was thirty-three years ago. During these years God has kept the memory of this cause before the Christian world through the Borden Memorial Hospital. If then the need was urgent, what of today with its cumulative urgency? Think of Lanchow, with its strategic importance for all Northwest China! Where are the reinforcements for tomorrow? Are they coming? are they on the way?

3. Persistency. During the latter half of the last century there was given to the world a most remarkable example of this essential attitude for meeting Islam's challenge. All are not called to such perseverance with one Moslem soul as was exhibited by that humble Syrian Pastor in leading zealous Mullah Sa'eed, the bigoted Kurdish youth, to acceptance of the supremacy of Jesus Christ as Lord, and a lifelong service for Him.⁸

God can surely perform like miracles in the valleys of Tsinghai's mountains and the wastes of Sinkiang, as he did in Senneh, years ago. Persistence in prayer and consecration can accomplish the humanly impossible. Here is a young college-trained Moslem, a great rarity among those of Tsinghai. He had just returned from his graduation in Central China. He appeared one day at the door of our Bible Searching Room in S . . . , a tall fine-looking youth, with neatly cropped moustache. "Do you know me?" was his question, after the customary greeting. "I was one of those mischievous Moslem scholars who used to test your patience, several years ago." Between pranks, he had been drinking in more of the water of life from God's word than I had realized. Throughout his college years he had sought out

⁸ The Beloved Physician of Teheran, by Isaac Malec Yonan, Cokesbury P., Nashville.

Christians, for fellowship and instruction and now had in his possession a well-thumbed, much treasured copy of the Bible in English. He often came for further study; he introduced his brother and other relatives to me. He now has an important position of respect. He longs, I am convinced, to say the word which would bring him out openly for Christ, but the price is still too great. Here is but one example of the persistency needed.

My third example links Mt. Tabor in Jerusalem with the Mission Press in the days before its work was suspended in Kashgar, western Sinkiang. A young Turki lad, son of a certain Mullah Mahomet, accepted Christ and was baptized in Kashgar and witnessed the martyrdom of his near of kin for a like confession. In the midst of a local disturbance, this young lad with a large group of other young men had fled their district and finally, footsore and weary, arrived at the Tsinghai border by devious routes and were inducted into the Chinese army. Several months before, an elderly missionary, Miss Jenny de Mayer, whose entire life has been an illustration of persistency against almost incredible obstacles, had at hand, in Jerusalem, undistributed, a quantity of Gospel tracts and Bible portions in the Turki Kashgari colloquial. Many of these had been printed on the Mission Press just mentioned. Under a strong conviction these were mailed out to Northwestern China, most of the parcels finally reaching our station. One day there came a knock at my office door. A young lad with sharp Turkish features wearing a beaming smile, and clothed in Moslem soldier's uniform, greeted me with many gestures and sharp, staccato-like, broken, Chinese speech. He told me his story as best he could pour it forth. His companions, about ninety in all, were orthodox Turki Moslems. He alone was a Christian. Did I have any tracts or books in Turki? His eyes beamed, as he saw me reach to the top of the bookcase for the newly arrived parcels (until then I had found no use for them) and open the wrappings; but his eyes danced and tears of joy began to fall as he saw their contents. He picked up one book, kissed it and hugged it to his bosom saying, "I make this—Kashgar—I work in Press—I take it—I sew together." He picked out several, reading rapidly bits of their contents. He had a great burden for his Turki companions; during several weeks came back again and again for more, met many rebuffs with patience but continued witnessing. He found he could converse also with the Salar Turks, who live in the bend of the Yellow River west of Hochow, Kansu, and whose ancestors came into that area from Samarkand as long ago as the 8th year of Hung Wu (1375 A.D.) an Emperor of the Ming Dynasty. He attended the prayer meetings of our little Chinese Church; not knowing Chinese sufficiently he prayed in his native Turki with a glow of adoration that transcended the bounds of language. When

last heard from he was in Sian and witnessing daily for the Lord Jesus. Through his efforts and suggestions almost all of the contents of those parcels reached Turki-reading Moslems and such persistency will be rewarded with fruit in God's time. This leads to the fourth and final word, expectancy.

4. Expectancy. Students of missions agree that the torch which lit the fires of the modern worldwide era of missions was the sermon preached by William Carey more than a century and a half ago, in which he gave to the world those famous maxims, "Expect great things from God," and, "Attempt great things for God." God has joined this twain throughout His word and it is difficult to decide which should come first. Another "twain" God has joined as a necessity if a spirit of expectancy is to characterize the evangelization of the Moslems of Northwest China in this generation. Many years ago Dr. A. J. Gordon called attention to it:

"Not the man of God without the word of God, as Roman Catholic Missions have vainly held; not the word of God without the man of God, as some Protestants have been tempted to suppose; but the word of God and the man of God: this twain God hath put together."

On a mathematical basis, in coming days, at least one-third of the missionary force in Northwest China should be engaged in the evangelization of Moslems. Or to put it another way, proportionate planning necessitates that in proportion to the Moslem population in each field the emphasis be accordingly. But these are not simple mathematical problems.

An encouraging factor of the last few years is the spirit of expectancy fostered within the Kansu, Ningsia, Tsinghai association of churches organized in the Northwest. This association has already accepted increasing responsibility and in coming days will doubtless be burdened by the Spirit of God for the Moslem peoples as well as for the Tibetan peoples who are racially different from themselves. But in Northwest China for the present, as in some other lands, a greater percentage of missionaries are needed for Moslem evangelization than for teaching and training and preaching to non-Moslems, of an equal population.

There is another factor of real encouragement that may portend greater things. In one Bible Institute not far from the borders of Kansu the students have been burdened in a remarkable manner for the evangelization of Sinkiang. Chinese Christian groups are being likewise burdened in eastern China and have sent their own native missionaries into the northwest. Also a small but portentous light is beaming again in Tihwa (Urumchi), Capital of Sinkiang, by the

presence there of a Christian Postmaster General and his wife, both of whom are burdened intensely with the necessity for spreading the light in that darkness where Islam holds sway.

In a recent number of the "Fellowship of Faith for the Moslems" occurs this brief suggestive sentence: "Mr. George Hunter is hoping to get back to Sinkiang. He is now in Lanchow, where he has distributed books and tracts and is doing his best to get scattered Christians together again." I want to put that sentence in a golden setting. A stranger to the facts would think that this was a fairly young, robust missionary. When my wife and I were in Lanchow last year en route for a needed furlough, when the darkening clouds of a threatened evacuation of the whole of the missionary force of "Free China" hung very, very low, when the war was still raging and many missionaries were selling non-essential things, Mr. Hunter was buying up necessities and planning for a return to Sinkiang. After long years of loving service in that province, only a few years ago having spent many months in prison, he was then, as the above item mentions, on his way *to be as near as possible to the Kansu border so that when the door opens again he, at the age of eighty-three might be in the vanguard for a new advance in Northwest China!*

GEORGE K. HARRIS

Los Angeles, California

THE GOSPEL FOR MALAYS

When I first went to Singapore, arriving there in January 1887, I was a young lieutenant in the Royal Engineers of the British army, appointed to command a company of Malays for the defense of the harbor, and for this purpose I was given the local rank of captain. Another lieutenant and several non-commissioned officers went with me on the troopship, and the enlistment of the Malays had already commenced; about fifty of them were soon quartered on the island of Pulau Brani, on the South side of Keppel Harbor, Singapore, and I began to train them, with the assistance of two of them who spoke English.

I was fortunate enough to get a teacher of Malay, who was interpreter at the Supreme Court, and had been a pupil of a former missionary to the Malays, the Rev. B. P. Keasberry of the London Mission, who had refused to go to China when all the other missionaries of his Society had been sent there about 1845; he had remained at Singapore and had supported himself by means of the Mission Press, which was left to him by his Mission, until he died in 1872. Then the Presbyterian Church took over his church members, who were mostly locally-born Chinese, known as Babas. I did not wish to learn to speak the Baba dialect of Malay, so with my teacher, Inchek Ismail, I studied Keasberry's Malay New Testament and the Malay classics, and was soon dispensing with the services of my interpreters in the training of my soldiers.

Having been brought up in the Church of England, I at first attended the services in the Cathedral, but when the well-known "man of prayer" George Müller, came to Singapore in 1887, I went to hear him at the Methodist Church, and became acquainted with the Rev. W. F. and Mrs. Oldham, and began attending their services, while at the same time holding Sunday services for my own British soldiers at Pulau Brani, and also conducting evening services at the Sailors' Rest.

Being myself specially interested in the Malays, I was surprised to find that none of the Singapore missionaries were doing anything to reach them, and when Bishop Thoburn came from India to visit the Singapore mission, which he had founded in 1885, I asked him what could be done for the Malays. He wrote six brief tracts, which I put into Malay, and we started street meetings in the Malay part of the town, and sang half-a-dozen hymns that I had translated, which were the beginning of our Malay Methodist Hymnal. These street meetings were the beginning of my work for the evangelization of the Malay people, but I felt from the first that the distribution among

them of Christian literature, and especially of the Gospels and other portions of Scripture, would probably be the surest and most effective method of reaching the hearts of the hitherto almost neglected Malay people.

On the completion of my three years' service in training my Malay soldiers at Singapore, I was accepted by the Missionary Board of the Methodist Episcopal Church of America, on the recommendation of Bishop Thoburn, as a missionary to the Malays of the Peninsula; and Dr. Oldham, who was then on his first furlough in America, raised the funds necessary to start the Methodist Publishing House at Singapore. After resigning my commission in the British army, I spent some months working in a printing office in London, in preparation for my future work at Singapore. Before sailing, I was married to the young lady to whom I had been engaged for some years.

During my first years on the Mission field, my work consisted very largely in starting our printing work and in the preparation of Christian literature; and at the beginning the printing of Gospel portions for the British and Foreign Bible Society provided a large proportion of our work.

I soon found that the best and most complete literature on the study of the Malay language had been written by Dutchmen, so I decided to study the Dutch language, and was fortunate in finding a Dutchman who was willing to come to my home and teach me. I have always been thankful that in that way I got in touch with the best dictionaries and other books in Malay. At the same time I was working to produce a critical edition of "The Malay Annals," probably dating from about the year 1600, which was printed at our press in 1896, and is still referred to by scholars as the standard edition of that Malay work. About the year 1892, a committee under Bishop Hose, of Singapore and Sarawak, was appointed by the British and Foreign Bible Society to produce a revised version of the New Testament, and I was one of the three members of that committee. In the year 1901 I was appointed as chief reviser, and moved in 1904 from Singapore to Malacca, in order to get the best native assistance from the Malays of that region, where probably the purest Malay language is spoken. From that time I was able to produce some of the Christian literature which has been very widely distributed all over the Malay Peninsula, and has also been used by our Methodist missionaries in Sumatra, and to some extent also in Java, having been reprinted for that purpose in the romanized spelling used in the Dutch Indies.

On my return to Singapore in 1920, my health unfortunately broke down, and I was compelled to retire from active service on the Mission field, but I have been able to continue writing Malay tracts and books, while teaching the Malay and Arabic languages and lec-

turing on Islam, first at Drew Theological Seminary, and from the year 1925 at the Kennedy School of Missions at Hartford.

The following is a list of some of the principal Malay tracts and books which I have written or translated, chiefly for the use of Malay Moslems, but also for Malay-speaking Christians, many of whom are either Chinese or of some of the other races of Indonesia who have become Christians.

MALAY TRACTS AND BOOKS

- 1888 Six Malay Hymns.
 The Ten Commandments.
 The Beatitudes.
 Christ our Substitute (Thoburn).
 Creation of Man (Thoburn).
 Heaven (Thoburn).
 Purpose of Religion (Thoburn).
- 1890 Practical Malay Grammar.
- 1891 The Story of Joseph (Keasberry).
 Parable of Prodigal Son
 Peace (Thoburn)
 Creation and Fall of Man
 The Koran's Witness to the Bible (Sell)
 True Religion (Keasberry)
 A Christian Prince in Lahore (Keasberry)
- 1892 Life of the Apostle Paul
- 1894 The Methodist Ritual
- 1896 The Methodist Catechism
- 1896 Sacrifices (Kurban)
 Revelation (Wahyu)
 The Malay Annals (Critical edition)
- 1901 Gospel of Mark (Bible Society)
- 1902 Gospel of Luke (Bible Society)
 Gospel of John (Bible Society)
 Acts of Apostles (Bible Society)
 Malay-English Vocabulary
- 1904 The Death of a Christian
 Some Moslems misunderstand
- 1905 Pilgrim's Progress (Baba Malay)
- 1906 S.S. Lessons about Jesus (romanized)
 1349 Malay Proverbs, Arabic character
- 1907 History of the Hebrews. (Based on Walker's Phil. of Plan of Salvation)
- 1910 New Testament (Revised edition) Bible Society
- 1912 The Old Testament (Revised edition) Bible Society
- 1913 New Testament in Baba Malay. (Bible Society)
 Khutbah (on Prophecy) From the Nile Mission Press
 Khutbah (Unity of God) From the Nile Mission Press
- 1916 English-Malay Dictionary
- 1917 Christ's Witness to Himself From the Nile Mission Press
- 1919 Christ's Sermon on the Mount From the Nile Mission Press
 Jubbah si-Pénurut From the Nile Mission Press (Miss Trotter)

An Arab with his Camel From the Nile Mission Press (Miss Trotter)

Message from a Far Country From the Nile Mission Press (Miss Trotter)

1921 History of the Methodist Church

1924 The Perfect Life (of Christ) in 2 Parts

1926 For You (Translated from Nile Mission Press)

1927 Do you know how to Worship? (Nile Mission Press)

The Sinless Prophet (Nile Mission Press)

1928 Why I am a Christian (Nile Mission Press)

1931 Malay verses on the Loving Prophet, in five Parts

1933 Incontrovertible Truths, from the Arabic Haka'ik la Tudhar
The Story of Abraham

The Afghan who sought true religion (Punjab Book Society)

1934 Malay verses on the Kingdom of God, in five parts.

Abdullah (the Suffering Servant of God) (Rev. L. E. Browne)

1940 and later Commentaries on the Gospels of Matthew, Luke and
John. (Not printed.)

The Life of Moses.

For years I was editor of the monthly "Malaysia Message" at Singapore. From 1906-9 I was editor of "Kitab Gĕmala Hikmat," "Hikayat Abdullah," and other volumes in the Malay Literature Series for the British Government, and a book of 1349 Malay Proverbs, collected by Guru Sleiman.

WILLIAM G. SHELLABEAR

Kennedy School of Missions
Hartford, Conn.

The Roman Catholic Church and Islam

In the annual survey of Roman Catholic Missions for 1945, *The International Review of Missions* has this comment:

"The vastness of the task involved in the conversion of the Muslim and recognition of the relatively little headway that may yet be claimed are re-echoed in reports from the field; and a significant stress falls on the approach to the Muslim in the missionary intentions advocated by Pope Pius XII. Greater attention to Islamic and Arabic studies is urged, not only at the level of higher education and research, but also with a view to stimulating interest in Near Eastern life on a more popular plane. From the United States, where the Near East Welfare Association (founded by Pius XI) has already made some headway in this direction, much importance is attached to inculcating in the laity greater familiarity and sympathy with the background and particular characteristics of the Muslim world. It is a task to which ex-service men and women who have served in the Near and Middle East may well be expected to bring fresh strength "

APHORISMS IN ISLAMIC ETHICS

The Arabic language is well adapted for aphorisms. One of the standard patterns for expressing antithesis appears¹ in the saying, "There is no victory along with injustice," and other abstract nouns are employed in the same way in many suggestive combinations:¹ No praise along with pride; no piety along with avarice; no recovery along with suspicion; no nobility along with bad manners; no love along with a quarrel.

Or a word with several shades of meaning, like *ghayat*, which signifies "end" in the sense of an objective as well as of a termination, may be utilized as easily. From an exhaustive collection that is called the *Ghurur al-Hikam wa Durar al-Kalim*, "Vanities of Wisdom and Pearls of Words", which was assembled and arranged alphabetically by 'Abd al-Wāhid b. Muḥammad al-Āmidī (about 510/1116),² a few illustrations may be chosen: The end of religion is faith; the end of faith is certainty; the end of sincerity is deliverance; the end of Islam is surrender; the end of surrender is contentment.

This word lends itself especially to observations in regard to this world and the hereafter:

The end of religion is resignation.

The end of the world is annihilation (*fanā*).

The end of the next world is continuance (*al-baqā*).

The end of life is death.

The end of death is passing on.

And very frequently words that are similar in form or sound will be compared in meaning, as in the statement: "The end of desire (*al-'amal*) is the appointed end of life (*al-ajal*)," or "The end of knowledge (*al-'ilm*) is good work (*ḥusn al-'amal*). Contrasts will occur also, such as "The end of the believer is Paradise," and "The end of the infidel (*al-kāfir*) is the Fire."

This collection that was made by al-Āmidī gives about seventeen thousand of these very short aphorisms, with a table of contents to show the arrangement. If in this table of contents reference is made to the letter "r," and attention is directed to sayings that begin with the word *ra's*, which means "head," beginning, some excellent declarations are discovered:

The head of wisdom is the necessity for the truth.

¹ *Sad Kalima'i Mawlā'i Muttakiyān Amīr al-Mu'minīn*, Teheran, 1304, p. 5. This pamphlet is commonly sold to pilgrims at Shi'ite shrines. It contains one hundred Arabic sayings that are ascribed to 'Alī b. Abī Ṭalīb, all of which are translated in Persian couplets.

² *Ghurur al-Hikam wa Durar al-Kalim*, by 'Abd al-Wāhid b. Muḥammad al-Āmidī (d. about 510/1116), ed. Sidon, 1931, p. 160.

The head of knowledge is kindness (*al-rifk*).

The head of ignorance (*al-jahl*) is narrowness (*al-ḥizk*).

Often particular words are fruitful enough to be used repeatedly, as we find in this same section in the case of the word *īmān* (faith):

The head of faith is truth.

The head of faith is endurance.

The head of faith is goodness to mankind.

The head of faith is trustworthiness.

The head of faith is the necessity for truth.

The inseparable preposition *bi-*, when it is used to express instrumentality, gives many useful combinations:

"By means of restraint (*al-kazm*) there is calmness (*al-ḥilm*)."

"By means of knowledge (*al-ilm*) there is life (*al-ḥayāt*)."

"By means of truth (*al-ṣidk*) there is deliverance (*al-naḥāt*)."

In a similar manner the word *'idha*, when it denotes a condition, may be applied to all kinds of circumstances, and that so easily that simple statements are often united and made to rhyme:

When you speak, be truthful.

When you have authority, be kind.

When you are given anything, be thankful.

When you are in difficulty, be patient.

When you censure, make your point.

When you punish, be kind.

The artificiality of form that characterizes these sayings is easily recognized. Perhaps the game of making them afforded profitable amusement to those who went with caravans on desert journeys, when they listened through the long night hours to the steady beat of the camel bells. Or at the stopping places, when groups of travellers rested where there was water and a little shade, there may have been lively rivalry in the exchange of some of these early "wise-cracks." And later on, when Arabic came to be a written language, and its grammar and syntax were in process of development, versatile students doubtless added greatly to the number and variety of "vanities of wisdom and pearls of words."

It will be seen, however, that when some of these are considered one at a time, apart from any question of their source or method of construction, and especially when they are employed à propos of a particular subject, they gain considerably in significance. Hundreds

of such sayings came to meet a need and thus have a permanent place in Muhammadan life and literature.

The vast heterogeneous mass of aphorisms, as represented by the comprehensive collections of earlier years, such as the *Majma' al-Amthāl* by al-Maidānī (d. 518/1124),³ has happily been sifted somewhat by time, so that the smaller selections in present-day books are of more uniform merit.

The *Sukhanān-i-Muḥammad*,⁴ "Sayings of Muḥammad," contains three hundred and eighty-seven numbered sayings. These are conveniently arranged alphabetically, and each Arabic aphorism is translated in Iranian on the opposite page. The following examples have been selected arbitrarily by choosing every tenth one throughout the book:

10. Avoid forbidden things, that you may be the most devout; and be content with the portion God has given you, that you may be the most wealthy.
20. Throw dust in the faces of flatterers.
30. When you see an affair that you are not able to change, wait patiently for God, the One to change it.
40. Show mercy to those on earth, that those in heaven may show mercy to you.
50. The strongest of you is the one who governs himself at the time of anger, and the most gentle of you is the one who forgives when he has gained power.
60. The man in the world who has the greatest authority is the man who does not give the world authority over him.
70. The most virtuous acts are three: humility when you are prosperous, pardoning when you are in power, and giving without reproaching.
80. Take fewer loans, that you may keep free.
90. Surely the most parsimonious of men is the one who is grudging or mean in helping Islam.
100. I was made a prophet in order that I should perfect the excellencies of dispositions.
110. I am not anxious about you in regard to what you do not know, but pay attention to how you act in regard to what you do know.
120. Avoid association with a fool, for when he wants to assist you he will do you an injury.

³ *Majma' al-Amthāl*, by al-Maidānī (d. 518/1124), Bulak, 1284, Cairo, 1310, lith. Teheran, 1290; Latin trans. by G. W. Freytag, *Arabum proverbiorum*, Bonn 1838-1843. Cf. article "al-Maidānī" by Brockelmann in the *Ency. of Islam*. Only a little later than al-Maidānī was al-Zamakhsarī (d. 538/1144), who compiled the *Rabī' al-Abrār*, pr. Cairo, 1292.

⁴ *Sukhanān-i-Muḥammad*, "Sayings of Muḥammad," Arabic text, arranged and translated into Iranian by Abu al-Ḳāsim Pāyandah, Teheran, Majlis Press, 1939.

130. Faith is endurance and generosity.
140. You see the believers, in their compassion and affection and kindness to one another they are like the body, for when one of the members of the body is in pain all of its body calls to it in wakefulness and in heat.
150. He who has three things shows the characteristics of faith,—dissatisfaction with what is useless when he is fortunate, moderation when he is angry, and honesty when he is in authority.
160. Paradise is under the shadow of the sword (*jihād*).
170. It is enough for you to be considered false if you tell all you hear.
180. Good nature dissolves transgressions just as water melts ice, and evil nature corrupts a good act just as vinegar spoils honey.
190. The best of your young men is the one who imitates those who are mature, and the worst of your middle-aged folks is the one who imitates the young men.
200. The one who has two faces does not "have face."
210. Adultery brings on poverty.
220. Youthfulness is a type of insanity.
230. Morning sleep robs the larder.
240. Happy is the man whose hidden thought is right, whose outer life is good, and whose evil is removed from men.
250. Scholars are of three kinds: the one by whom men live and who lives himself by his learning; the one by whom men live and who destroys himself; and the one who lives himself by his learning and who benefits no one else.
260. You are guilty of the greatest perfidy when you relate a matter to your friend, and he has confidence in you, and yet you are false to him.
270. Do not take to joking or your dignity will be destroyed, and do not take to lying or your light will disappear.
280. There is no religion without manliness.
290. Do not laugh to excess, for much laughter deadens the heart.
300. True wealth does not depend on abundance of goods but on riches of personality.
310. A little that is sufficient is better than much that is disturbing.
320. A man follows the religion of his sincere friend.
330. Whoever fails to accept the excuse of the one who seeks deliverance, whether it be true or false, will not profit by my intercession.
340. Whoever is humble before God, he it is whom God will ex-

alt; and whoever is haughty, he it is whom God will put down.

350. The man who deceives the Muslims does not belong to the Muslim community.
360. Whoever imitates a people should be counted among them.
370. Cursed be the owner of two faces, and cursed be the owner of two tongues.
380. He who gives science to those who are not qualified for it is like the man who ornaments pigs with jewels, pearls and gold.

In his introduction to this book, "The Sayings of Muhammad," the author expresses the opinion that sayings that are merely ethical would not be the sort that one would expect to have been invented, for he believes that the motives that prompted the forgery of traditions were usually either the desire to substantiate some point of law or the wish to give vent to some sectarian prejudice. For these ethical aphorisms, therefore, he has made no attempt to discuss the question of the reliability of their order of transmission.⁵ And as for the fact that some of them are also attributed to 'Ali, the author answers that this should cause no particular concern, for 'Ali was so closely associated with Muḥammad in his childhood and youth "that perhaps no two men could be found in all the world who were so much one in thought and belief and essential characteristics." In this opinion he considers that he has sufficient precedent in a comment from Saiyid Raḍī (d. 406/1015) in the *Nahj al-Balāgha*, which is attributed to 'Ali: "They relate this saying also from the Prophet, and there is nothing strange if two sayings are alike, for they come from the same source."

The second of these recent books is the *Kalimāt-i-Qisār*, "Short Sayings," which contains more than five hundred aphorisms that are attributed to 'Ali b. Abī Ṭālib,—who was one of the first believers, the son-in-law of the Prophet, the fourth Caliph, and the first of the Shi'ite Imams. The author states that 'Ali had ability of the highest rank in poetry, in prose, in grammar, in etymology, in wisdom, in mathematics, in logic and in public speaking. He mentions furthermore that "while there are several thousand of these excellent short sayings, the translator has chosen only those that have a practical

⁵ There are two books among those which Pāyandah mentions as general sources that are of very early date, namely *al-Bayān wa al-Tabayīn*, "The Book of Exposition and Demonstration," by al-Djāhiz (d. 255/868), and *al-'Ikd*, "The Necklace" by Ibn Abdi Rabbihi (d. 328/940). Brockelmann points out that the latter made considerable use of the *Uyūn al-Akhbār*, by Ibn Kutaiba (d. 276/889); and that "the *Amthāl al-Nabī*, which circulated outside the canonical collections of Tradition were collected (separately) by Ibn Khallād al-Rāmhurmuzī (*Fihrist*, p. 155) and Abu Hilāl al-Askari (d. about 395/1005). The work of the latter, *Kitāh Djamharat al-Amthāl*, is published on the margin of the *Madjma' al-Amthāl* by al-Maidāni, Cairo, 1310, and was printed separately in Bombay, 1306-1307. Mention should be made also of the works of al-Suyūṭī (a.911/1505), especially *al-Djāma' al-Saghīr*. The most recent comprehensive work on the subject is the *Kanz al-'Ummāl fī Thubūt Sunan al-Aḳwāl wa al-Af'āl*, Haidarabad, 1313.

advantage for everybody and that relate to present-day life, for the rest have to deal essentially with matters of religion and of the next world."

While sayings of this kind undoubtedly lose much of their conciseness in translation, still there is something of their general character that can be appreciated from the following representative examples, which have been selected from the first hundred in the book:

2. The truth is a sword that is never dull.
5. Property diminishes with expenditure but knowledge increases.
7. Time is two days, one for you and one against you, so be neither overbearing on the one day nor disturbed on the other.
8. The student and the teacher are partners in the same reward.
10. Stupidity is an illness that has no cure, a sickness from which there is no recovery.
15. Economy is equal to half one's provisions.
23. The avaricious man is always poor; the jealous man is always sick.
38. Pride is the essence of folly, and prodigality is the frontispiece of poverty.
50. A stranger is anyone without friends.
61. A man is intelligent whose today is better than his yesterday.
63. He who preaches without practice is like a bow without a string.
70. To trust a man before he has been proven shows a lack of intelligence.
71. True nobility lies in lofty ambitions and not in the decayed bones of grandsires.
76. Speech is a medicine, of which a little is beneficial and much is fatal.
78. Jestings begets rancor.
83. Please mankind with what you find pleasing to yourself.
87. Observe a just measure between yourself and others, crave for the other what you would crave for yourself, dislike for him what would displease you, do good as you would like to have good done to you, and refrain from doing any evil or oppressive thing that you would not care to have done to you.
90. Strike your servant when he disobeys God, but forgive his disobeying you personally.
91. Consult with an understanding enemy, but beware of the counsel of an ignorant friend.

As Professor Brockelmann has mentioned,⁶ "the proverb is from

⁶ Brockelmann, *Ency. of Islam*, art. "Mathal."

its nature anonymous," but in Islamic literature we find that the great majority of their proverbs have come to be attributed, either to their Prophet himself, to one or other of his Companions, or, in the case of the Shi'ites, to one of their designated Imams. Practically all of the books of religious instruction that are widely circulated throughout the Muslim world make use of these Arabic proverbs as moral maxims. As texts for discourses they are secondary only to citations from the Koran.

The way in which such short sayings were employed in some of the very earliest compendiums of moral instruction may be seen in the *al-Kāfi fī 'Ilm al-Dīn*, by al-Kulaini (d. 327/941). In contrast to the other traditionists, al-Kulaini expanded his treatment of "Faith and Unbelief" (*al-īmān wa'l-Kufr*) to include such subjects as tenacity, gratitude, modesty, gentleness, affability, economy, and independence. And among the recognized evils he describes are hypocrisy, seeking authority, anger, envy, prejudice, oppression, and falsehood.

To show the use that is made of moral aphorisms in the development of these separate themes, the following sayings may be quoted from al-Kulaini's discussion of envy:

"Envy will eat the faith as fire eats wood" is a saying ascribed to the Prophet. "Fear God, and let not some of you be always envying others" is attributed to Jesus.⁷ "Poverty is apt to lead to unbelief, and envy seeks to overcome Fate" is said to have been announced by Muḥammad. The Imam Ja'far Ṣādiq is said to have declared: "The plague of religion consists of envy, vanity and pride." On the authority of Muḥammad, Moses is believed to have said: "O Ibn 'Amrān, let not men envy one another what I give them of my bounty." And the Imam Ja'far Ṣādiq declared: "The believer is the one who wishes for the happiness of the other man and does not annoy him, whereas the hypocrite is the man who envies and does not wish anyone else happiness."⁸

At an early period in Islamic culture we find that history was regarded as a useful adjunct to moral instruction. The point of view was that "history perpetuates the record of virtuous and evil actions and offers them as examples for the edification of future generations",

⁷ This saying of Jesus is found in a tradition which Kulaini relates, and which we also find mentioned by Thaalabi (d. 1035 A.D.) in the *Kiṣaṣ al-Anbiyā* (ed. Bombay, 1878, pp. 541-542). As translated from the latter by the Rev. James Robson in his "Christ in Islam," p. 37, (Wisdom of the East Series), it is as follows: "It is related that he went out one day in his wandering accompanied by one of his companions who was a short man who attached himself greatly to Jesus. Then when Jesus came to the sea he said: 'In the name of God, with health and certainty;' and he walked on the surface of the water. Then the short man said, 'In the name of God, with health and certainty;' and he walked on the surface of the water. Then wonder entered him and he said, 'This is Jesus, the Spirit of God, walking on the water, and I am walking on the water.' The narrator said: Then he sank in the water and appealed to Jesus, so Jesus reached out to him from the water and took him out and said to him, 'What did you say, O short one?' He told him what had pervaded his mind and Jesus said to him, 'You have put yourself in a place other than that in which God put you and God abhorred you on account of what you said.' The man repented and returned to the rank in which God had placed him, so fear God and do not envy one another."

⁸ Kulaini, *Kāfi fī 'Ilm al-Dīn*, lith. Teheran, 2 vols., 1889. Cf. vol. 1, *Uṣūl al-Kāfi*, p. 344.

and as may easily be imagined, "such a plea was highly acceptable to the host of moralists and dilettantes; for if history were merely a branch of ethics, not a science, they need not scruple to adapt their so-called historical examples to their own ends."⁹ There was accordingly no close criticism of sayings that were supposed to be historical if they were convenient for the treatment of the subject at hand.

An outstanding example of this kind of book is the great work of Ibn Qutaiba (about 276/889), the *'Uyūn al-Akhhbār*, "Choice Histories." In the chapter on "Friends" (*ikhwān*) the author attributes to 'Alī a paragraph of practical advice on the necessity of avoiding evil companions:¹⁰ "*Do not associate with an immoral person, for he will certainly influence you by his conduct. He will be pleased to have you like him and will adorn you with the worst of his vices. Base and shameful as it may be, he will simply find profit in you and get you to pay his expenses. And furthermore, do not associate with a fool, for though he will exert himself on your behalf he will not assist you. Frequently when he wishes to help you he will cause you loss. His silence is preferable to his speech, you would rather have him far away than nearby, in fact his death is better than his life. Finally, do not associate with a liar, for his companionship will bring you no advantage. He will tell others your affairs and will relate the affairs of others to you, and that to such an extent that if he were to tell the truth he would not be believed.*"

A few pages further on (p. 84), the Prophet is credited with several statements in appreciation of family ties: "Recognize your relations, hold fast your family ties, for there is no nearness of relationship when it is cut off, even though it be nearby, as there is no distance about it when it is maintained, though it be far away."

"It is right that a man should cleave to those who have been his father's friends."

"The sister's son is to be considered as one of the family, and likewise the freed slave and the ally."

"Blood relationship is a root from the Merciful, who said, Whoever stands by you, then I stand by him, and whoever forsakes you, then I forsake him."

"Whoever wishes to have his life prolonged and his resources increased, let him cherish the friendship of his blood relations."

On the question of the extent of paternal authority it is related that a man came to the Prophet and said, "My father is about to take from me something that is mine." The Prophet replied, "Have you not learned that you yourself and whatever is yours belongs to your father?" (p. 86).

⁹ H. A. R. Gibb, *Ency. of Islam*, art. "Ta'rikh."

¹⁰ *'Uyūn al-Akhhbār*, "Choice Histories," by Abū Muhammad Abdulla b. Muslim b. Qutaiba al-Dinawarī, 4 vols., publ. Cairo, 1343/1925, see Vol. iii. pp. 69, 84, 89, 133, 139.

The Prophet is also quoted in support of the oldest brother's special rights: "The right of the oldest of a group of brothers over those who are younger is like the right of the father over children" (p. 89).

From the chapter on "Necessities," we may quote from a section that is devoted to the problems of those who have to solicit financial help. A celebrated instance is mentioned (p. 126), of a philosopher who showed ability to utilize his rare knowledge of proverbs to advantage. He had waited a long time at the gate of the palace of one of the kings of Persia, when at last he persuaded the guard to take a note from him to the King. It was but a bit of paper on which there were four lines written:

Hope and necessity have brought me to you.

Destitution do not wait to make a seasonable request.

Returning unrewarded would give enemies cause for laughter.

Either "Yes" will be a ripe fruit, or "No" a green persimmon.

We are told that when the King read this he was agreeably impressed with each separate line, and gladly decreed that the suppliant scholar should be rewarded with 16,000 *mithkâls* of silver.

It may sometimes serve to mollify the aggravation that is usually felt when one is besieged by suppliants to recall that the Prophet is reported to have made the remark (p. 133): "Present your needs to good-looking people." On another occasion, perhaps, this statement was slightly expanded: "Trust those who are handsome for your needs, because a comely face is one of the greatest human blessings you may encounter."

Again we are told (p. 139), that it was Muḥammad's habit not to refuse anyone who came with a need. Either he would supply it or he would dismiss the suppliant with some encouraging remark. When he was asked for what he did not have, he would sometimes answer, "God will do it!" But there is a saying given in this same connection from 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb that shows that the disposition to try to get things merely by asking soon had to be restrained: "Understand that coveting means poverty, and that giving up hope means becoming rich, for whoever gives up having a thing becomes independent of it."

In the same period there were writers of books "of an anecdotal and entertaining character"¹¹ who incorporated many such short sayings in their works. One was the freethinker and Mu'tazilite, al-Jāḥiẓ of Basra (d. 255/869), whose *Kitāb al-Bayān wa al-Tabyīn* ("Book of Eloquence and Exposition") is one of the chief sources for the later collections of Arabic proverbs: and following him came Ibn

¹¹ R. A. Nicholson, "Literary History of the Arabs," pp. 346-347.

'Abd al-Rabbihi of Cordova (d. about 328/940), whose *'Ikd al-Farīd* ("The Unique Necklace") claims "to have something on every subject."

After it had become the accepted custom to collect worthwhile proverbs and to attribute them to Muḥammad, to 'Alī' or to one of the other Companions or Imams, it was only a step further to credit them also with eloquent and appropriate speeches on significant occasions.

The early historian, Ibn al-Wāḍiḥ al-Ya'kūbī (d. 284/897), devotes twenty odd pages in his "History"¹² to "*the addresses of the Apostle of Allah and his sermons and admonitions in regard to noble qualities,*" the nature of which may be seen in the following examples:

"O ye people, truly ye have indications, so follow after them; and truly ye have an end in view, so seek to achieve it. The believer is indeed between two fears, one in regard to time that has passed, when he cannot know what God has been doing, and the other in regard to the time that remains, when he cannot know what God will decree. But surely the true servant will seize from himself for himself, i.e., from *this* his world now for *that* his world hereafter—in youth before age and in life before death. Such is the life of Muḥammad also in God's hand. Death will not ignore even the favored one and the world affords no refuge save Paradise or the Fire."

"Happiness comes to a man when his gain is lawful, when his natural disposition is good, and when his hidden thought is right. He sells quickly the remainder of his property and gives up excess of speech. He avoids people who corrupt him and is just towards those who benefit him. Surely he who knows God is one who fears God, and he who fears God keeps himself free from the world."

"Whoever observes in this world the one who is above him and emulates him, and observes the one who is below him and praises God for that in which he is able to excel him, God will surely put him on record as one who is thankful and steadfast. On the other hand, whoever observes in this world one who is beneath him and also one who is above him and grieves over that in which the one has excelled him, surely God will not put him on record as thankful and steadfast."

"The man who is favored with a thankful heart, a considerate tongue, a strong constitution, and a healthy wife,—he it is who is blessed with this world and the next."

"Happiness depends on two things, obedience and piety."

It is noteworthy that the several examples that Ya'kūbī gives of the speeches of 'Alī have to do with political events. They are ad-

¹² Ibn Wāḍiḥ al-Ya'kūbī, "Historiae," ed. Houtsma, 1883, vol. II, pp. 98-121.

dresses to the people of Kufa.¹³ Also the letters that Ya'kūbī mentions are only such as 'Ali would normally have sent as Caliph to his various lieutenant governors.¹⁴

But the meagre material that was furnished by al-Ya'kūbī failed to satisfy the desire of the Shi'ite community, in their more prosperous period, for a book that would exalt 'Ali far above the other Companions. A complete epitome of their own presentations of the history of Islam was needed. It is true that much had been accomplished by Kulaini and Ibn Babuwaihi in compiling collections of traditions after the manner of the legists and theologians. But it remained for Saiyid Raḍī (406/1015), who was highly esteemed for his Arabic scholarship and his knowledge of the poets,¹⁵ to produce a popular work that set forth the whole Shi'ite history, faith and culture in an orderly and graphic form, as though it actually came from the tongue or the pen of 'Ali himself.

This work was the *Nahj al-Balāgha*, which Shi'ite Muhammadans ordinarily esteem as second only to the Qur'ān, for it has come to be generally regarded as the book of the *Amīr al-Mu'minīn*, because it purports to give, not only the several hundred short sayings of 'Ali, but also numerous examples of his letters and speeches. It was compiled fully 340 years after the death of 'Ali, and as much time had elapsed it was easy to compensate for imperfections that had been observed in the records by adding such supplementary material as would foster the Shi'ite interpretation of events. While it was doubtless gratifying to the followers of the Imams to have their 'partisan point of view thus dramatically presented, in the very words of 'Ali, yet there is every reason to believe that this book is not what it pretends to be. Bearing in mind the comparatively late date at which it was written, it seems rather remarkable to find as many as 240 of 'Ali's speeches preserved intact. In connection with every significant happening in his life he is here represented as having made an appropriate speech,—as at the time of the death of the Prophet, on the return from the battle of Šiffin, in regard to the defection of Zubair and Ṭalha, in admonition of his son by the Hanafite woman, after the victory of the battle of the Camel, in condemnation of the people of Basra, at the time homage was paid to 'Uthman, etc.

Of these 240 speeches, however, approximately one half are neither political nor biographical, but have to do with the general subjects of the Tradition books,—such as the creation of the heavens and the earth and the angels, reproof of the followers of Shaiṭān, those

¹³ Ibid, op. cit., pp. 222, 225, and 229.

¹⁴ Ibid, op. cit., pp. 235-242.

¹⁵ Catalogue of Shrine Library, Meshed, 3 vols., 1927, chapter "Akhbār," No. 291. This manuscript, dated 701 A.H., is the oldest of the twelve mss. in the library. The biographical sketch given in the catalogue describes the author, Saiyid Raḍī (d. 406/1015), as outstanding in his knowledge of Arabic literature.

unworthy to be judges, differences in human dispositions, death and the fear of death, Heaven and Hell, and the guidance of mankind. In fact the contents of the *Nahj al-Balāgha* very definitely suggest that by the time of Saiyid Raḍī considerable progress had been made in the compilation and the production of Shi'ite traditions, so that the literary undertaking of arranging them in a series of 240 complete speeches, and 80 verbatim letters, and several hundred sentences short sayings was altogether feasible.

But from the point of view of ethics, even pious fictions may serve to reveal the contemporary moral consciousness. In general the Shi'ite tradition literature expresses the opinions and judgments of the opposition party, and it is clear that this opposition was frequently on moral grounds. In agreement with what one would naturally expect, the books of moral and religious instruction, whether for children or adults, make wide use of such traditional sayings as can be easily related to questions of conduct.

Furthermore, the incorporation of many essentially anonymous proverbs into the traditions, whether Shi'ite or Sunnite, was almost a necessary expedient, for in matters of conduct the recognized authority or standard was always the example of the Prophet and his Companions.

DWIGHT M. DONALDSON

Henry Martyn School of Islamic Studies.
Aligārh, India

Kairwan

In a recent book on *La Tunisie Orientale* we have an excellent description of this "holy city", a center of Moslem pilgrimage:

The old religious centre of Kairouan remains native, despite its considerable tourist traffic: so do the towns of the Sahel of Sousse like Msaken and Kalaa Kebira with almost no European inhabitants. Sousse and Sfax, in contrast, have modern European quarters of the pattern common in French colonial territories and are well-equipped ports, dealing with the export of local agricultural products, especially olive oil, and of minerals, chiefly phosphate: indeed the phosphate traffic makes Sfax the leading port of Tunisia with a greater volume of trade than that handled by Tunis. The good facilities of Sousse and Sfax and their reasonable rail and road communications with the productive areas in the interior are causing the smaller ports such as Mahdia and Monastir to stagnate and decline.

MOSLEMS AND PAGANS OF THE ANGLO-EGYPTIAN SUDAN

The Sudan is the name given to that vast stretch^o of land extending all the way across Africa from the Atlantic Ocean to the Red Sea just south of the Sahara Desert and Egypt. The origin of its name is very interesting.

"Its name is a part of a term applied to it by the Arabs and others from North Africa, who, crossing the Great Desert, came to a country, where the people were of a darker colour than themselves, and called it 'Bilad es Sudan,' " *The Land of the Blacks*.¹

The Sudan is divided into four political divisions: French West Africa, Northern Nigeria, the French Cameroons and Equatorial Africa, and the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan. It is peopled by hundreds of tribes speaking a vast number of languages and dialects. It may be added that:

"Generally speaking, the peoples of the Northern section of the region are Mohammedan in faith, while in the Southern portion the tribes are pagan; but there are Mohammedan towns and large colonies here and there among the pagans, and pagans may still be found in the Moslem areas. The various stages of civilization reached by these people cover a wide range, from the comparatively advanced social organization of the powerful Mohammedan emirates, with their written laws, history and literature, to the loose structures of the primitive and wild cannibal tribes, divided into quarrelling clans and families, uniting only to meet a common foe. The variety thus presented, found in every part of the Sudan, makes the country a fascinating study."²

As our problem is concerned with only one section of the Sudan, our attention will be centered on the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, that territory in the Nile region which is bordered on the north by Egypt and on the south by the Belgian Congo and Uganda. To the east lie Eritrea, Ethiopia, and the Red Sea, and on the west is French Equatorial Africa.

Very often this section of the Sudan is thought of as a great waste of desert and unproductive land. However this is true only because of the lack of moisture, for where irrigation has been developed, exceptionally fine grades of cotton and other agricultural products are cultivated. The Anglo-Egyptian Sudan is divided into two zones which are commonly referred to as the Northern Sudan and the Southern Sudan. The northern section centers around the three cities of Khartum, Khartum North, and Omdurman. Because the Northern Sudan comprises the south-eastern end of the Sahara Desert, this

¹ *The Lightbearer*, XXXIII (July-August, 1937).

² *Idem*.

area is extremely arid and marked by practically no rainfall. The religion is Mohammedan and the language spoken is Arabic.

The Southern Sudan differs widely from the Northern. Here dwell the Negroid³ tribes, which are animistic in religion and speak various tribal languages and dialects. These tribes number at least one hundred and twenty-seven. Here the rainfall is abundant. During the rainy season the vegetation is prolific and the growth rank. Kaffir corn, the chief food of the people, is cultivated at this time and is practically their only agricultural product. The climatic conditions are not as healthful as in the Northern Sudan, due to the excessive rainfall and the prevalence of malaria and the black-water fever.

The whole of this country lies within the tropics. It is, for the most part, removed quite some distance from the oceans and hence is extremely hot. Khartum, the capital and the most centrally located city of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, has a minimum temperature of 40° , a maximum of 113° , and a mean annual temperature of about 80° .

The Sudanese are predominantly a Negroid race, for only in the northern part of the Sudan has the white man crept into the black man's country. Those of the southern part would be classified as scarcely touched by civilization.

"All the tribes living on the Nile and its tributaries, from 2° to about 12° N. latitude, in a region much bigger than France—and there are many millions packed together outside the swamps—show some traits of the savage which neither administration, nor navigation, nor the efforts of missionaries, nor even the slave trade, has effaced."⁴

Even in the northern parts of the country, those of Mohammedan descent and of Arab and Negro admixture are only a half-civilized people.

The Sudanese of the southern section are a very tall, slender, and beautifully formed people. Among many tribes, the average height is between six and six and one-half feet. "Beside a young Shilluk, the white man always looks clumsy and dull." The men are broad-shouldered, very athletic, and their skin has been described as "smooth as polished ebony."⁵ The women too are soft and smooth-skinned, and have strong, well-formed bodies. Among both men and women of the Shulla tribe, the custom of extracting the four front teeth of the lower jaw has caused a rather odd facial appearance. They have straight hair and thin lips and noses. A very characteristic

³ Negroid characteristics are thin lips, fine features, and straight hair as contrasted with the Western Negro.

⁴ Emil Ludwig, *The Nile* (New York: The Viking Press, 1937), p. 78.

⁵ J. Kelly Giffen, *The Egyptian Sudan* (New York: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1905), p. 246.

pose of the men is that of standing upon one leg, leaning upon the leg akimbo.

The peoples of the northern Sudan, the Arabs or Moslems, are medium in size, rather slender and lithe, and able to withstand privations. All those of the northern section wear some type of clothing. The men wear large trousers with long tunic shirts, while the women wear the *tobe* which is a long piece of white or dark blue cloth wound around the body from the head to below the knees. Those of the southern part wear no clothing at all or very little, as in the case of some of the married women who wear triangular skins or grass skirts.

All of the peoples of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan have great physical endurance. This is manifested not only in their fighting but also in their hunting. They are "absolutely fearless in battle, placing little estimate on life, of undaunted courage and savage cruelty."⁶ Because they are so dependent for food and protection upon their skill in manipulating their crude weapons and in battling both animal and enemy by hand, they have developed a remarkable degree of endurance. Not many have ever developed into good swimmers because of the great number of crocodiles which infest the rivers.

The marks of disease can be seen on the bodies of many of these native peoples. The dread disease, leprosy, is very prevalent throughout the country. Eye diseases have brought either partial or total blindness to scores of people. It has been estimated that four children out of every hundred between the ages of three and four years are totally blind in at least one eye, due to superstition and ignorance.⁷ The disease most commonly called yaws has caused the dropping away of the noses of hundreds of the natives. Venereal diseases have entered the country since the coming of the white man and are common around army posts and other white settlements. Malaria, bilharzia, sleeping sickness, spinal meningitis, and malnutrition are other diseases which have also left their marks upon these peoples.

The Sudanese have been described by many as a rather simple, child-like people. However, Ludwig says:

"If the Negroes are to be compared with children, then on the Nile at any rate, they must be compared with happy children whose cynical innocence lives on in their cruelty. They may kill each other in anger, but they know nothing of the perversions of the white man; everything that darkens white life, hatred and contempt, ambition and jealousy, above all the curse of gold, is absent from the daily life of the Negro as a spur to crime and appears only in the relations of chiefs of different tribes."⁸

It is hard to say how much the mental powers of the Sudanese have

⁶ J. Kelly Giffen, *op. cit.*, p. 246.

⁷ F. G. Carpenter, *Cairo to Kisumu* (New York: Doubleday, Page, and Company, 1923), p. 159.

⁸ Emil Ludwig, *op. cit.*, p. 76.

been developed, because most of their training has been along lines of ability to memorize rather than along lines of ability to reason and think through problems. They are an imitative rather than a creative people. They learn best by the law of example. This perhaps explains why they pick up so readily both the good and the bad from those foreigners with whom they come in contact. However, they are beginning to show a slow development of initiative. Persistence is not one of their marked characteristics, but Mr. Lowrie Anderson of the Sudan would point out that such things as "the climate, their diet, and the shortness of their contact with civilization" would partially explain this. They possess an independence of spirit which shows up very much in their dislike to follow rules and directions. They are not given to boasting. They are not only very forgiving in their nature, but are willing and quick to forget wrongs done against them. They are generally very curious. Mr. Lowrie Anderson says:

The Arab is very practical and matter-of-fact. Both his religion and temperament combine to make him so. The Negro is less stable. The Arab will not give up his ways or change his religion easily. The Negro will imitate another religion quickly, and follow other customs readily without giving up necessarily his old customs.

Because of their great superstition, the Sudanese are bound mentally by fear. Although many of their number are very clever, the physical conditions in which they live—poverty, poor food, poor sanitation, malaria, syphilis, yaws—tend to make their mental average lower than that of the American Negroes.

It is a very interesting thing to note the change in the attitude of the Sudanese toward the value of education in the last fifteen years. Whereas before they were little interested in education, now so many are seeking it that the missionaries are unable to handle them all.

Emotionally the Sudanese are a rather stable people. The Negro is very slow to show his feelings because he has been trained to be unmoved at all times. Generally it is only in his dances that he shows bubbling enthusiasm. The Sudanese is much like the American Negro in his love for music and rhythm and in his manifestation of fortitude in times of great trouble.

The Mohammedan or Arab is likewise very stable emotionally. "His lack of music would indicate that he is perhaps more stable emotionally. Yet religious fervor as worked up by the dervish orders produces 'Holy Rollers' twice weekly in their groups. The chief agency seems to be self-hypnotism through rhythmic repetitions of the name 'Allah' "⁹

In the northern part of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, the Arab family life is the social unit; while the sheikh, the tribal or religious

⁹ Personal correspondence with J. Lowrie Anderson.

ruler who is higher but of little importance, is the one to whom are referred those cases which can not be settled in the family. However, in the South, the tribe is the social unit with a great deal of power invested in the village chief. In this connection, Mr. Lowrie Anderson says:

"The Christian gospel, and to some extent the Christian church, have been unwelcome intruders in that they have broken into the unity of the tribe, or the village. This has been involuntary on the part of the missionaries, but there are certain customs they feel definitely cannot be reconciled with Christianity."¹⁰

Among the Mohammedans of the North, women are married without their own consent, are easily divorced, have very little freedom after their marriage, are often one of the many wives of the harem, and have so few legal rights that they are frequently mere slaves to their husbands. Chastity is demanded of them before and after marriage. In the South women hold a much higher position. They have almost as much freedom as the men, even to the choosing of their life partners. There is seldom any divorce among them. The women are treated as wives and not as slaves. They seldom are married without their consent. Chastity is not expected before or after marriage. They often take part in the discussions of tribal affairs with the men and partake in their smoking and drinking.

Poverty is almost a universal thing among the Sudanese. "People don't starve to death, although thousands live very little above the subsistence level." The poor share what little they have with others.

Neither the Arab nor the Negro likes labor. This is due partly to inertia and partly to their attitude toward labor. It was not until the missionary had come in among the Sudanese and worked with and for them that labor was raised to a place of dignity. And even now, when it is not considered a disgrace for a man to engage in some sort of labor, there is little encouragement to progressiveness in agriculture and other occupations. There is little or no market for the sale of their produce. Hence the native seldom produces more than is necessary for the actual needs of his family. Because of this, there is a great deal of idleness. However, the agricultural schools introduced and established by the missionary have done a great deal to break down this attitude toward labor.

To the Sudanese, foreigners are objects of curiosity. Their manners of life and customs are of great interest to them. There is no feeling of fear or hostility toward the foreigner nor is there any feeling of awe at his superiority, for in some things they think the foreigner is a bit peculiar.

¹⁰ *Idem.*

Among all of the Sudanese, drinking is very common and intoxication is often seen. The native beer is called *marissa*. The Rev. Reid Shields says:

"The use of *marissa* begins with tiny babies and is common with all ages, all classes. Not all drink to excess, if one can measure excess where a woman casually reports that she drinks two gallons at a sitting and men that they drink two bucketfuls a day."¹¹

When death comes into a Sudanese family, hired mourners are procured. However, "they do not grieve long for their dead. When death does occur, they bury nearby—possibly in the house or just outside of it—and leveling over the earth, they leave no sign for future remembrance."¹²

Each tribe of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan has its own type of native education for its youth. This generally consists of a period of training immediately preceding their acceptance as full-fledged members of the tribe. This period of instruction and testing may cover anywhere from several months to three or four years, depending upon the tribe.

Tribal instruction may be illustrated by the Nuer tribe. This people has its tribal initiation rites for its young men when they are between thirteen and sixteen years of age. The first thing which a youth undergoes is the initiation ceremony at which time the tribal marks are placed on his forehead. This consists of six parallel lines cut from ear to ear on the forehead. On the day of the cutting, the people of the tribe are gathered together by the chief, and the boys are called out of the hut in which they have been placed. Reid Shields graphically describes this terrible ordeal.

A hole is dug in the ground for each boy, over which he rests his head on the grass ring and into which the blood flows. The first boy is called. He lies down on his back and folds his arms over his chest. The man whose business it is to cut the marks kneels beside him on the right side with a sharp knife . . . he begins at the middle of the forehead and cuts the first line just above the eyes, . . . extends it to or past the ear . . . another . . . another until they are six. Then to the left side . . . also six. Then to the right side to make sure they are deep enough and continuous and are six.

And everything is quiet, the only sound the grating of the knife on the bone.

The boy must lie perfectly still without any show of fear or pain . . . that would bring ridicule from the girls . . . and a movement might cause a slip of the knife and a crooked line, to bear silent testimony throughout life that he had flinched.¹³

¹¹ Reid F. Shields, *Behind the Garden of Allah* (Philadelphia: United Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions, 1937), p. 84.

¹² J. Kelly Giffen, *The Egyptian Sudan*, p. 169.

¹³ Reid F. Shields, *op. cit.*, p. 160.

After the operation is finished, the youths creep back into the hut, where they live together until cicatrization is complete. It is during this time that they are given instruction in tribal affairs, lineage, laws, and religion. This period is closed by a great celebration at which there is feasting, sacrificing, dancing, and the presentation of spears. The status of the youths in the tribe is now very different from what it formerly was.

He may now carry a spear . . . he may participate in all dances . . . he may wear a giraffe hair necklace . . . milking is now beneath his dignity . . . he may command the boys who have not yet been marked . . . he may have a voice in the affairs of the village . . . more particularly in the love affairs and marriage of his sisters . . . He is a man.¹⁴

Religiously, the northern part of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan is practically one hundred per cent Mohammedan or Moslem while the southern part is almost entirely pagan and animistic. Both groups are characterized by fear and superstition. The Mohammedan *fikis* or Arab holy men, healers, and teachers are paralleled by the pagan witch doctors and prophets. Both the Mohammedans and pagans fear the evil spirits and hence wear charms to keep them away. Both believe in one supreme God. The Mohammedans' God is Allah, while the pagans' god is some great spirit. Some conception of this Supreme Being of the pagans can be gained from an excerpt of folklore of one of the native tribes. It is a portion of a prayer to God.

"I implore thee, thou God (Jwok), I pray to thee during the night. How are all people kept by thee all day. And thou walkest in the midst of the (high) grass, I walk with thee; when I sleep in the house, I sleep with thee. To thee I pray for food, and thou givest it to the people, and water to drink; and the soul is kept alive by thee. There is no one above thee, thou God. Thou becamest the grandfather of Nyikango.¹⁵

The Mohammedan prays daily to Allah, and chants the ninety-nine names of Allah as he fingers his rosary of coarse wooden beads. In both Mohammedanism and paganism, the dance is a part of the religious ceremony.

Although the animistic pagans believe in one Supreme Being, their dependence for food and help and protection is generally sought through the worship of lower deities and spirits and demonic powers. That which seems to threaten most harm is that to which sacrifices are made. The animist believes that his soul is a part of the great universal soul, and that at death it returns to nature or animates another being. When one becomes ill, it is believed that the soul flees

¹⁴ Reid F. Shields, *op. cit.*, p. 161.

¹⁵ Diedrich Westermann, *The Shilluk People, Their Language and Folklore* (Philadelphia: United Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions, 1912), p. 171.

from the individual's body or has been induced away by some evil spirit. Gifts are promised or food is brought in an effort to bring the soul back to the sick person. If one experiences sudden alarm, his soul is soothed lest it flee.

The Mohammedans believe not only in one god, but also in a succession of prophets of whom Mohammed is the greatest. They believe in a series of holy books which have all been corrupted with the exception of the Koran. They believe that only those of Mohammedan faith go to heaven. Although they believe that any Mohammedan who falls away from the faith is punished, yet they consider God as ultimately merciful and one who will not permit any Mohammedan to stay in hell forever. Anyone who is not a Mohammedan by faith can not expect to enter heaven. The Koran teaches that anyone who dies in defense of the Mohammedan faith receives special rewards in heaven. Because the Mohammedan has borrowed many of his religious ideas from the Jew, his standard of morals is much higher than that of the pagan. Concerning them the Rev. J. Lowrie Anderson wrote:

"The moral standards of the Moslems are almost Judaic: do not steal, do not commit adultery, do not lie, do not drink intoxicants, do not accept interest, do not eat pork, etc. To these fundamental laws they are inclined to add many traditions as did the Pharisees. They have positive duties to do as well as negative—five prayers daily, pilgrimage to Mecca, giving of alms, fasting in Ramadan, etc.

But concerning the moral standards of the pagan Negroes, he says: "The moral standards of the Negroes can not be compared to American standards at all. Their level would seem to be lower than the Israelites in the times of the Judges." Reid Shields in speaking of the prevalence of drinking and its effect on the morals says, "Drunkenness was and is common and the houses where drink is made are scenes of quarrelling, fighting, lewdness, and prostitution."¹⁶

When the Sudanese, whether Mohammedans or pagans, become Christians, they are much confused as to their standards of morals. This is seen very readily by an observation of their lives when they become Christians.

"It is not only in regard to polygamous customs; there are other habits and restrictions and prohibitions in marriage and family affairs, together with extreme laxity in extramarital relations which constitute an almost unsolvable problem to the new Christian and the young Church.

Adding to his testimony, the Rev. J. Lowrie Anderson wrote:

"To this day plural marriages and illicit relationships before

¹⁶ Reid F. Shields, *op. cit.*, p. 88.

marriage do not appear to the Nilotic (Sudanese) Christian to be the heinous offense that the missionary paints them. The Moslem is liable to carry over into Christianity something of the rigid ideas of right and wrong being based on a fiat of the Almighty rather than on something that is eternally wrong, or eternally right in the character of God and the nature of man.

However, he further adds this word which is very encouraging:

Many Moslems, and pagans too, have grasped an idea of the dynamic conception of the freedom of Christianity, a freedom not to do our own will but to surrender our will to His.¹⁷

After becoming a Christian, the Sudanese who formerly was a Mohammedan is liable to carry over into Christianity his old conceptions of rewards and punishments, and often forgets the freedom of the Gospel of Grace. The pagan Negro who becomes a Christian has the tendency to carry over into Christianity his tendency for beer and loose sexual relationships. This latter fact is shown by the comparatively few of the Negro women who have been baptized. All the Sudanese, whether Mohammedans or pagans, carry over into Christianity a belief in the presence of evil spirits, but their belief is that Jesus Christ is stronger than any evil spirit.

The Rev. J. Lowrie Anderson has stated the religious problem which the missionary faces in the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan as follows:

"Our problem in the North has been to get people to confess Christ. Our problem in the South is to get them to break away from their tribal customs that are non-Christian after they have accepted Christ.

RUTH MCCREERY

Santa Barbara, Calif.

¹⁷ Personal correspondence with J. Lowrie Anderson.

ISLAM IN WEST AFRICA

Islam is making amazing inroads in West Africa. The Gold Coast, Nigeria, the Camerouns and Spanish Guinea all show the pervasive effect of Moslem missionaries.

Calling on a prosperous paramount chieftain at Bafia in the French Cameroun it was interesting to see a large picture of the Kaaba on the wall and to hear that the chieftain had a *mullah* in his entourage. Conversation with him revealed that his knowledge of Islam was very shallow, however. It was this same chieftain who had come one dark night to the missionary's home and raised with him the question of becoming a Christian, insisting that if only Christianity would let him keep several of his wives he would rather be a Christian than a Moslem.

The fact that polygamy is so generally practiced in West Africa and that Islam does not upset this is a major explanation for its acceptance by those who feel it is old-fashioned to continue as animists and that they show that they are civilized moderns by embracing a modern religion. While the French government officially frowns on the practice of polygamy in its African colonies it was interesting to note that African employees of the French colonial government who receive a salary supplement for wife and children are given additional supplements for additional wives.

It is the Hausa traders who are the backbone of Islam all through West Africa. One sees them in the most remote parts of the jungle, driving herds of scrawny cattle down from the Sudan for sale along the way or with packs of notions to trade for ivory and native produce. Wherever they go they are meticulous in their observance of Moslem customs and thus attract attention to themselves and their religion.

In Lagos, the principal city of Nigeria and of all West Africa, one of the leading newspapers is published by a Moslem editor. This paper *The Comet*, on July 2, 1945, in its daily feature column entitled SEARCHLIGHTS OVER NIGERIA gives a typical comment on the death of a leading Moslem there as follows:

"Last week Nigeria was called upon to mourn the loss of one whom they had grown to love as one of their own kith and kin. The late Duse Mohamed Ali, though born of Egyptian parents, was in truth one of those who believed that man belonged to wherever he made his home. Coming to Nigeria after having done good work for his country and served and fought for the cause of Africa while in London, he took here as his home and Nigerians as brothers.

"Zero need not comment again on his activities while in Europe while he was here, for we are well conversant with all those points from the local press. Zero will only deal with him as a man, a re-

ligious brother and a child of God who has served mankind according to the teachings of Islam.

"We heard Mr. Augusto at the Young Ansarudeen Schoolroom. He told us exactly what Islam expected of her children as far as the practice of that religion is concerned; and from what we heard, the late Duse Mohamed Ali was a religious man who kept to the teachings and practice of Islam. He sacrificed his whole career for suffering humanity, for with his education if he had chosen any other field of profession other than journalism, and at its pioneering stage in West Africa, he would have got to the top of the ladder and would have been more endowed with worldly goods."

It was disturbing to discover that the Protestant mission groups in West Africa were neglecting the evangelization of the Moslem population. One group had laboriously written out a simple Christian tract in Arabic and mimeographed it for distribution to the Hausa population, without realizing that the work of the Inter-Mission Literature Committee in Cairo might greatly facilitate this approach.

In Doula, the principal seaport of the Cameroun, the French government had provided funds for the erection of a mosque at the request of the Moslem population. Actually the French Protestant Mission used this as a means of persuading the French government to make a grant for the erection of an imposing Protestant Church there, so it was not without its advantage.

It was heartening to find copies of the MOSLEM WORLD in many missionary homes in West Africa and to find that latent interest in winning West African Moslems to Christ could easily be stimulated. The distribution of Christian literature in Arabic would seem to be one of the most effective means of meeting this challenge.

HERRICK BLACK YOUNG

New York City

BOOK REVIEWS

Tableau des racines semitiques (arabe-hebreu). accompagnees de comparaisons.
Par le Baron Carra de Vaux. Seconde édition. Paris, 1944. G. P. Maisonneuve.
sm 8vo. pp. 122.

In 1904 Baron Carra de Vaux published in the *Annales de Philosophie Chrétienne* an article with the title "Un grand Problème de linguistique, la parenté des langues aryennes et sémitiques", in which he tackled the general problem at the root of all schemes of comparison between language groups, viz., what is the probability of words, closely resembling one another in sound and sense, being found as correspondences in two supposedly independent groups of languages. In such cases there are three possibilities to be taken into account. The resemblances may be due to accident, it being mere coincidence that a word with a certain definite meaning happened to take the same form in the two groups. Or they may be due to borrowing, a word which arose in one group being taken over into the other. Or, finally, the resemblances may arise from the fact that the two groups are not so independent as was supposed, but at an earlier period may have been closely connected, if not derived from a common stock. There are, of course, well known examples of coincidences, some of them quite striking examples, but such coincidences would be relatively few, and the chances of there being whole groups of coincidences would be very small indeed. Borrowing is also a common phenomenon, and our common English tongue, for example, contains an astonishingly large proportion of borrowed material in its vocabulary, but such borrowings, in any language group, can usually be distinguished without difficulty from the basic material of the language. If, therefore, we can construct lists of words in two language groups, which have the necessary resemblances in both sound and sense, which are too numerous to be the results of coincidence, and which are not to be set aside as borrowings of the one group from the other, then such lists must be considered as evidence that the two groups are not independent, but must at some earlier period have been connected.

In this small volume the author presents us with such lists to prove an early connection between the languages of the Indo-European and the Semitic groups. In 1911, in a volume on the Etruscan language, he had already constructed similar lists to show a connection between the "Aryan" (i.e., Indo-European) and the Altaic (i.e., Ural-Altaic) groups, and he regards his results here as parallel. The primary roots that he reached in both cases are much the same, and it would seem to him that they have developed in one way in the Altaic group, and in quite a different way in the Aryan group, in accordance with the very different psychology of the two groups. The older school of linguists would have argued from this that there was a common parent language from which Ural-Altaic, Indo-European and Semito-Hamitic have descended, each going off to develop in its own

way under its own special local conditions. Carra de Vaux rejects this older conception of family relationship among languages, but what he puts in its place is somewhat difficult to grasp—

“La conception que je préfère est celle d’une large similitude d’instinct, qui s’étend sur le choix et la forme des premières racines, sur leur développement sémantique, et qui porte sur une vaste partie du domaine lexicographique. Ces groupes de mots sont des ‘parallèles’ ou des ‘analogues’; ce ne sont point des ‘dérivés’ ”.

He begins with a series of biliteral roots, since such a biliteral, he thinks, is the phonetic element to which human instinct attaches sense, and which are the linguistic analogues to the melodic elements basic to music, or the structural elements basic to the various forms of architecture. Thus the biliteral *KR* suggests the idea of digging or working at something hard; *KT* suggests the idea of clash, shock, blow; *ML* suggests the idea of softness or tenderness, *VN* that of weakness, and so on. In the case of the Semitic languages the development of these primitive roots has been by the addition of a third radical, while in the Indo-European languages the development took place by the use of various prefixes and suffixes.

The lists he sets before us are arranged according to these deduced biliterals, or similar pairs or groups thereof. The words under each heading are grouped in two columns, Hebrew and Arabic, with an occasional Aramaic or Akkadian word, in the left-hand column, and the “Aryan” words, Greek, Latin and French for the most part, though with an occasional Sanskrit comparison, and some from English, German, etc. in the right-hand column. Considerable ingenuity has been exercised in the construction of these lists, though not infrequently we find on the Semitic side words which are well known to be loan-words from Indo-European, and on the other side a good many words which are equally well-known as being words not of the original I.E. stock. The comparative linguist will, of course, immediately reject all these lists as of little use, for he will insist that the only valid comparisons would be between the forms of earliest Indo-European and earliest Semitic, that is of the so-called “common”—I.E. and “common”—Semitic. No attempt has been made to arrive at these earliest forms, and had it been made it would have shown in many cases that there was no ground for comparison of the words given in the lists.

The lists are followed by some notes which give examples of the method used in making the comparisons. One example must suffice. The lion, we are told, has several names in *l*, which was doubtless on account of his mane, and so he is “le rayonnant, le fauve”. The Hebrew *layish* and Arabic *laith* are thus comparable with the English *light*, which has two meanings, as in the light of the lamp, and a light blue colour (i.e. *lumière* and *clair*), and also with the Greek name *Lais*. Then Hebrew *lāvi*, Arabic *labwah*, along with German *Löwe* and English *lion*, are explicable from Hebrew *lahav*, Arabic *lahab*, a flame, and are neighbour words to the Latin *flavus*, yellow. With a little ingenuity, of course, comparisons of this nature could be made between almost any two groups of languages in the world.

ARTHUR JEFFERY

Bulletin des Etudes arabes, (Intermediaire des Arabisants); mars—avril 1944, Alger, chez Jules Carbonel.

Little by little the publications which appeared in Europe during the War years are beginning to trickle through, so that gradually we are able to catch up on what has been done by our European colleagues in the fields of our interest during those difficult years. The *Bulletin* before us is No. 17, and the second part of its fourth year of publication. It contains News and Notes of matters of Arabic and Islamic interest, particularly from North Africa; a summary of the contents of several of the Journals of Islamic interest both in French and in Arabic; announcement of recent publications from the presses of the Near East; an article by Léon Bercher on the blind poet Abū'l-'Alā' al-Ma'arrī, whose anniversary was celebrated in Cairo and Damascus not long since; a statement of the plans for publication in the *Bibliothèque arabe-française*; and a documentation on the colour of the clothes used during mourning in various parts of North Africa. This is all good fare.

Léon Bercher entitles his article, "*A propos de Abū'l-'Alā' al-Ma'arrī; Modeste essai de restitution.*" Most general works on the history of Arabic literature contain some statement on the "free-thinking" verses of the blind poet and man of letters, but it is not generally recognized that many of these statements are little more than summaries of what Alfred von Kremer wrote in a now famous article in the *Sitzungsberichte* of the Vienna Academy for 1889, and the translations he published in vols. 29, 30, 31 and 38 of the *ZDMG*. While not wishing to deny that Abū'l-'Alā' was a free-thinker in Islam, M. Bercher wishes to draw attention to the fact that von Kremer's translations, on which much of his judgment as to the ideas of the poet were based, are highly imaginative and even in places fantastic. To illustrate this he prints some of the verses with a literal translation in French and discusses in the footnotes the way they are rendered by von Kremer. To this are added some texts and translations from the various works of the poet, which, it is suggested, will in a measure make restitution for the misapprehensions based on von Kremer's work.

ARTHUR JEFFERY

Sabang to Balikpapan, The Netherlands Indies. By Alexander McLeish. World Dominion Press, London and New York. pp. 52. 1/6; 75 cents.

Alexander McLeish has proved his extraordinary skill as writer of missionary surveys in this slim volume on Netherlands Indies. Written after a prolonged visit in 1938, subsequent to the Madras Conference and prior to the Japanese invasion and defeat, the booklet is, nevertheless, the best account available in English of this vast area which includes a Moslem population of over sixty millions. Nearly eighty-six percent of the population of Sumatra are Moslem while Java with its forty-one million people is almost wholly Moslem.

Islam has found entrance, not only in Borneo and Celebes, but even in Bali Island. The statistics given speak eloquently of the great need for more workers on the part of all the Societies, especially now that a new situation has arisen with grave problems for the Churches

and the thousands of Moslem converts. Every one working in the Near East and in North Africa will be astonished at the fruitfulness of this Moslem field and the methods used in winning converts. There are accounts of apostolic heroism and apostolic endurance among the Bataks which prove, as the author says, that "it is untrue to say that the Moslems cannot be converted. The experience of quite a number of fields—Iran, India, China and Java itself disproves that. But the task is a slow one and has to contend with many quite exceptional difficulties."

In Java alone the Protestant churches count over 80,000 converts from Islam and there are Christians of the third generation in the other islands while the native Christian population, Catholic and Protestant, of the Netherlands East Indies is placed at 2,219,396. Yet this is only "four and one half percent of the total population of those areas where work is permitted." In northern Sumatra among the Achenese the government still disallowed work in 1940. We quote the author's conclusions:

"Taking the Islands as a whole the most encouraging fact has been the recent and rapid growth in the number of independent indigenous Churches which have been noted throughout these pages. One weakness continually pointed out was the dearth of trained leadership, but in so young a Church this can yet be remedied. The widespread illiteracy, in which the Christian community shares, makes the use of literature difficult, although the Bible is available in all the chief languages. At the best the supply of literature for the upbuilding of the Church is quite inadequate. The educated and upper classes are still largely outside the Christian Church and a new effort is needed if they are to be reached. Above all, Islam is still advancing and claiming converts at a greater rate than the Christian Church. Both appeal to the pagan population and it is likely that before long Christianity and Islam will confront each other throughout the islands. There has been no census since 1930 but an up-to-date estimate gives a population of 70,000,000, in which there are about 57,000,000 Moslems. The remaining 12,000,000 are made up of about 7,000,000 pagans, 1,500,000 Hindus, 1,500,000 Chinese, 2,500,000 Christians including the 250,000 Dutch, as well as 100,000 Indians and other Easterners. It is clear that in the race between Islam and Christianity the final result will greatly favour Islam. As has been recently pointed out: 'Islam never proves in practice a preparation for Christianity, but rather the most baffling obstacle to its spread; the missionary task of the future promises to be more difficult than ever.' Nevertheless, greater numbers of Moslems have joined the Christian Church in this area than in any other part of the world."

The author brought to me happy memories of my visit to Java and Sumatra in 1925 and his visit must have been a blessing to the scattered mission workers. Here is a book literally worth its weight in gold to all who pray for the evangelization of the world of Islam. It strengthens one's faith and hope and (remembering the recent martyrs of Java) one's love for the great unfinished task.

S. M. ZWEMER

Ta'rikh al-Islam. By Hasan Ibrāhīm Hasan, 2 Vols. (Cairo, Hijāzi Press and al-ʿItimād Press, 1935, 1945), pp. 660, 368.

In the first of these two volumes the author, professor of Islamic history and former dean of the Faculty of Arts at Fu'ad I University, Cairo, sketches the life of the Arabs before Islam, the mission of the Prophet and the achievements of the Orthodox and Umayyad caliphs with emphasis on the political development. In the second volume he takes up the religious, cultural and social aspects of life under the first 'Abbāsids (A.D. 750-847). The material is fairly well classified, the paragraphs are provided with headings and the book is documented and provided with a table of contents, indices and a couple of maps.

The book is undoubtedly an improvement on earlier works of its kind produced in the Arab East. The author had his higher education in the University of London, whence he received his doctorate, and what he has produced represents the transitional stage in which present-day Arabic historiography finds itself. Even the style used does not seem to have freed itself entirely from the traditional style, in which a favorite procedure is piling up synonymous phrases and in which clichés and poetical quotations are abundantly employed. In one case (vol. II, pp. 61-2) a poem of twenty-one verses is quoted *en toto* and is immediately followed by another of twelve verses. Lengthy prose quotations are also frequent (see, e.g., vol. II, pp. 78-80).

In his treatment of the rise of Islam Dr. Hasan takes issue in several places with Nöldeke, Margoliouth, Muir and other Orientalists and scores some good points. In other places, however, he documents his data with references to such outdated and uncritical writers on Islam as le Bon, Sédillot and de Perceval. Washington Irving could not be considered an authority on the lives of the successors of Muḥammad and even Gibbon had no first-hand knowledge of Turkish history. The word of a late authority like al-Suyūṭi carries no weight when dealing with such an early event as the life of Hārūn al-Rashīd (vol. II, p. 57). Several Arabic sources, for instance al-Ṭabari, were used in their uncritical editions. Often the reader wishes the author took a more definite stand when quoting several contradictory sources or opinions as in the case of the different etymologies given for the name of Baghdād and that of Sāmarra (vol. I, pp. 273, 286-7). The reviewer, who once projected a new etymology for the word tennis (from Tinnīs, the Egyptian city) was especially interested in the reference to this game (vol. II, p. 324) but doubts whether—even if this were the game—it was played in anything like the form in which it is played today.

The proof reading has been very well done except for the European names in Roman characters, many of which were misspelled.

We hope that Professor Hasan will be able to complete his history, that the book will go through many editions, with each of them an improvement on the earlier, and that it will serve its purpose in stimulating the interest of the Arabic-speaking students in their rich historical and literary heritage.

PHILIP K. HITTI

The Kabyle People: By Glora M. Wysner, Ph. D. Privately Printed 1945. To be obtained from Dr. Wysner, 150 Fifth Avenue, New York 11, New York. Cloth binding only. 223 pages. Price \$2.50.

The purpose of this book is to describe the life and customs of the Kabyle people of Algeria, North Africa, as fully as available evidence permits, in order to make the approach to this little known group more effective.

The relative isolation of the people, in a mountainous region, has protected them from some of the changes which contact with contrasting cultures would inevitably have produced.

Little has been written about this group, and not much detailed research has been recorded. Such evidence as has been established indicates considerable antiquity, but even so, the direct relation to other well-known racial, linguistic and national groups, cannot be asserted with confidence beyond the fact that they belong to the Berber stock, and the derivation of this group has not yet been satisfactorily established.

The survival of quite primitive characteristics, in spite of invasion and temporary conquest, suggest a stability and persistence which would argue a solidarity due partly to an ancient tradition and partly to a determined character in the people themselves. Their independence and sense of individual value are worthy of remark. These features are to be found in the partial acceptance of Muslim tenets and the repudiation of some social codes; in the fixity of community life, and in the limited regulation of the life of the individual.

An examination of the social, political, economic and religious life of the Kabyles is recorded in detail in this account, and gives an insight into the manners and customs, as well as the psychology, of an ethnic group which has acquired significance by reason of the new international contacts emerging from the interdependence developed during the war. In the current study of problems related to dependent, or non-self-governing peoples it is important to have this description of one noteworthy group in North Africa whose place in the new political arrangements can now be analysed in some detail.

The material in this book has been carefully prepared, after painstaking research, by a competent observer. Dr. Wysner is to be congratulated on the timely appearance of this satisfactory study, which fills a gap in our knowledge at a time when it is much needed.

The Kabyle People is recommended to the attention of all who would wish to become informed on the type of problems which must be solved in the process of developing the working basis of the United Nations.

AGNES C. L. DONOHUGH

*Kennedy School of Missions,
Hartford, Conn.*

The River Jordan: being an Illustrated Account of the Earth's most storied River. By Nelson Glueck. The Westminster Press, Philadelphia, 1946. 8vo. xvi, 268 pp. with a map and 113 illustrations. \$3.50.

This is a remarkable book by a remarkable person. Dr. Glueck is the Director of the American School of Oriental Research at Jerusalem, and has been for years engaged in the archaeological survey of

the Transjordan region. This survey, whose preliminary reports from time to time are documents eagerly awaited by the specialist, has meant a great deal of journeying to and fro along the whole Jordan valley. On either side are the numerous sites of places once famous in Biblical history, and sites where Stone Age man dwelt long before the times of the Bible story. It was the journeying among these ruined reminders of the ancient past that gave birth to the idea of writing a book that would describe the Jordan Valley from its beginnings up around Mount Hermon, down to where it pours its waters into the depression of the Dead Sea, and at the same time tell something of the history in which this valley has been involved. This he has succeeded in doing in an unusually interesting way, and has made the book unique by the wealth of illustrations, particularly the pictures taken from the air, which enable the reader really to live the story of the valley as it unfolds from the age of the primitive elephant-hunters to the times of Jesus and the disciples. If there is one defect in the book it is that it stops too soon in its span of history, and has all too little to say of the place this Jordan Valley played in the Byzantine period and in the history of Islam in this area.

The Jordan is quite peculiar in the way it has become involved in the religious literature of varied peoples. Its place in Israelitish history, in the ministry of John the Baptist, in the Gospel story, is of course, obvious, but it has had a quite extraordinary place in the hymnology of the Church, both Eastern and Western, so that it has become a religious symbol. It has an equally prominent place in the religion of the Mandaean, in spite of recent attempts by Lady Drower to prove that the *Yardna* of those texts is not the river of Palestine. It also appears in the eschatological texts of Islam as a symbolic river. Thus in three different religions appears the old idea of a heavenly prototype, a heavenly Jordan corresponding to the earthly river of history.

Perhaps the claim that this is "Earth's most storied River" is somewhat of an exaggeration, for one can think of the Ganges, which is equally bound up with the long religious life of an important people, and whose place in Indian story would be, if we followed it from its source to its outlet in Bengal, involved in even more various and more colorful religious movements than that of the Jordan. To our Western tradition, however, the Jordan means more than the Ganges, and its story will have an appeal to a far greater range of readers than that of any other river. G. MacCreagh in his *White Waters and Black* in 1926 wrote a minute and colorful description of the great Amazon and its tributaries. Emil Ludwig in 1935 published his florid and often highly inaccurate account of the Nile, *Der Nil: Lebenslauf eines Stromes*, which is a contribution to literature rather than to history. This account of the Jordan combines the human interest of MacCreagh's story and the literary appeal of Ludwig's book with the accurate scholarship of a professional archaeologist. Thus it is a book which can be enjoyed by the general reader who is interested mainly in the fascinating story of the centuries of history through which this river has moved, and the description of modern conditions of life on its banks, and can also be used with confidence by the minister or teacher, who can make use of the rich store of material it provides, assured of its accuracy and pertinence.

In places Dr. Glueck lets us live with the Bedouin and the semi-nomads who still dwell near its banks. In places he lets us share with him in the task of the archaeological survey and the process of the identification of ancient Biblical sites. In places he lets us hear him interpreting Scripture from the data visible on the spot, giving a new significance to the words of a prophet, or a better understanding of a passage of Biblical history. At times he lets us look with him down the long vistas of history to see a place as it must have been when the world was very young, and men were beginning to form their earliest settlements for stable habitation. The book is thus the happiest combination of accurate scholarship with popular presentation, and should prove to be a book that will considerably stimulate Biblical study.

The illustrations to the book are perhaps even more important than the text in some respects. They have been well selected, so as to illustrate not only the physical aspects of the river at various stages of its course, and the sites of historical interest situated along its banks, but also the various religions that have been prominent within its reach—the niches of Pan in the cliff faces at Banias, the Temple of Zeus and of Artemis at Gerasa, a serpent jar from Beth Shan, a shell-eyed head from the neolithic cult centre at Jericho, an Atargatis as grain goddess from Khirbet Tannur, a Zeus-Hadad head from the Nabataean syncretism, a mosaic from an ancient synagogue, and another from a Byzantine Church, and a picture of the Muhammadan shrine of Nebi Musa. Nothing could more forcefully illustrate how closely this region has been associated with man's religious life from the Stone Age to the Atomic age. Care has also been taken in these illustrations to bring out the influences from abroad, Egyptian and other, which have had their part to play in the development, not only of the political life, but also the cultural and spiritual life of the Jordan Valley.

One could have wished for more maps and plans, but in the face of such a feast of good things as this volume provides, complaint is perhaps out of place. The printing and production of the book have been excellently done by the Westminster Press, and add to our debt to them for fine publishing of aids to the Bible student.

ARTHUR JEFFERY

Columbia University

- † **Heirs of The Prophets:** An account of the Clergy and Religious Leaders in Islam. By Samuel M. Zwemer. The Moody Press, Chicago. 144 pp. Illustrated. \$2.

This volume culminates a long-sustained investigation of Islam, resolutely undertaken through several decades, and occupying many monographs. The author, Dr. Samuel M. Zwemer, veteran missionary and founder-editor of the *Moslem World Quarterly*, develops here still another phase of the subject to which he has devoted an entire lifetime. Reminiscent of his former writings, the present treatise—also a tribute to his extensive travels and wide reading—is brought to focus under the spell of a pen that refuses to grow dull, and a spirit whose vitality only grows stronger with the passing years.

The new phase to which Dr. Zwemer addresses himself relates to the "churchly" qualities of Mohammedanism, and the priestly func-

tions of its official representatives. Suggested by a passage in "Islam—Beliefs and Institutions" by the late Henri Lammens, S. J., the title of this book refers to an old Moslem tradition which describes the religious doctors of the faith as "heirs of the prophets."

The central thesis of the work under review is riveted to the "heirs of the prophets." As a thesis it will be provocative to the Moslem reader as well as the Orientalist. For the standard Islamic dictum, "There is no monkery in Islam," has been generally endorsed by Western research which finds among the people of Allah no central see or ecclesia, no ordained clergy or sacerdotalism, and no apostolic succession or sacrificing priesthood.

Dr. Zwemer does not, however, approach his task without the aid of subtle evidence and sound reason. He states, with Massignon, that Islamic antipathy towards monks and priests is of relatively late origin. To this way of thinking, the oldest exegesis and tradition, indeed the Koran itself, praised monasticism as a divine institution. As a totalitarian system, moreover, Islam could not enforce its edicts without the clerical instrumentality. The book's fourteen chapters constitute a detailed exposition of this one theme. Included in them the author presents the pre-Islamic background, the whole mosque personnel, the influence of the modern clergy and saints and the power exercised by the conclave of divines at al-Azhar—oldest theological seminary.

Never having evolved an institution quite like the clergy of Christendom, Islam—so runs the argument—has always had leaders in public worship, preachers, theologians, masters of canon-law, hereditary saints and holy men. If only because of the honor they evoke, their prestige in public matters, their special functions and the fact that their support comes from religious funds, these men, it is argued, answer to our conception of ministers of religion. Recognized by Snouck Hurgronje as spiritual legists who wield extraordinary authority, they are an object of special interest to all concerned with the Moslem East.

EDWARD J. JURJI

Princeton Theological Seminary

Papers on Palestine: A Collection of Statements, Articles, and Letters Dealing with the Palestine Problem. pp. 54. 1945. Arabic-Speaking Americans. pp. 29; 50 cents. 1946.

These pamphlets and a *Monthly Bulletin* are publications of the Institute of Arab American Affairs, Inc., 160 Broadway, New York City. The Institute was organized in 1944. Its executive director is Dr. Khalil Totah, formerly principal of the Friends' School at Ramallah, Palestine. Formation of the Arab Federation, entrance of the Arab nations into the United Nations Organization, and the acute situation in Palestine all make these publications very timely.

The first pamphlet contains eleven papers, including three which report testimony given in February, 1944, before the Committee on

Foreign Affairs of the House of Representatives; a reprint of an article by Dr. Hocking of Harvard University on "Arab Nationalism and Political Zionism"; and a reprint from the *Fortnightly Review* (December, 1944) of a thoroughly documented article on "The Palestine Mandate," by Sir John Hope Simpson, appointed by the British Government in 1930 to report on Immigration and Land Settlement in Palestine.

The second pamphlet describes the rise and development of the Arabic-speaking communities in the United States, and the contributions they have made to American life. The majority of these people are Lebanese Christians, who have come to this country since 1880. From 1899 to 1919 about five thousand individuals, on the average, were admitted each year. They began as peddlers of notions, mementoes from the Holy Land, and lace and needlework, but in this pamphlet over one hundred individuals who have become important in business and professional life receive brief mention.

Both pamphlets and the *Monthly Bulletin* may be obtained from the office of the Institute.

J. E. M.

Toukan, Baha Uddin: *A Short History of Trans-Jordan*. London, 1945. pp. 49.

An introductory paragraph by His Royal Highness the Ameer Abdullah presents this booklet as the description of Trans-Jordan which is officially acceptable. A brief history of the country from Biblical time onward is followed by a few paragraphs regarding the present government and the people. The earlier periods, especially the Biblical, are set forth uncritically; some reference to Dr. Nelson Glueck's recent archeological studies is needed to make this part of the pamphlet more accurate. Some interesting typographical errors put a little yeast into four thousand years of closely packed historical information!

Every traveler in the land east of the Jordan should make room for a copy of this book in his pocket. It contains the information that is needed to make such a journey doubly attractive.

MOSES BAILEY

*Hartford Theological Seminary,
Hartford, Conn.*

Presentation Volume to William Barron Stevenson (*Studia Semitica et Orientalia*, Vol. II). Edited by C. J. Mullo Weir, Glasgow, Glasgow University Oriental Society, 1945. Frontispiece and pp. 140. 21s.

This volume in honor of W. B. Stevenson, D. Litt., D.D., LL.D., Emeritus-Professor of Hebrew and Semitic Languages, University of Glasgow, contains six studies of Hebrew, Syriac, Arabic and Hurrian subjects, together with a catalogue of the Oriental MSS. in the Library of the University of Glasgow and a Bibliography of the published writings of Dr. Stevenson.

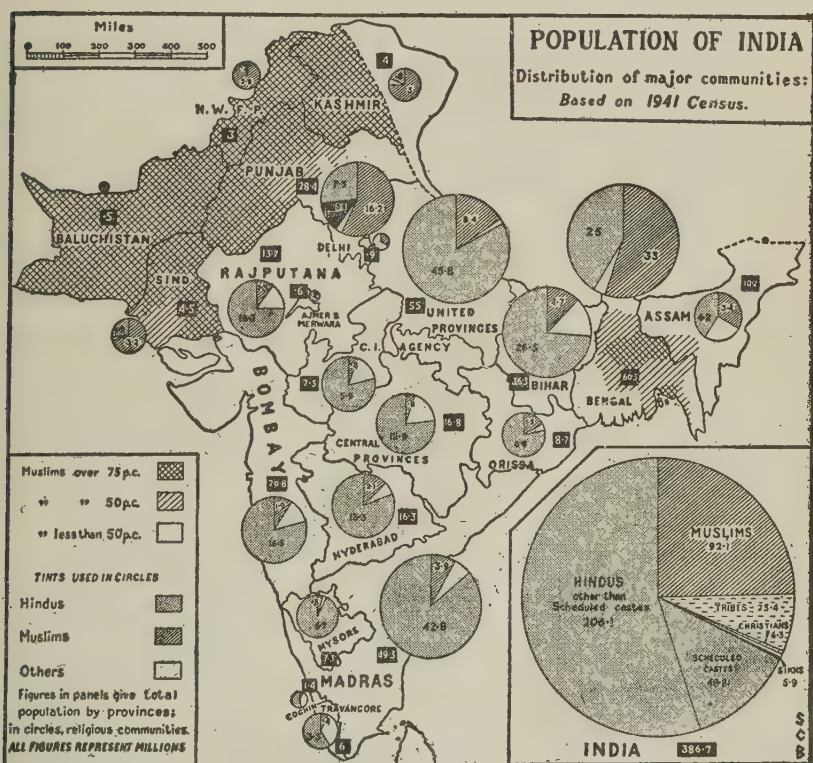
The careful article by Prof. Richard Bell on "Muhammad's Knowledge of the Old Testament" will have special interest and value for our readers.

E. E. C.

CURRENT TOPICS

India—A Complex of Races and Religions

Under this title the *Sunday Statesman* of India (Dec. 2, 1945) tells of India's population of nearly 387 million spread over an area of one and a half million square miles, and calls attention to the major and smaller minorities in a chart which is here reproduced. The figures are from the census of 1941 and stand for millions; those in square panels give total population of provinces; those in circles, religious communities.



The area of the circle is proportionate to the total population of the province and the sectors are proportionate to the various communities they represent. A sector showing the strength of the Sikhs is shown in Punjab.

A large circle has been drawn separately for the whole of India. In it sectors have been drawn to show Hindus, Scheduled Castes, Muslims, Tribes, Christians and Sikhs.

Three tints have been used to show areas predominantly Muslim,

where they are over 75% (cross hatches), where they are between 50% and 75% (linear shading) and where they are less than 50% (blank). The tints clearly bring out the fact that a special concentration of Muslims occurs in the North-West and the North-East—in the Punjab, North-West Frontier Province, Baluchistan, Sind, Bengal and Assam. It also shows that Muslims are in a minority in the South-East Punjab where Sikhs predominate, in South-West Bengal and a major portion of Assam. Though Baluchistan is a big Muslim area, its population is very small, for it is a stony desert.

Pakistan, as defined by Mr. Jinnah,—Bengal, Assam, Punjab, N.W.F.P., Baluchistan and Sind—has an area of 305,000 square miles which is about 1/5th (19%) of the total area of India but over 1/3rd (35%) of the total area of the Provinces. The total population of this area is 107 million which is 28% of the total population of India but 36% of that of the Provinces.

Various tribes as a whole form the third largest community in India. The total number of Christians is greater than the Sikhs, but the latter are concentrated in a small area in South-East Punjab, while the former are scattered all over India.

Jews and Parsees, Jains and Buddhists form very small communities, though some of them, specially the Jains and Parsees are very much advanced and have produced some prominent personalities of India.

The Missing Note in Missions

There is a missing note in a great deal of present-day missionary literature. For the most part, we are treated to the whole scale of its music. And how lovely to the ear are the songs that tell of Zion's advances! Under the theme of missions we are informed of the customs and beliefs of the pagan religions. The interesting travels of the missionaries and their unique experiences are headline news. The program of mercy to the masses of those in physical suffering comes in for its just share of attention. And about the pre-eminent note in our day is that the Christian missionary enterprise lies at the heart of our ideals of democracy and freedom, and our hope for peace and international order. And while we insist that this is true, we know that the Gospel is far more than a means to even such ends as democracy, peace and freedom. St. Paul did not journey from Jerusalem to Rome to promote democracy, or even human freedom. He traveled under the dynamic of a life-changing experience and a Divine commission to "open their eyes, and to turn them from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan unto God, that they may receive forgiveness of sins, and inheritance among them which are sanctified by faith that is in me."

And that is the missing note in missions. It sees beyond the interesting travel experiences of the missionary to the reason why he is traveling at all. It is not so much interested in the customs and beliefs as in the message which all men need. It is only very incidentally concerned with changing customs, but mightily concerned with changing hearts. Its purpose is not to transport western culture or modes of thinking, but to confront men with Christ and His way of salvation and of living. It deals with the fundamental why and where-

fore of the missionary program. We believe that a resurgence and revitalization of the Missionary Program in this age waits for a re-emphasis upon this missing note.

—Editorial in *The Church Herald*

Oil in the Middle East

We call the attention of our readers to an article with this title in the *Journal of the Royal Central Asia Society* given as a lecture (July, 1945) by G. M. Lees, M.C., Ph.D. It includes maps, a diagram and statistics, together with a brief history of the exploitation of oil in Arabia and Iraq. The most important fields are in Saudi Arabia and on Bahrein Island. Concerning these he writes:

"Concessionary rights over the whole of the easterly part of Ibn Saud's territory is held by the Arabian-American Oil Company, jointly owned by the Standard Oil Company of California and the Texas Corporation. Oil production up to the present has been drawn from one oilfield—namely, Dammam—but two other fields, Abqaiq and Qatif, will shortly be developed to the productive state. A small refinery has been operating at Ras al Tanura, but the bulk of the crude produced, about 2 million tons per year, has so far been delivered to the Bahrein refinery. A large new refinery, with a capacity of $2\frac{1}{2}$ million tons per year, is at present under construction at Ras al Tanura. A pipeline route from this group of fields to the Mediterranean has already been surveyed, and doubtless the line will be constructed within the next few years.

"The Bahrein Petroleum Company (Canadian registered) holds a concession purchased from the original British concessionaire company. It is owned jointly by the Standard Oil Company of California and the Texas Corporation. A refinery on Bahrein Island treats both the crude oil from the Dukhan oilfield in the island and also crude oil from the Dammam field on the adjacent Arabian mainland, with which it is connected by pipeline. The Bahrein field has already produced $9\frac{1}{2}$ million tons, but its reserves are not expected to be on a scale comparable with those of the Arabian mainland. Its current production is about 1 million tons per year.

"The effect of this great industrial enterprise on the countries of the Middle East cannot be exaggerated. In addition to the great sums received as royalties, the benefits to the general welfare by reason of large-scale employment have been very great. A large-scale demand for skilled technicians, artisans and labour has been created, with all the concomitant advantage of greater opportunities and improved standards of life. As the supply of educated nationals of the countries concerned increases, so will their share in the development of their national resources.

"The Middle East oil province contains reserves on a scale which places it perhaps first among the petroliferous areas of the world, and its relative importance will increase in the years to come as other oil-bearing areas, notably those in the United States of America, gradually pass into a decline. This great oil wealth is shared between Persia, Iraq, Koweit, Saudi Arabia, Bahrein and Egypt, and future discoveries are possible in the Shaikhdoms of the Trucial Coast, Oman, Syria, Palestine and Transjordan. Existing concessions are held by

oil companies of British, American, French and Dutch nationality; in other words, the United Nations are well represented, and we are justified in looking forward to a harmonious and equitable development of this great oil wealth."

The Drug-Habit of Qat in Yemen

Every traveller in Yemen, even those who have only been as far inland as the suburbs of Aden have been astonished at the strange custom of eating the leaves of a shrub called *Qat* by the elders of the people at the sunset hour, and the enormous sums of money paid for this luxury. Harold Ingrams, describing a recent journey in South West Arabia, tells what he saw at Sana'a on the way to Mocha:

"About eleven, a particularly evil cacophony of trumpets announced to the world that His Royal Highness was about to sally forth, and shortly afterwards he did. He walked at a great speed in the midst of a crowd of soldiers, sycophants, notables, and government officials, with an umbrella held over his head, and the procession, several hundreds strong, soon disappeared in the distance. I was rather impressed by this ceremonial royal progress, and imagined that His Royal Highness was making for some well-known tree to dispense open-air justice. When I learnt this was not so, I still thought that he believed in keeping fit. But not a bit of it. I learnt that this was a daily performance and that the procession tears along the road for about three miles. Horses follow, and about a couple of hours later the procession returns, H.R.H. usually on horseback or in a car, and the rest in different degrees of exhaustion. The avowed purpose of this daily marathon is simply to get up a thirst. Down at lower altitudes nature provides you with a perpetual thirst, but in the mountain air it needs exercise to stimulate it. But why should a teetotal people want a thirst? The answer is, for their daily qat parties. Qat, as you probably know, is a shrub which produces a drug which has peculiar effects, and much of the Yemen and Ethiopia is addicted to it. But you cannot do real justice to qat unless you have an absolutely first-class thirst. The professional qat-eater eschews coffee, tea and any drink except water during his daily bout, but of water he drinks continuously.

"From enquiries made, I learnt that everybody who is anybody (with very few exceptions) in the Yemen eats qat. It seemed strange if this were so amongst the agricultural classes, who are hard-working folk, and I was told that most of them do not eat it, but that if they do acquire the habit it usually results in their ruin.

"It is therefore principally a habit of the towns, and its use means that very little real work is done in them from, say, noon onwards. Qat-eating is a convivial habit. In our house at Sana'a the staff and the soldiers started about then and by five o'clock their rooms looked like goat-sheds—strewn with fodder. The qat addict at the height of his bout claims to feel a superman; he says it clears his head and that he can then settle every problem."

Objection to Western Hair-cut

A correspondent from the provinces writes in perplexity regarding the religious propriety of modern hair-cutting, and receives this reply from *The Light*, Lahore:

"Islam addresses itself to the heart of man and that is the thing that really matters. The Maulvis and Maulanas that you speak of don't bother much about that vital thing and make the external forms and formalities all in all. Heart is the nerve-centre of life in man and according to a saying of the Prophet if we take care of the heart the rest of the body will take care of itself. Like the Jewish Scribes and Pharisees of old whom the Quran likens to asses laden with a load of books on theology, most of our *ulama* put all the emphasis on outer forms.

"The form, even where prescribed, is of secondary importance. Maulana Husain Ahmad Madani, for instance, has about him all the paraphernalia of a flowing beard, a long robe, an inspiring turban and a long-drawn pious-posing face. Mr. Jinnah is a clean-shaven man, spic and span in the best of western cut of dress and yet we all know the world of difference that there is between the two, so far as understanding of the spirit of Islam and Islamic strength of character are concerned. Mr. Jinnah is fighting against heavy odds in defence of Islam, whereas the Maulana is playing into the hands of those who are out to submerge Islam in this country and if possible eliminate it as a vital force."

✱ Reynold Alleyne Nicholson, M.A., Litt.D., ✱
Hon. LL.D.(Aberdeen). F.B.A.

Few men of our time, even amongst scholars, have held so high a position in their profession so unassumingly and with such avoidance of publicity as R. A. Nicholson. From the publication of his first book, the selections from the *Divan-i Shamsi Tabriz* of the great Persian mystical poet Rumi, in 1908, he was recognized as a man of mark in Oriental scholarship. With this achievement he took his natural place in the brilliant group of Orientalists which adorned Cambridge in the first quarter of this century, being linked more especially with E. G. Browne in a partnership which was as harmonious and fruitful as has seldom been equalled. Although Nicholson was, in the academic hierarchy, the junior partner, and his personality was, in the eyes of the outer world, overshadowed by the more active and public figure of E. G. Browne, his colleagues were well aware both of his influence in the partnership and of the scholarly contribution which he made to it. The broader, warmer and more worldly understanding of the elder man was admirably matched with the deeper and more ascetic concentration of the younger.

That the depth and concentration which marked his work were in no way associated with narrowness of vision was demonstrated by the one essay he devoted to his subject on a more universal scale. The publication of the *Literary History of the Arabs* in 1907 conclusively established his reputation amongst a wider circle of scholars and men of letters. The book is not only a masterly survey of its subject, presenting lucidly and without sense of effort the results of research by many hands, and graced by many examples of his poetic sensibility. More than that, it is essentially an interpretation, an appreciation of what Arabic literature meant to its writer. Yet the scholarly grace and poise of the book, coupled with his refusal to load it with merely

factual information, were amongst the reasons which have hindered it from receiving its full deserts outside the circle of English readers, and especially in those places of useful learning where they like their textbooks to be well stuffed with the minor as well as the major details of facts, names and dates.

The last twenty years of his life were given up to the great masterpiece of Persian Sufism, the *Methnawi* of Rumi, his edition of which, with its translation and annotation, will probably endure for many generations as his chief monument.

—From *Royal Central Asian Journal*

✱ Leonidas Stanislas Bogdanov 1881-1945 ✱

After a long illness, L. Bogdanov died in Kabul, Afghanistan, November last. A remarkable linguist, he was frequently consulted by Persian, Afghan, and Indian scholars on questions relating to the Persian language and literature. He was a recognized authority on the Persian dialects of Afghanistan and India.

He studied in St. Petersburg under the brilliant faculty gathered there at the beginning of our century. A lecturer in Persian before the first World War, at the time of the revolution he was in Enzeli, Iran, and a short time later consul at the Russian legation in Teheran. He went to India, and for several years was professor of Persian at Rabindranath Tagore's University at Santiniketan, Bengal. He was one of the first Europeans to reside in Afghanistan after its entry into the family of nations. He was an interpreter in the French Legation in Kabul 1923-7, after which time he returned to Tagore's University. In 1932 he was naturalized a French citizen and changed his name to Dugin. He was a lecturer in Persian in Calcutta University 1932-41. From 1941 till the time of his death he was acting consular attaché in the French Legation, Kabul, Afghanistan.

M. Bogdanov is best known for his edition of the *Tūṭī Nāme*, Persian text, Paris 1927; *Les Contes du Perroquet*, trans., Paris 1938, and his various works on Afghanistan. The most significant of these was his, "Stray Notes on Kabuli Persian," *JRASB*, 26, 1930, 1-124. He collaborated with W. Barthold in his "Historico-Geographical Description of Iran" (in Russian), and in 1909 published a book on modern Iran (in Russian), St. Petersburg, 146 p. Numerous translations from German and Russian Orientalia have appeared in the *Journal of the K. R. Cama Oriental Institute*, Bombay, and *Islamic Culture*, Hyderabad. His last publication was "The Kashfu-l-Mahjub of Abu-l-Hasan Ali al-Jullabi," *JRASB*, 8, 1942, 315-79. At the time of his death he was working on an edition of the works of Shams al-Dīn Tabrizī. Persian Studies have lost a capable and understanding scholar by his death.

RICHARD N. FRYE

Harvard University

SURVEY OF PERIODICALS

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I. GENERAL

ABSTRACTA ISLAMICA: Septième Série. (In *Revue des Études Islamiques*, Paris. Année, 1940, Cahiers 3-4. pp. 1-147).

Covers a wide range of subjects such as history, literature, the fine arts and archaeology, politics, economics, anthropology, etc.

L'ACADÉMIE AFGHANE ET SES PUBLICATIONS. Henri Massé. (In *Revue des Études Islamiques*, Paris. Année 1939, Cashier 2. pp. 179-199).

The Academy fosters studies in history and literature for the preservation and encouragement of Pushtu.

THE MUSIC OF THE "ARABIAN NIGHTS." Henry George Farmer. (In *The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, London. Parts 1-2, 1945. pp. 39-60).

Continues an article begun in the October, 1944, issue. This part deals with the musical instruments and the actual composition.

LES "PIERRES TATOUÉES" DU SUD-OUEST MAROCAIN. Vincent Monteil. (In *Revue des Études Islamiques*, Paris. Année 1940, Cahiers 1-2. pp. 1-26).

Describes prehistoric finds at Azrou-Klân, Ouday-Sfa, Assa, Tiderdar and Mou-Louchâm. Illustrated by photographs and drawings.

II. ARABIA

A JOURNEY IN THE YEMEN. Harold Ingrams. (In the *Royal Central Asian Journal*, London. January, 1946. pp. 58-69).

An account of towns visited and people encountered during a "good will" trip through Southern Arabia.

LINGUISTIC OBSERVATIONS ON A NATIVE YEMENITE DOCUMENT. Dr. Wolf Leslau. (In *The Jewish Quarterly Review*, Philadelphia. January, 1946. 261-279).

A study of "An account of Joseph Halévy's journey to Najran in the year 1870," written by his guide, Hayyim Habshush, and edited by S. A. Goitein in 1941.

THREE NEW INSCRIPTIONS FROM HADHRAMAUT. H. St. J. B. Philby. (In the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, London. Parts 3-4. 1945. pp. 124-133).

Defines, translates and dates (115-175 B.C.) discoveries copied by Mr. Harold Ingrams in 1939.

III. HISTORY OF ISLAM

AN ARAB STATE AT THE DAWN OF HISTORY. Peter Bruce Cornwall. (In *The Arab World*, New York. Vol. 1, no. 4, 1945. pp. 27-33).

Tells the story of Dilmun (modern Bahrein) gleaned from cuneiform inscriptions and from excavations of tumuli.

ÉTUDE SUR UN TEXTE LATIN ÉNUMÉRANT LES POSSESSIONS MUSULMANES DANS LA ROYAUME DE JÉRUSALEM VERS L'ANNÉE 1239. Paul Deschamps. (In *Syria*, Paris. Tome 22, fascicule 1-2, 1942-1943. pp. 86-104).

A comparison of two Latin manuscripts of the 13th and 15th centuries respectively, with a Provençal translation of the 14th century.

LES INSCRIPTIONS ARABES DE LA MOSQUÉE DE BOSRA. Jean Sauvaget. (In *Syria*, Paris. Tome 22, fascicule 1, 1941. pp. 53-65).

Architectural restorations in the "Grande Mosquée" have afforded opportunity for epigraphic studies which trace the history of the building from 721 to 1221 A.D.

IV. KORAN. TRADITION. THEOLOGY

LE CROISSANT COMME EMBLÈME NATIONAL ET RELIGIEUX. Arménag Sakisian. (In *Syria*, Paris. Tome 22, fascicule 1, 1941. pp. 66-80).

An illustrated account of the prevalence of the crescent, or alem, in architecture and painting from the 12th century on, but points out that it was not an object of devotion, never appearing on the interiors of mosques nor in the Korans.

IBN BĀJJAH'S TADBĪRU'L-MUTAWAHHID. D. M. Dunlop. (In the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, London. Parts 1-2, 1945: pp. 61-81).

Arabic text of the "Rule of the Solitary," with an English translation.

THEOLOGY IN THE MAKING. A. S. Tritton. (In the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, London. Parts 1-2, 1945. pp. 82-86).

Extracts from early debates between Muslims and Christians, Jews, Zoroastrians, etc.

A TREATISE ON LOVE. Ibn Sina. (In *Mediaeval Studies*, Toronto. Vol. 7, 1945. pp. 208-228).

A translation by Emil L. Fackenheim accompanied by an introduction and annotations showing the place this work has in the development of the philosophical Arabic doctrines of love.

V. RELIGIOUS AND SOCIAL LIFE

AMERICAN FIGHTERS VISIT BIBLE LANDS. Maynard Owen Williams. (In *The National Geographic Magazine*, Washington, D. C. March, 1946. pp. 311-340).

Tells of G.I. impressions and adventures in the Near East.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF EDUCATION IN TURKEY. K. R. and A. R. Maxwell-Hyslop. (In *The Asiatic Review*, London. January, 1946. pp. 66-73).

Presents an historical survey of the subject from the days of Suleiman the Magnificent to the remarkable achievements of our own time.

MOUNTAIN TRIBES OF IRAN AND IRAQ. Harold Lamb. (In *The National Geographic Magazine*, Washington, D. C. March, 1946. pp. 385-408).

Describes hospitality among the Kurdish sheiks and predicts the opening up of their little-known country.

OIL IN THE MIDDLE EAST. G. M. Lees. (In the *Royal Central Asian Journal*, London. January, 1946. pp. 47-57).

Surveys world oil resources as well as those of the Levant and finds that the United Nations may anticipate a "harmonious and equitable development of this great oil wealth."

RECHERCHES SUR LES DEUX SECTES MUSULMANES DE LOMBOK.

G. H. Bousquet. (In *Revue des Etudes Islamiques*, Paris. Année 1939, Cahier 2. pp. 149-177).

A study made in Bali in 1938 of the Waktou Lima and the Waktou Telous. Illustrated with photographs.

VI. POLITICAL RELATIONSHIPS

ITALY AND THE BEDOUIN IN CYRENAICA. E. E. Evans-Pritchard. (In *African Affairs*, London January, 1946. pp. 12-21).

Despite strenuous efforts at regimentation and the disruption of social and economic life among the natives, Italy was ignored as much as possible by the Bedouin while they tried to pursue their own way of life.

THE KURDISH QUESTION. W. G. Elphinston. (In *International Affairs*, London. January, 1946. pp. 91-103).

Presents the ramifications of the race through the ages, stresses its outstanding individuality and its love of freedom and self-determination as a nation and suggests that assimilation is improbable.

NEAR AND MIDDLE EAST ISSUE. (In *Great Britain and the East*, London. January, 1946. pp. 43-64).

Gives information on Turkey, the Barbary States, Irak, Iran and Kurdistan.

NORTHERN TURKEY AND MEN OF THE WEST. I. E. Iago. (In *The Asiatic Review*, London. January, 1946. pp. 73-75).

Outlines progress the British Council is making in English language studies.

THE OUTLOOK FOR INDIA. T. Vijayaraghovacharya. (In *Asia and the Americas*, New York. January, 1946. pp. 36-39).

Praises Lord Wavell's efforts at Simla and blames Mr. Jinnah and the Moslem League for lack of success in the plan.

THE PALESTINE STATEMENT. Sir J. Hope Simpson. (In *The Fortnightly*, London. January, 1946. pp. 21-27).

Looks forward to the report of the Anglo-American Committee and hopefully suggests that many Jews now in Palestine wish to return to their own countries.

THE WAVELL PLAN AND AFTER. Sir William Barton. (In *The Quarterly Review*, London. January, 1946. pp. 17-29).

Blames both the Congress Party and the Moslem League for lack of constructive foresight for their country which is faced by tremendous post-war social and economic problems.

VII. IRAN

LES AMÉRICAINS EN IRAN. Quentin Reynolds. (In *Revue de Paris*. Paris. Août, 1945. pp. 76-84).

An account of American and Russian soldiers' impressions and encounters with Persia and the Persians.

THE BACKGROUND OF THE RUSSO-PERSIAN DISPUTE. Major G. M. Coombs. (In *The Contemporary Review*, London. March, 1946. pp. 152-155).

Surveys British and Russian interests and rivalries in Iran.

THE NOMADIC TRIBES OF PERSIA TO-DAY. Captain Oliver Garrod. (In the *Royal Central Asian Journal*, London. January, 1946. pp. 32-46).

Dr. Garrod of the Royal Army Medical Corps gives detailed information on the daily life of the Qashqais, the Khamseh, the Boir Ahmedi and the Mamassani tribes.

PERSIA, THE MIDDLE EAST AND RUSSIA. Kenneth Williams. (In *The Contemporary Review*, London. February, 1946. pp. 89-94).

Attributes Russia's conduct to political rather than to economic reasons and partially justifies her attitude in view of past and present treatment accorded the Soviets.

VIII. MISSIONS TO MOSLEMS

BALUCHISTAN. Sir Henry Holland. (In *World Dominion and The World To-day*, London. March-April, 1946. pp. 110-114).

Though Christian converts are few, the ministry of healing has won many hearts.

MOHAMMEDANERMISSION ALS THEOLOGISCHES PROBLEM. E. K. (In *Evangelisches Missions-Magazin*, Basel. Januar, 1946. pp. 7-21).

Points out the necessarily intellectual approach and its corresponding satisfaction in winning conversions.

PIONEER TASK IN THE NEAR EAST. S. A. Morrison. (In *World Dominion and The World To-day*, London. March-April, 1946. pp. 77-82).

The Church should concentrate on these lines of development —1. Government co-operation. 2. Maintaining fewer but better institutions. 3. Use of Christian nationals in administration. 4. Inter-church co-operation. 5. Spiritual revival. 6. A new missionary urge.