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## SIMON PETER'S WITNESS TO FIVE GREAT FACTS OF CHRISTIANITY

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One of the many lovely things in the Epistles of Peter, confirmatory of their authenticity, is their wealth of reminiscence of the days when Jesus was with His disciples in Judea and Galilee. These Epistles illustrate, in this respect, the fulfilment of Jesus' promise of the Holy Spirit and of His conception of the Spirit's mission. When the Spirit was come, said Jesus, He would not speak of Himself. He would speak of Christ and bring back to the memory of the disciples the things which they had heard and seen. The thinking of the primitive church was in terms of the remembrance of Jesus. "Remember," says Paul to the Ephesian elders, "the words of the Lord Jesus." And to Timothy he writes, "Remember Jesus Christ." Whether or not the Gospel of Mark preserves Peter's memories of Jesus, they are certainly preserved in the reminiscences of his Epistles.

And it is significant to note which of all his reminiscences Peter sets first. It is not any well-remembered, special word of Jesus such as the commendation of Peter's confession at Caesarea Philippi. It is not any notable miracle, such as the healing of the sick, the walking on the sea or the feeding of the people. The first thing is the Resurrection: "Blessed be the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, Who according to His great mercy begat us again unto a living hope by the Resurrection of Jesus Christ from the dead." Why did Peter give the Resurrection the first place? For two reasons. The Resurrection had been for him in his own experience the beginning of a new life and a certain hope. And in the second

place, it was the supreme creative principle of the Gospel, filling his mind and his message. To him as to Paul, if Christ had not risen then was his preaching vain and the faith to which he called men was vain. The Church needs to fix priority where the New Testament fixes it. Our traditional theology gives priority to the Crucifixion. The New Testament gives it to the Resurrection. Compare in the concordance the number of times the words "Cross" and "Crucify" occur and then the words "Risen" and "Resurrection." Any true study of the New Testament finds throughout confirmation of Peter's priority. The most startling recent illustration of this is in L. P. Jacks' "Confessions of an Octogenarian" where the leading Unitarian minister of our time acknowledges his discovery of the inadequacy of any naturalistic interpretation of the Gospel. All his life he had accepted the "liberal", critical view of the New Testament, but as an old man he resolved to read it again, "without tinted spectacles" and not in fragments. And what was the result? "The central theme of the New Testament as it emerged before me in the course of this reading is Immortality—not the Immortality of anybody and everybody but of the believer in Christ as risen from the dead. . . . This theme I found presented in form both implicit and explicit. The explicit is presented in the Pauline Epistles, all of which bear more or less directly on the gift of immortality, the passage from death to life bestowed on the believer and on him alone by Christ, declared the Son of God not (as many have said) by the beauty of His life, nor the grandeur of His teaching, nor even by His death on the cross, but by the Resurrection of the dead (Rom. I: 4). The whole of the New Testament seemed to me covered, explained and held together by the saying, 'If Christ be not risen from the dead then is our preaching vain.' Christ the vanquisher of death, the donor of immortality in the virtue of His Resurrection, and proved to be the Son of God by that, and by nothing short of that, is the first form in which the Central Figure appears in the New Testament, chronologically earlier than that in the Gospels, not one of which was in existence when the Epistles which show no knowledge of the Gos-

pel story were written. . . . Eliminate the Resurrection from the dead and you deprive the Gospels one and all, of their *motif* and unifying purpose."

But if the Resurrection comes first, Peter's reminiscences go on at once to Christ's death. He nowhere uses the word "cross" but again and again he recalls those unique and redeeming sufferings of which he says he had been a witness (I. Peter V: 1). "Christ suffered for us, leaving us an example." "When He suffered He threatened not." "Christ hath once suffered for our sins, the just for the unjust." "Christ hath suffered for us in the flesh." "Ye are redeemed not with corruptible things, with silver or gold, but with precious blood, as of a lamb without blemish and without spot, even the blood of Christ." How could Peter ever forget that dark day when it was Simon of Cyrene and not Simon Peter who bore Christ's too heavy cross? Forever after, all the light of Simon's life shines out of the shadow of Calvary and his Second Epistle especially is full of the thought of "our Saviour," "Who His own self bare our sins in His body upon the tree, that we, having died unto sins, might live unto righteousness; by whose stripes ye were healed" (I. Peter II: 24).

Next, now, to the Resurrection and sufferings of Christ, conceived, as by Paul also, in this order (Phil. III: 10), what does Peter remember? Just what we remember when we repeat the Apostles' Creed: "The third day He rose again from the dead and ascended into heaven and sitteth at the right hand of God the Father almighty." So Peter: "through the Resurrection of Jesus Christ, who is on the right hand of God, having gone into heaven, angels and authorities and powers being made subject unto Him" (I. Peter III: 21, 22). Peter is remembering that notable day when "as they were looking, Jesus was taken up and a cloud received Him out of their sight" (Acts I: 9). And doubtless he is recalling the words which he spoke with a new courage and a new liberty on the Day of Pentecost: "Being therefore by the right hand of God exalted, and having received of the Father the promise of the Holy Spirit, He hath poured forth this which ye see and hear" (Acts II: 33). The Ascension filled a vital place in

the theology of Peter and of Paul, and of the writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews. It has dropped too much out of Christian preaching and teaching and the result is the Mariology of the Roman Catholic Church. The human heart longs for a human heart in God, and has this in our Ascended Lord, the one Mediator between God and man, Christ Jesus (I. Tim. II: 5), the High Priest "Who hath passed into the heavens, Jesus the Son of God. For we have not a high priest that cannot be touched with the feeling of our infirmities, but one that hath been in all points tempted like as we are, yet without sin" (Heb. IV: 14, 15). But we have lost this, with our neglect of the Ascension. We never hear a sermon on the Ascension. Our God-Man Mediator is gone and the Roman Church has filled His place with a Mediatrix. Not so with Peter. Neither in his letters nor in his sermons reported in the Book of Acts is Mary mentioned. His Mediator is his ascended Lord.

Just as in much of our Christian thought, though not in Peter's and Paul's, Jesus just vanished after His Resurrection, so too we have lost the fourth great truth standing out in Peter's reminiscences, namely, the truth of our Lord's personal Return. The Ascension and the Return were bound together in Peter's memory. As the cloud received Him out of the sight of the disciples, "While they were looking steadfastly into heaven as He went, behold two men stood by them in white apparel, who also said, Ye men of Galilee, why stand ye looking up into heaven? This same Jesus who was raised up from you into heaven shall so come in like manner as ye beheld Him going into heaven" (Acts I: 10, 11). Peter never forgot this. He looked forward to the proving of the Christian faith and its vindication unto glory and honor at the revelation of Jesus Christ (I. Peter I: 7). "When the Chief Shepherd shall be manifested, ye shall receive the crown of glory" (I Peter V: 4). But here our Christian faith falters. We declare in the Creed that Jesus shall come again but like the Ascension, the Second Coming of Christ is a neglected Christian truth. Not so with Peter and not so with the Apostolic Church.

Here, then, in Peter's Epistles are the five great facts of Christianity: the Incarnation, the Resurrection, the Crucifixion, the Ascension and the Future Return of Christ.

And there are certain days of his life with Christ that live vividly in Peter's memory. One was the day of the Transfiguration, when Jesus took Peter and James and John up into a mountain apart and was transfigured before them so that His very garments became white and glistening, whiter than any fuller could whiten them, and there appeared Moses and Elias, the two great personalities of the Old Testament, and talked with Him. The Evangelists tell us what they talked about but it surpasses our understanding that the disciples should have missed this memorable conversation through sleep, and given us no report of it. But whatever Peter missed, he did not miss the wonder of that hour. "For He received from God the Father honor and glory when there was borne such a voice to Him by the Majestic Glory, This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased: and this voice we ourselves heard borne out of heaven when we were with Him in the holy mount" (II Peter I: 17, 18).

With equal vividness Peter recalls that morning by the Sea of Galilee when he swam ashore for a word with Christ alone and all was made right and the shameful memories of Peter's faltering and cowardice were healed forever (John XXI). As the shadows of the evening gathered about his way he recalled Jesus' words to him as they walked by the sea. "The putting off of my tabernacle cometh swiftly", he said, "even as our Lord Jesus Christ signified unto me" (John XXI: 18, 19). And the very words of Jesus about sheep and lambs and shepherding the flock linger in Peter's mind (I Peter II; 25; V: 2, 4).

And never could Peter forget the Day of Pentecost and its transforming experience, when for the first time he preached the Gospel by the Holy Spirit sent forth from heaven (I. Peter I: 12). Nor could he ever forget the evening in the Upper Room and his conduct that evening, its presumption, its foolish boasting and the amazing gentleness and goodness of Christ. The echoes of that evening resound

in the Epistles, especially in one notable word. "I have left you an example", said Jesus, as He finished washing the disciples' feet, "that ye should do as I have done to you." Never to the day of his death would Peter forget that scene and those words, and he writes years afterwards, "He left us an example that ye should follow His steps" (I Peter II: 21).

What was the example Peter had in mind? First, Jesus' complete and childlike confidence in God and His reverent familiarity with God as His Father. "Jesus knew that the Father had given all things into His hands and that He came from God and went to God" (John XIII: 3). "For the first time in history", wrote the late Principal Cairns, "there appeared on earth One who absolutely trusted the Unseen, who had utter confidence that Love was at the heart of all things, utter confidence also in the absolute power of that Absolute Love and in the Liberty of that Love to help Him."

Second, Jesus' unselfish service of man. "If I then the Lord and the Teacher have washed your feet, ye also ought to wash one another's feet" (John XIII: 14). "He that is the greater among you, let him be as the younger, and he that is chief as he that doth serve. For which is greater, he that sitteth at meat or he that serveth? Is not he that sitteth at meat? But I am in the midst of you as he that serveth."

Third, Jesus' standard of love. "A new commandment I give unto you that ye love one another; even as I have loved you that ye also love one another." This is not the old love—"Thou shalt love thy neighbor *as thyself*." This is a new standard. "God commendeth His love unto us, that while we were yet sinners, Christ died for us."

For three years Peter followed the footsteps of Christ in Palestine and wrote His ways and His words upon his memory. For all the rest of his life he sought to walk in the fulness of his recollection of that glorious past and in the peace and power of Christ's abiding Presence. His epistles are the self-authenticated story of this discipleship.

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## AL HARAMAIN: MECCA AND MEDINA

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It is a rule laid down in the Koran and confirmed by many traditions that the sacred territory enclosing the birth-place and the tomb of the Prophet shall not be polluted by the visits of infidels. "O believers! only those are unclean who join other gods with God! Let them not therefore after this their year come near the Sacred Mosque." (Surah ix. 27). Mohammed is reported to have said of Mecca, "What a splendid city thou art, if I had not been driven out of thee by my tribe I would dwell in no other place but in thee. It is not man but God who has made Mecca sacred. My people will be always safe in this world and the next as long as they respect Mecca." (Mishkat, book XL., ch. xv).

The sacred boundaries of Mecca and Medina not only shut out all unbelievers, but they make special demands of "purity and holiness" (in the Moslem sense) on the part of the true believers. According to tradition it is not lawful to carry weapons or to fight within the limits of the *Haramain*. Its grass and thorns must not be cut nor must its game be molested. Some doctors of law hold that these regulations do not apply to Medina, but others make the burial-place of the Prophet equally sacred with the place of his birth. The boundaries of this sacred territory are rather uncertain. Abd ul Haq says that when, at the time of the rebuilding of the Ka'ba, Abraham, the friend of God, placed the black stone, its east, west, north and south sides became luminous, and wherever the light extended, became the boundaries of the sacred city! These limits are now marked by pillars of masonry, except on the Jiddah and Jairanah road where there is some dispute as to the exact boundary.

The sacred territory of Medina is ten or twelve miles in diameter, from Jebel 'Air to Sa'oor. Outside of these two centers all the province of Hejaz is legally accessible to infi-

dels, but the fanaticism of centuries has made practically the whole region round Mecca and Medina forbidden territory to any but Moslems.

The Sacred Mosque, (Masjid el Harām) containing the Ka'ba or Beit Allah is the prayer-center of the Mohammedan world and the objective point of thousands of pilgrims every year. According to Moslem writers, it was first constructed in heaven, two thousand years before the creation of the world. Adam, the first man, built the Ka'ba on earth exactly under the spot occupied by its perfect model in heaven. The ten thousand angels appointed to guard this house of God seem to have been very remiss in their duty, for it has often suffered at the hands of men and from the elements. It was destroyed by the Flood and rebuilt by Ishmael and Abraham. The legends connected with its construction and history fill many pages of the Moslem traditions and commentaries. The name Ka'ba means a *cube*; but the building is not built true to line and is in fact an unequal trapezium.<sup>1</sup> Because of its location in a hollow and its black-cloth covering, these inequalities are not apparent to the eye.

The Ka'ba proper stands in an oblong space two hundred and fifty paces long by two hundred broad. This open space is surrounded by colonnades used for schools and as the general rendezvous of pilgrims. It is in turn surrounded by the outer temple wall with its nineteen gates and six minarets. The Mosque is of much more recent date than the Ka'ba, which was well known as an idolatrous Arabian shrine long before the time of Mohammed. The Sacred Mosque and its Ka'ba contain the following treasures: the Black Stone, the well of Zemzem, the great pulpit, the staircase, and the *Kubattain*, or two small mosques of Sa'ad and Abbās. The remainder of the space is occupied by pavements and gravel arranged to accommodate and distinguish the four orthodox sects in their devotions.

The Black Stone is undoubtedly the oldest treasure of Mecca. Stone-worship was an Arabian form of idolatry in

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<sup>1</sup> Its measurements, according to 'Ali Bey, are 37 ft. 2 in., 31 ft. 7 in., 38 ft. 4 in., 29 ft. and its height is 34 ft. 4 in.

very ancient times and relics of it remain in many parts of the peninsula. Maximus Tyrius wrote in the second century, "the Arabians pay homage to I know not what god which they represent by a quadrangular stone." The Guebars or ancient Persians assert that the Black Stone was an emblem of Saturn and was left in the Ka'ba by Mahabad. We have the Moslem tradition that it came down snow-white from heaven and was blackened by the touch of sin—according to one tradition, that of an impure woman, and according to another by the kisses of thousands of believers. It is probably an aerolite and owes its reputation to its fall from the sky. Moslem historians do not deny that it was an object of worship before Islam, but they escape the moral difficulty and justify their Prophet by idle tales concerning the Stone and its relation to all the patriarchs beginning with Adam.

The stone is a fragment of what appears like black volcanic rock sprinkled with irregular reddish crystals worn smooth by the touch of centuries. It is held together by a broad band of metal, said to be silver, and is imbedded in the southeast corner of the Ka'ba five feet from the ground. It is not generally known that there is a second sacred stone at the corner facing the south. It is called *Rakn-el-Yemeni* or Yemen pillar and is frequently kissed by pilgrims, although, according to the correct ritual, it should only be saluted by a touch of the right hand.

The well of Zemzem is located near the Maqām Hanbali, the place of prayer of this sect. The building which encloses the well was erected in A. H. 1072 (A. D. 1661) and its interior is of white marble. Mecca perchance owes its origin as an old Arabian centre to this medicinal spring with its abundant supply of purgative waters, for the nomads today go long distances to visit sulphur and other springs in various parts of Arabia. The well of Zemzem is one of the great sources of income to the Meccans. The water is carried about for sale on the streets and also in the mosques in curious pitchers made of unglazed earthenware. They are slightly porous so as to cool the water, which is naturally always of a lukewarm temperature, and are all marked with certain mystical characters

in black wax. Crowds assemble around the well during the pilgrimage and many coppers fall to the share of the lucky Meccans who have the privilege of drawing the water for the faithful.

The pilgrimage to Mecca should be performed in the twelfth lunar month of the calendar called *Dhu-el-Hijjah*. It is incumbent on every believer, except for lawful hindrance because of poverty or illness. Mohammed made it the fifth pillar of religion and more than anything else it has tended to unify the Moslem world. The Koran teaching regarding the duties of pilgrims at the Sacred Mosque, is as follows: "Proclaim to the peoples a Pilgrimage. Let them come to thee on foot and on every fleet camel arriving by every deep defile." (Surah xxii. 28). "Verily As-Safa and Al-Marwa are among the signs of God: whoever then maketh a pilgrimage to the temple or visiteth it shall not be to blame if he go round about them both" (ii:153). "Let the pilgrimage be made in the months already known and whoso undertaketh the pilgrimage therein let him not know a woman, nor transgress nor wrangle in the pilgrimage. . . . It shall be no crime in you if ye seek an increase from your Lord (by trade); and when ye pass swiftly on from Arafāt then remember God near the holy Mosque. . . . Bear God in mind during the stated days; but if any haste away in two days it shall be no fault to him, and if any tarry it shall be no fault in him." (Surah ii. *passim*).

From the Koran alone no definite idea of the pilgrim's duties can be gleaned; but fortunately for all true believers, the Prophet's perfect example handed down by tradition leaves nothing in doubt and prescribes every detail of conduct with ridiculous minuteness. The orthodox way is as follows: arrived within a short distance of Mecca the pilgrims, male and female, put off their ordinary clothing and assume the garb of a *hajji*. It consists of two pieces of white cloth, one of which is tied around the loins and the other thrown over the back; sandals may be worn but not shoes and the head must be left uncovered. (In idolatrous days the Arabs did not wear any clothing in making the circuit of the

Ka'ba). On facing Mecca the pilgrim pronounces the *nîyah* or "intention":

"Here I am, O Allah, here I am;  
No partner hast Thou, here I am;  
Verily praise and riches and the kingdom are to Thee;  
No partner hast Thou, here am I."

After certain legal ablutions the pilgrim enters the Mosque by the Bab-es-salam and kisses the Black Stone making the circuit, running, around the Ka'ba seven times. (In idolatrous days the Arabs did this in imitation of the motions of the planets; a remnant of their Sabean worship). Another special prayer is said and then the pilgrim proceeds to Maqām Ibrahim, where Abraham is said to have stood when he rebuilt the Ka'ba. There the *hajji* goes through the regular genuflections and prayers. He drinks next from the holy well and once more kisses the Black Stone. Then follows the running between Mounts Safa and Merwa. Proceeding outward from the Mosque by the gate of Safa he ascends the hill reciting the 153d verse of the Surah of the Cow. "Verily Safa and Merwa are among the signs of God." Having arrived at the summit of the mount he turns to the Ka'ba and three times recites the words:

"There is no god but God!  
God is great!  
There is no god save God alone!  
He hath performed His promise and hath aided His  
servant and put to flight the hosts of infidels by  
Himself alone!"

He then runs from the top of Safa through the valley to the summit of Merwa seven times, repeating the aforesaid prayers each time on both hills. This is the sixth day, on the evening of which the pilgrim again encompasses the Ka'ba. On the next day there is a sermon from the grand pulpit. On the eighth day the pilgrim goes three miles distant to Mina, where Adam longed for his lost paradise, and there spends the night. The next morning he leaves for Arafāt, another hill about eleven miles from Mecca, hears a second sermon, returning before nightfall to Muzdalifa, a place halfway between Mina and Arafāt.

The following day is the great day of the pilgrimage. It is called the day of Sacrifice and is simultaneously celebrated all over the Moslem world. Early in the morning the pilgrim proceeds to Mina where there are three pillars called, the "Great Devil," the "Middle Pillar" and the "First One." At these dumb idols the "monotheist" flings seven pebbles and as he throws them says, "In the name of Allah and Allah is mighty, in hatred of the devil and his shame, I do this." He then performs the sacrifice, a sheep, goat, cow or camel according to the means of the pilgrim. The victim is placed facing the Ka'ba and a knife plunged into the animal's throat with the cry, *Allahu akbar*. This ceremony concludes the pilgrimage proper; one's hair and nails are then cut and the *ihram* or pilgrim's garb is doffed for ordinary clothing. Three days more are sometimes counted as belonging to the pilgrimage, the eleventh, twelfth and thirteenth days, called *Ayyam-al-tashrīq*, or days of drying flesh, because during them the flesh of the sacrifices is cut into slices and dried in the sun to be eaten on the return journey.

After the Meccan pilgrimage most Moslems go to Medina to visit the tomb of Mohammed; the Wahhabis, however, consider this "infidelity" and honor of the creature more than of the Creator. Other Moslems base their conduct on the saying of the Prophet himself, *Man yahujja wa lam yazurni fa kad jafāni*, "who goes on Hajj and does not visit me has insulted me!" The Meccans call themselves "neighbors of God" and the people of Medina "neighbors of the Prophet." For long ages a hot rivalry has existed between the two cities, a rivalry which, beginning in taunt or jest, often ends in bloodshed.

The pilgrim, having completed all legal requirements, is sure to visit the proper authorities and secure a *certificate* to prove to his countrymen that he is a real Hajji and to substantiate his religious boasting in days to come. The certificate is also required when one goes on pilgrimage for a deceased Moslem or a wealthy Moslem who is bed-ridden. In such a case the substitute has all the pleasures of the journey at the expense of his principal but the merit goes to the man

who pays the bills and who naturally craves the receipt. The certificate is of various forms and contains crude pictures of the holy places and verses from the Koran. (See frontispiece).

El Medina, formerly called *Yathrib*, is now also called *Al Munowera*, the "illuminated," and devout Moslems often claim to see, on approaching the city, a luminous haze hanging over its mosques and houses. The legends and superstitions that cluster around the last resting-place of the Prophet are not less in number nor less credible than those that glorify the place of his birth, although the town is only about half the size and contains 16,000 inhabitants. It consists of three principal divisions: the town proper, the fort and the suburbs. It was once surrounded by a wall forty feet high; the streets are narrow and unpaved; the houses are flat-roofed and double-storied.

The current dispute, however, for many centuries has been regarding the relative sanctity and importance of the two cities, Mecca and Medina. A visit to Medina is called *Ziyārat*, as that to Mecca is called *Hajj*; the latter is obligatory by Koran injunction, while the former is meritorious on the authority of Tradition. The orthodox further stipulate, that circumambulation of the Prophet's tomb at Medina is not allowed as around the Ka'ba at Mecca, nor should men wear the *ihrām*, nor kiss the tomb.

The Masjid-al-Nebi or Prophet's Mosque at Medina is about 420 feet long by 340 broad. It is built nearly north and south and has a large interior courtyard, surrounded by porticoes. From the western side we enter the *Rauzah* or Prophet's garden. On the north and west it is not divided from the rest of the portico; on the south side runs a dwarf wall and on the east it is bounded by the lattice-work of the *Hujra*. This is an irregular square of about fifty feet separated on all sides from the walls of the Mosque by a broad passage. Inside there are said to be three tombs, carefully concealed inside the iron railing by a heavy curtain arranged like a four-post bed curtain. The *Hujra* has four gates, all kept locked except the fourth, which admits only the officers in charge of the treasure, and the eunuchs who sweep the floor, light the lamps

and carry away the presents thrown into the enclosure by devotees. It is commonly asserted that many early Moslem saints and warriors desired the remaining space for their grave, but that by Mohammed's wish it is reserved for 'Isa (Jesus) on his second coming and death. The story of a coffin suspended by magnets has of course no foundation in fact and may have arisen from the crude drawings of the tombs.

Thus ends our pilgrimage through the Holy Land of Arabia. Let us in conclusion ponder the words of Stanley Lane Poole as to the place which Mecca and the pilgrimage holds in the Mohammedan religion. "It is asked how the destroyer of idols could have reconciled his conscience to the circuits of the Ka'ba and the veneration of the Black Stone covered with adoring kisses. The rites of the pilgrimage can not certainly be defended against the charge of superstition; but it is easy to see why Mohammed enjoined them. . . . He well knew the consolidating effect of forming a centre to which his followers should gather, and hence he reasserted the sanctity of the Black Stone that 'came down from heaven'; he ordained that everywhere throughout the world the Moslem should pray looking toward the Ka'ba, and enjoined him to make the pilgrimage thither. Mecca is to the Moslem what Jerusalem is to the Jew. It bears with it all the influence of centuries of associations. It carries the Moslem back to the cradle of his faith and the childhood of his Prophet. . . . And, most of all, it bids him remember that all his brother Moslems are worshipping toward the same spot; that he is one of a great company of believers united by one faith, filled with the same hopes, reverencing the same thing, worshipping the same God."

Mecca is not only the cradle of Islam but through all the centuries it has remained inaccessible to Christians. No part of the Moslem world has changed less in its exclusive fanaticism than the Haramain. In 1855 Burton wrote: "The Eastern world moves slowly—*eppur si muove*. Half a generation ago steamers were first started to Jiddah: now we hear of a projected railway from that port to Mecca, the shareholders being all Moslems. And the example of Jerusalem encour-

ages us to hope that long before the end of the century a visit to Mecca will not be more difficult than a trip to Hebron.”

In 1888 we read in Doughty's diary: “Our train of camels drew slowly by them: but when the smooth Mecca merchant heard that the stranger riding with the camel men was a Nasrany, he cried, ‘Akhs! A Nasrany in these parts,’ and with the horrid inurbanity of their jealous religion he added, ‘Ullah curse his father!’ and stared on me with a face worthy of the Koran.”

And in 1938 Dr. W. Harold Storm, after crossing Arabia from east to west and meeting kindness everywhere, wrote: “Following upon this visit to Ta'if a visit was paid to Jiddah. There are two routes that one may take on leaving Ta'if in order to reach Jiddah. The more direct and easier is often spoken of as the *Derb El' Muslameen* (road of the believers) and leads directly through the holy city of Mecca. The other, which is longer and more difficult, is often called the *Derb El kafireen* (road of the unbelievers) and makes a circuitous detour around Mecca through the famous Wadi Fatima. Needless to say we followed the latter.”

All of the above, except the last paragraph, was written at Bahrain in 1900.\* We reprint this account to call attention once more to the Hejaz and its inaccessibility. The facts remain, after forty-six years, virtually the same. The four freedoms of the Atlantic Charter are still unknown in the Holy cities of Arabia.

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\* *Arabia: The Cradle of Islam.*

## HIGHER EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS AND THEIR INFLUENCE

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This paper is based largely on replies received from institutions dealing with Moslem constituencies. No special investigation was made as to the claims of these institutions to their classification as "higher educational institutions," but their self classification was accepted. Nor was there any adequate study of their aims and policies. Doubtless some had narrow objectives and others quite broad conceptions. Some twenty-three Boards were selected as probably having some such work among Moslems in their respective fields. Four replies referred the writer to others for information. Ten replied that they had no such work among Moslems. Seven letters yielded valuable information. The general conclusion is that the Moslems are as a whole a group largely neglected by Christian missions. There is a strange fatality that makes a Christian movement, whether it is a general missionary effort or a more specific educational effort, to start out nobly to help the Moslem and after a few years to lean over to Christian or non-Moslem constituencies which are more responsive, to help them. Yet the Christian missionary task will never be accomplished until it has served the Moslem sector of the human race, and this paper insists that the most hopeful way of serving the Moslem world is through education. With these general and introductory statements, we turn to the returns from the several mission fields and examine their replies.

*Moslem Students:* Obviously the first necessity for a Christian influence on Moslems is that the institution shall be able to draw Moslems to itself. This varied in the institutions surveyed, from twenty-four, which was about nine per cent. to one hundred eighty, which was eighty-five per cent. The variation is usually due to two main factors. In some institutions the theory seems to be entertained that the higher education given is intended chiefly for the training of leaders

in the Christian Church and not for nonChristians. In other cases Moslems are acclaimed with pleasure. Naturally in the latter institution the objective of the institution reflects itself in many different ways. In the first place it is located in a distinctly Moslem district or community, where Moslems are available. Then too it reveals itself in the nature of the curriculum and in the very atmosphere of the institution. Christian teaching is more philosophic in its presentation and less dogmatic and doctrinal. But the replies generally reveal a twenty per cent. enrolment of Moslems and reflect the difficulty experienced in holding Moslems. This is especially true in countries where the Government itself is Moslem and tends to place special advantages for Government preferment and promotion before students who have gone regularly through the Government's own schools. In most cases the disadvantage to a Moslem in going to a Christian school increases as the student grows older. It is felt that in the lower levels of education, it matters little where the student gets his education, but as he comes to higher education he has greater need of regularizing himself and attending one of the Government's standard educational institutions, where the atmosphere is essentially Moslem. The Christian institution of higher education has therefore a greater chance of getting Moslem students from among those elements of society where Government jobs constitute no attraction. These are the trades classes, where they can afford a college education, and the wealthier classes who want to develop personality and leadership and come chiefly from the land-owning groups and ignore Government positions.

*Curriculum:* The question of what curriculum is followed in Christian institutions of higher education has little relevance in this paper save in a very indirect way. If Christian institutions follow the Government course, as most of them do in India and Malaya, they have to bring in their Christian influences by extra-curricular additional courses which the student is likely to resent as an undue burden. If, on the other hand, the institution goes its own way and builds up a course of its own, it is likely by that very fact to alienate

the student who has his eye on a Government job. Nothing but the superiority of the school and its teaching can enable it to hold its students and especially the Moslem student.

*Methods of Emphasizing the Christian Message:* The methods used by different schools vary greatly. We take them up and comment about them briefly:

1. *Bible Study:* This is to be found in almost every Christian curriculum, but how varied its significance from the most dogmatic fundamentalism to the most liberal study of it as good literature. Between these two extremes of liberalism and fundamentalism is the dynamic vitalism of the modern progressive Christian. As good English literature, as sound ancient history, as a dynamic moral stimulus, as a soul-lifting book of worship, as a balanced picture of the eternal God, as the only data we have today of the life of Jesus, there is no book like the Bible and as such it makes its appeal to the Moslem and is a good antidote to his mostly blind loyalty to the Koran.

2. *Christian Sociology:* This is repeatedly mentioned as having a rare attraction for the Moslem student. In the first place he rarely gets elsewhere a dynamic course of study that attacks the living everyday problems of his unsatisfactory social life. In the second place he is intensely interested in the reconstruction of his social life. So this course properly taught is very influential with Moslem students.

3. *Moral Dynamic:* Here come personal moral problems and their solution. There is no equivalent to Christianity in bestowing moral dynamic. It comes out of contact with Christian men of moral character found on the Christian teaching staffs and others whose lives are found embedded in the Bible and other books. It is truly strange how valueless at this point (though not wholly so) the Koran and the Moslem religion are.

4. *Contact with the Christian Staff:* The Moslem student may be brought into contact with the Christian staff in many different ways: on jaunts about the city, on picnics to outlying districts, on geological or archeological expeditions, in hostels and dormitories. This contact, this influence of a

Christian staff is put by many as the supreme factor, even ahead of direct teaching, in influencing the Moslem student; for that matter, in influencing any student. Doubtless this is what is meant by the Christian atmosphere of the Christian institution, although the Christian atmosphere is the broader term and to it there minister not only the Christian staff, but the curriculum and the ideals and traditions of the institution and the Christian students (where they are really Christian) and the schedule and the whole set-up of the institution. In India, "the local board" is described as an influence for good, but we scarcely understand how this influence functions or what it is.

5. *Do contacts and Christian influences yield baptisms?* Here the answer, clear and distinct, is, Almost never. The answers to this question are given as "None", "One", "None", "Don't admit baptism as a Friend", "None", "One", "None", "None", "None", "Rarely". Such literal replies indicate that the justification for Christian institutions on the field clearly does not lie in the number of baptized converts they have or have had. It must lie in quite another direction and to this we now turn.

6. *How do Moslem students show the effects of Christian influences on their lives?* The most prevailing influence is in their tolerance. They come, too often, with the most intolerant spirit for all other religions, especially toward Judaism. Then as they sit in a class in the Comparison of Religions, they find that they have been ignorant about other religions. On the common ground of a belief in God and in the more reconciling spiritual conception of religion, they gradually change and, while they may not become Christians, they become tolerant Moslems and show it.

Next to tolerance stands morality. Under Christian influences the Moslem student becomes a moral creature. He rises above the common Moslem attitude of self-interest, of being diplomatic, of following the crowd, of doing what is popular. A new motive, the Christian motive of "doing what is right" comes in, and there is something dynamic about it. The Moslem student often is unconscious of the change, but it means

much to his future and to the world. In the long years of his future life, he will lift his actions and his world to a higher level.

Changed ideals may be added as the marked change effected in Moslems in Christian institutions. The changed attitudes toward woman, toward the outside community, toward other nations, mark most Moslems graduating from Christian institutions. These changed ideals constitute the hope of the future, for only a changed Moslem can change the Moslem world. This is not to deny grounds for reproaching Christian institutions of higher education. One is that sometimes the graduates, when they become embittered against Christianity, leave only the better equipped to defend Islam and the better equipped to show up the weak points of Christianity.

7. *The chief hindrances facing Moslems in responding to Christian influences:* In almost every instance where ancient Oriental churches exist the low state of morality and spirituality in these churches is regarded as a chief hindrance to Moslems. Sometimes this is extended to the low moral and spiritual standards of all Christians—commercial men, political representatives and Western nations. These are all too frequently a travesty of the ideals and doctrines the Christian missionary is presenting.

Another major hindrance to Moslem response named is the strong social hold of his community upon the Moslem student. Should a Moslem become a Christian he knows he will be a social outcast: wife, children, property, inheritance, home, respectability are lost at once and completely. In the case of girls, marriage and life itself are at stake, for Islamic law keeps woman subject to her nearest Moslem relation.

Another major hindrance at the present time is Nationalism, for Islam is a political term and not like Christianity a purely religious term. To break away from the Moslem State and become a Christian is therefore to be disloyal to the State itself. So to yield to Christian ways, even without being a Christian, carries with it a measure of obloquy attached to disloyalty. This is naturally a deterrent to any Moslem. His

attitude is to view favorably the good points of Christianity but to consider them always as something to be incorporated into Islamic life without changing its outward status.

In general it may be said that among the hindrances to response to Christian influences among the Moslem students is a general attitude of fear and suspicion that exists between the Christian and Moslem camps such as cannot be found in Christianity's relation to any other non-Christian religion in any other part of the world unless it be with the high caste Brahman in India. With the Moslem it is one of the evil inheritances of mutual conflict coming down from the days of the Crusades to our day.

*Community Influences:* In speaking of Christian influences of institutions of higher education in Moslem lands, it is a mistake to limit one's consideration to the Moslem student. With higher education, far beyond lower education, the influences of the institution go far afield influencing the life of the community. Higher education is really a community influence. Its curriculum deals with community problems. Its constituency is much nearer to community life in age and character.

Now it is this community and national influence of an institution of higher education that helps materially to justify the labor and expense of its maintenance in a non-Christian country. Where else in the missionary scheme of presenting the Christian message in its fulness is provision made for the presentation of the social, economic and national implications of the Christian gospel? In the case of Egypt at least the writer can think of no place where these themes are presented and discussed in the country from a Christian point of view as in the Extension Division of the American University at Cairo.

*Final Summary:* Summing up this paper, the following are the points most worthy of emphasis:

1. Higher Education is the most normal, the most penetrative and in many countries the only practical approach of Christianity to Islam.
2. Its results are not individual conversion in the sense

of baptisms into the Christian Church, but if conversion be what the word means, a change of direction of life, then higher education most certainly brings about change of direction in the life and activation of its Moslem students. How much more than this may result remains with the future.

3. The major influence of an institution upon the life of a Moslem student lies in his contact with dynamic Christian lives. The supreme necessity is that faculty members be truly Christian, recognizably Christian and be brought into natural and sympathetic touch with students.

4. Yet the conflict between Christianity and Islam cannot be resolved by mere friendship, there are basic philosophical conflicts in which truth and half truth and ignorance and error need to be dealt with. This calls for either classes or meeting places where these conflicts may be studied without heat or bitterness in a thoroughly dispassionate way.

5. At all costs there must be maintained the feeling of voluntariness about the Christian influences of an institution. It is better that a Moslem accept Christian truth or Christian standards slowly than that by urging he should accept them earlier by being pressed into them.

6. Finally, a true Christian institution of higher education will influence the thinking and life of its community or even national life and not merely its student body.

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## CHILDREN'S HOMES IN NORTH AFRICA

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When the Methodist Mission began work in North Africa the questions naturally studied were what methods to use to approach the Moslems and bring them to a knowledge of Christ; and how best to raise up the native leadership on whom the future of the work would depend. In our other fields we began by providing schools where children and young people could be educated and given the moral and spiritual teaching which go with a Christian education; and hospitals where the sick could be cared for and doctors and nurses trained. These two great fields of service were, unfortunately, closed to us in North Africa, where education must conform with government standards and teachers must be French citizens of French training. How, then, reach the children and youth to give them the privilege of Christian education and character building? The only way seemed to be to found Homes where the children would live with Christian missionaries and attend government schools.

The beginning was difficult, as may be imagined, for the Moslems were not willing to give their children to "unbelievers" to be contaminated by Christianity. The ladies invited little girls who came to their Thursday classes to stay in the house and play; stay to meals, and after a while stay overnight or even for a few days. After winning the confidence of the children in this way, and visiting the mothers in their homes to become acquainted, prejudice began to give way, and slowly, widows or divorced women who could not support their children began to bring them to the missionaries, asking that they care for them. As others saw how the health of the children improved, how well-dressed they were, and how lovingly they were cared for, the children came in greater numbers and the Homes were founded.

In the early days we were not able to train girls for leadership outside the Home because of the Moslem idea of early

marriage, but during the few years the girls were with us they learned many things which prepared them to be better wives and mothers. Others, more fortunate, were permitted to remain in the Homes after reaching marriageable age and were married by the missionaries to Christian men, thus founding Christian homes and the nucleus of a Christian community.

At first the girls were not ambitious to do well in school as they saw no reason for having an education, and the parents were not anxious for them to learn too much. One or two became interested, however, and finding they could do as well as the French girls with whom they studied, entered into competition and succeeded in taking the first places in class. This began a new day, for the girls were no longer willing to settle down to early marriage and seclusion but began to realize that they could take their place in the world as their French classmates did. This desire gave them more self-confidence, and soon we were able to send our first girls over to France for training as nurses and for Bible study, with the hope that they would return to us, and in time take over work amongst their own people. The financial crisis and decrease in missionary funds came, unfortunately, just at the time for the first graduates to be ready for service, and they were obliged to remain in France as we had no support to offer them. They are trained, however, and have expressed their desire even yet, to return to work in their own land. One girl has completed her training as a teacher and has been teaching in a government school for two years. This year she hopes to come to Nashville to college for further training as a missionary. Several girls served in the army during the war, rendering acceptable service.

Not all girls, however, have the intelligence to continue their studies. They look with longing at those who have their diplomas in nursing, in stenography, one as a mid-wife, one as a teacher, but they cannot make the grade. These choose to go out in French families as maids or remain in the Homes or with evangelistic missionaries as helpers.

And so through the years we have been able to prepare girls for life as free Christian women, to serve in one way or

another and testify to the saving power of Christ. A few pass all the years of Christian instruction without absorbing much, and choose to leave the Home to work or to return to their parents without accepting Christ. The vast majority, however, ask for baptism and testify openly to their love for their Saviour. They are not models of perfect behavior but in most cases their faith is sincere and, up to their light, they try to live up to Christian standards. We have to remind ourselves that they do not have the privilege of coming into an established Christian community where modes of behavior are shown to them as they grow up. They are helping to form the first Christian community. They are confused sometimes by the difference between our standards and those of the French Catholics around them, but in vital moral issues they are usually faithful to what they have learned. We may not always be satisfied but the testimony of the French people for whom they work reassures us. They are all amazed to find our girls trustworthy and conscientious, loyal and dependable. Recently the directrice of a nurses' training school in Algiers asked if we could not let her have some more girls as ours have had the moral training which fits them for nursing. The director of the Moslem orphanage asked how we could give our girls freedom without losing them morally and we were proud to tell him that they were kept by the power of Christ because of their trust in Him.

Until recently the price we have had to pay for having these boys and girls was their total support, and we were only able to have the girls whose parents were too poor to keep them at home. In the last years, parents are realizing how well our girls are doing, and also that they have received a moral training which prepares them to live free lives. In the nationalistic movement the leaning seems to be toward greater freedom for women and more education so some few are coming now offering to pay for the privilege of a Christian education, and it is our hope in the near future to make the work more nearly self-supporting.

It has always been a grief to us that our work seemed to take the children away from their people. As they have to at-

tend French schools they have to be dressed in French clothes and have all their classes in French. This seems to engender a contempt for their people in the minds of some and they all grow up with a speaking knowledge of Arabic or Kabyle, but thinking in French. This is unavoidable, however, in a country subject to a foreign power, where two distinct civilizations live side by side.

The work amongst the boys has been more difficult in many ways. As with the girls, the parents are willing to risk a Christian education in order to have their boys well brought up and educated. A number have done well and are now in important positions in French business concerns, living as Christian men. Others have been drawn back into their families under the threat of loss of place in the family and inheritance, under the pressure of marriages arranged for them against their will by their parents, to girls in their families. Some whom we had hoped would seek wives among our girls had not the courage to face the community and their families with an unveiled native wife, so have chosen French girls. Others have married girls from the Homes and the young couples are trying to live up to what they have been taught and are bringing up their children in the Church. A number of the young men from our Homes have been baptized and are members of our Church or of the French Reformed Church.

The question has been raised often, "Is it worth while to continue the Homes? Is the tremendous outlay of missionary strength and money justified in the face of the results?" This question is very hard to answer. It is without doubt a task which ties down a missionary staff to a few individuals. As some express it, "it is a long way 'round." It is, however, a concentrated piece of work which yields more thorough and lasting results than any other type of work undertaken in North Africa. It is very wearing to have to battle with difficult and often violent characters and yet it is wonderful to see these characters yield to Christ and His saving power. Not all missionaries are fitted for this delicate task, and candidates must be carefully chosen if the best results are to be obtained.

Too often I am afraid it has been considered that anyone can bring up children and mistakes in leadership have been made. Only those who love personal evangelism amongst children and are willing to struggle patiently with difficult ones, bearing with them and helping them to seek in Christ the power to conquer inherited tendencies which fetter them, can bring them to Christ and teach them to follow Him day by day. It is a school in daily living in all the small details which we take for granted, but which are new and unknown to these Moslem children. Only those who love children and understand the Moslem background from which they come can help these little ones grow up into Christian men and women.

Some think that the Homes are too expensive to be continued. As we look around for results perhaps we may be discouraged at first glance. But, if we study seriously the situation, I think we shall see many more results than meet the eye in a casual glance. The Christian homes have a great influence on the families around them. We visited an old girl one day in a Moslem village where she had gone as a bride. She had been a most difficult character and not very intelligent. As we approached the village we saw the children at play and noticed one small boy who was clean, well-dressed and bright-looking. He stood out among the others and we said, "He must be B's boy." He was! As we talked to the women, they said, "B. is such a help to us. When our babies are ill, she tells us what to do. When we quarrel with our neighbors, she makes peace between us. When we have trouble with our husbands, she consoles us. She knows what to do because she's a Christian." And so this one, and many like her, far from us, lived up to her small light. Even those who do not accept Christ as their Saviour, form habits of behavior during their years in the Homes which lift the environment in which they live. Leaders are being trained and the Christian life is permeating many Moslem homes.

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## THE ROLE OF ABŪ MUSLIM IN THE 'ABBĀSID REVOLT

The subject of the fall of the Umayyad caliphate, and the founding of 'Abbāsīd power, has produced a mass of literature from the time of the 'Abbāsīds to the present. It is a long and involved narrative which tells of this revolt, but the essential historical facts are known and have been clarified.<sup>1</sup> There are, of course, still phases of the 'Abbāsīd movement which remain to be interpreted. One important factor was the role of Abū Muslim, the missionary of the 'Abbāsīds to Khurasan where the revolt first achieved success. We shall be concerned here with the person of Abū Muslim, the nature of his mission, mainly as exemplified by his actions, and the relation of Arabs and non-Arab Muslims in Khurasan at the time of the uprising against the Umayyad Governor.

The origin of Abū Muslim cannot definitely be determined from Islamic sources.<sup>2</sup> Whether he was a Persian from Isfahan or Kufa, or had Arab blood in his veins, is immaterial, for his deeds were in accord with the saying of the prophet: "The Arab is not to be preferred over the non-Arab, nor the latter over the former, except in piety (before) God."<sup>3</sup>

It is probable that Abū Muslim spoke both Arabic and

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<sup>1</sup> Especially by Wellhausen, J., *Das arabische Reich und sein Sturz*, Berlin 1902, English translation with index, Calcutta 1927. References are made to the English translation.

<sup>2</sup> Only the Turkish edition of the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, article Ebū Muslim, cūz 29, 1945, 39, has the following: "Many historians agree that he served a chief of the tribe of 'Ajl, Ma'qil ibn Idrīs, one of the notables of Kufa. Idrīs gave him, as a present, to Muḥammad ibn 'Alī ibn 'Abdallah ibn 'Abbās, and the latter entrusted him to his son and successor Ibrāhīm. Abū Muslim married a daughter of Abū'l Najm 'Umrān ibn Ismā'il, a relative of Ibrāhīm." This marriage must have strengthened his position as leader of the 'Abbāsīds in Khurasan. I have been unable to find the sources for every statement above, but some are found in Ibn Khallikān and Ibn Qutaiba's *Kitāb al-Ma'ārif*, ed. Wüstenfeld, F., Göttingen 1850, 214-5.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibn Wādhīh qui dicitur al-Ja'qubī Historiae*, ed. Houtsma, M., Leiden 1883, II, 123, 4.

Persian with equal ease,<sup>4</sup> and he had friends and enemies among both peoples. That he was acquainted with the Middle Persian literature, is to be inferred from a remark he made when declining to visit the new 'Abbāsīd caliph Manšūr, in whose presence he later met his death.<sup>5</sup> This does not mean that Abū Muslim was a pro-Iranian protagonist; rather, till the time of his death, he was a staunch supporter of the 'Abbāsīd cause and always a good Muslim. To promote the success of the cause he was not averse to enlisting the aid of various factions, and he was not above deceit to gain his ends. The somewhat unscrupulous, and sometimes ruthless, methods, employed to gain power, as well as the heresies which arose after his death, and which were connected with his name, have obscured the figure of Abū Muslim. Barthold says, "In his religious propaganda Abū Muslim seems to have amalgamated the doctrines of Islam with ancient popular beliefs, particularly with that of metempsychosis, and to have pretended to be an incarnation of the divinity."<sup>6</sup> Another scholar proposed, "We do not clearly know what promises or teachings Abū Muslim gave to bring the masses over to Islam, but we may assert with some probability that the idea of the incarnation of God in Muḥammad, in 'Alī and his descendants, or finally in Abū Muslim himself, played the leading role."<sup>7</sup> These statements may apply to some of his followers, especially after his death, but there is no substantial evidence to show that Abū Muslim was either a heretic or anti-Muslim. It is quite true that the "mahdi-messiah" idea was deeply rooted in Zoroastrianism, and the history of Iran throughout the ages has revealed the receptivity of the people for a deliverer.<sup>8</sup> It does not necessarily follow, however, that

<sup>4</sup> *Ibn Khallikān's Biographical Dictionary*, trans. M. De Slane, Paris 1843, II, 103. (The text was unavailable.)

<sup>5</sup> "One reads in the books of the Persians that when the empire is at peace, and the king has no more enemies to combat, a vezir should not approach the person of the king." Zotenberg, H., *Chronique de Tabari*, Paris 1874, IV, 355. (Persian text, Lucknow edition, does not contain this.)

<sup>6</sup> *Encyclopaedia of Islam* (English), art. Abū Muslim.

<sup>7</sup> Rosen, V., review of Sachau's edition of al-Bīrūnī's *India*, in *Zapiski Vost. Otd. Russ. Arkh. Ova.*, St. Petersburg 1889, III, 156, note.

<sup>8</sup> Nyberg, A. H., *Die Religionen des alten Iran*, *Mitt. der Vorderasiatisch-Aegyptischen Gesell.* 43, Leipzig 1938, 267, 305.

Abū Muslim favored a religion other than Islam, or sought to compromise his Islam by mixing it with Iranian beliefs. He suppressed the revolt of the Zoroastrian (?) Bih Afrīd.<sup>9</sup> At the time of the revolt of the latter, Magian priests came to Abū Muslim and complained that this heretic and rebel had infected Islam as well as their own religion, implying that they, as representatives of the Iranian religion, were opposed to him, and Abū Muslim, as the champion of Islam, should also oppose him.<sup>10</sup>

Van Vloten asserts that the triumph of Abū Muslim was due in great measure to the Shi'ites who supported him.<sup>11</sup> This again does not mean that Abū Muslim was a partisan of the Shi'a, even though he readily accepted their aid in time of need. Furthermore, if the partisans of the Shi'a were so numerous and powerful in the ranks of Abū Muslim's armies, he would not have been able to suppress them so easily as he did after the fall of Umayyad power in Khurasan. In the Arabic histories, to my knowledge, Abū Muslim is nowhere condemned as an infidel or a heretic. His Umayyad enemies had every opportunity to call him a rebel against Islam, or to denounce him as a heretic, but such is not the case. When Maṣṣūr had him assassinated, the caliph did not accuse him of heresy, which would have been a good justification for his murder. It is true that, on the whole, the histories are pro-'Abbāsīd, but Abū Muslim had many enemies, among them a caliph. In several histories he is called "the faithful one of the family of the prophet."<sup>12</sup> The stories about his deeds, albeit preserved in the works of later writers, show no trace of heresy, rather they portray him as a righteous, if severe, man.<sup>13</sup> The mission of Abū Muslim was to convert

<sup>9</sup> Cf. Justi, F., *Iranisches Namenbuch*, Marburg 1895, 348.

<sup>10</sup> Sachau, E., *The Chronology of Ancient Nations*, Bīrūnī, text, Leipzig 1878, 211, 3; English trans., London 1879, 194.

<sup>11</sup> Van Vloten, G., *Recherches sur la Domination arabe, etc.*, Amsterdam 1894, 33.

<sup>12</sup> Zotenberg, *op. cit.* IV, 328. Maṣ'ūdī, *Murūj al-Dhahab*, ed. and trans. C. Barbier de Meynard, Paris 1871, VI, 136.

<sup>13</sup> Shihāb al-dīn al-Nuwairī, *Nihāyat al-Arab fī Funūn al-Adab*, Cairo 1929, VII, 253-5.

<sup>14</sup> *Iqd al-Farīd* of Ibn Abī Rabbīhi, Cairo 1305/1887, II, 267, line 19. Cf. M. Shafī', *Analytical Indices to the Kitāb al-'Iqd al-Farīd*, Calcutta 1935, I, lxi, for pagination of other editions.

the people of Khurasan, especially the Arabs there, to the 'Abbāsīd cause. In the struggle he accepted the aid of all who were opposed to the Umayyad rulers. It was in no sense an anti-Islamic movement, for it was only during the time of Abū Muslim that Khurasan became definitely converted to Islam. Many of the local aristocracy (*dihqāns*) may have accepted Islam from Abū Muslim himself. A writer of the third century of the Hijra says, "The faith of the Magians fell from the *dihqāns*, and they accepted Islam in the time of Abū Muslim, and this change (of religion) was like the change of state" (from the Umayyads to the 'Abbāsīds).<sup>14</sup> This last phrase indicates the importance of the converting activities of Abū Muslim. There was a group of the followers of Abū Muslim who took the name *kāfir-kūbāt*, and may have used clubs to convert the infidels, as their name implied.<sup>15</sup> It is true that many heretics, mainly Shi'ites, erstwhile Zoroastrians, and others joined the army of Abū Muslim. Some of them even rose to prominence, such as Khālid ibn Barmak from Balkh, who held important posts in the government under the caliph Maṣṣūr.<sup>16</sup> While heretics supported him, and infidels may have, there is no evidence that the latter flocked to his standard in large numbers, for Abū Muslim was quite strict, and especially would not tolerate apostasy. The ruler of Bukhara, the Bukhar khudāh, who aided the troops of Abū Muslim in suppressing a Shi'ite revolt in that city, lost his life because of his apostasy from Islam.<sup>17</sup> It is said that Bih Afrīd accepted Islam from Abū Muslim and then apostasized to lead a Zoroastrian revolt.<sup>18</sup> So one could hardly call Abū Muslim pro-Zoroastrian or anti-Muslim.

While the righteousness and the religious motives of the Abbāsīd revolt have been emphasized by later pro-'Abbāsīd

<sup>14</sup> Ibn Abī Ṭaifūr, Cod. Mus. Brit. Add 7473, foll. 60a (unavailable), quoted by Rosen, *op. cit.*, 156.

<sup>15</sup> Dīnawarī, *Kitāb al-Akhhbār al-Ṭiwāl*, ed. V. Guirgass, Leiden 1888, 360, 3. *Kitāb al-Aghānī* of al-Isfahānī, Bulaq 1868, IV 93, 21. Cf. G. von Grünebaum, *Persische Wörter in arabischen Gedichten*, *Le Monde Orientale* 31, 1937, 20.

<sup>16</sup> Ṭabarī II, 1964, 3; 2001, 11; *T'arikh-i-Barāmīkah* by Mirzā 'Abd al-Aẓīm Gurgānī, Tehran 1313/1935, 19, 23 of introduction.

<sup>17</sup> Narshakhī, *T'arikh-i-Bukhārā*, ed. C. Schefer, Paris 1892, 8, last line.

<sup>18</sup> Cf. Houtsma, M. T., Bih 'afrīd, *WZKM*, Vienna 1889, III, 30-7.

historians, especially al-Mas'ūdī, the revolt of Abū Muslim does seem to have had some aspects of a religious crusade. It was constantly asserted by the 'Abbāsīd partisans that this was a true Islamic movement in support of the house of the prophet against the irreligious usurpers, the Umayyads.<sup>19</sup> Indeed Ṭabarī indicates that the Iranian Muslims (*mawālī*-clients) did not join the fighting in Khurasan unless it were for religious reasons.<sup>20</sup> The call for a religious crusade against the Umayyads probably had little effect on the Arab tribes in Khurasan; it seems to have had an effect on the new Iranian converts. The chance to fight the *ruling* Arabs under the banner of Islam also probably had more of an appeal for the *mawālī* than any theory of metempsychosis.

If Abū Muslim were a staunch Muslim, how could one account for the heresies and revolts which probably smouldered during his lifetime to blossom forth after his death? From the Islamic histories and accounts of sects we find the revolts of Sinbādh the Magian, Ishāq the Turk, the Rāwandis, Ustādhīs, and Muqanna' bound with the name of Abū Muslim.<sup>21</sup> These movements all occurred in Iran or Central Asia, and most of them reflected Iranian, anti-Muslim sentiments. This brings us to the question of the relation of Arabs and non-Arab Muslims in Khurasan at the time of the 'Abbāsīd revolt. Although it was primarily a political and social revolt, the religious factors cannot be disregarded, for they were all inextricably intertwined.

The causes of the fall of the Umayyad caliphate were many, for the government had many enemies. It is not the purpose here to discuss this involved subject, but merely to examine the 'Abbāsīd mission and its chief in Khurasan, Abū Muslim. In spite of the assertion that the 'Abbāsīd caliphate was supported by the Iranians, as the Umayyads were by the Syrians, and the characterization of the 'Abbāsīd caliphate as an Iranian dynasty by some Muslim authors,<sup>22</sup> there is no

<sup>19</sup> Zotenberg, *op. cit.* IV, 330.

<sup>20</sup> Ṭabarī II, 1291, 9.

<sup>21</sup> On these uprisings cf. Browne, E. G., *A Literary History of Persia*, London 1902, I, 308-24.

<sup>22</sup> Birūnī, *op. cit.*, text 213, bottom; trans. 197. For further references cf. Goldziher, I., *Muhammedanische Studien*, Halle 1889, I, 148.

evidence that the 'Abbāsids intended to support the Iranians against the Arabs when the missionaries were first sent out. The propaganda was directed at Arabs as well as Iranians, for it was very important to win over the Arab military power in Khurasan to the 'Abbāsīd cause. According to one story, before Abū Muslim departed from Iraq for Khurasan, he had changed his name to Abū Muslim at the request of the 'Abbāsīd Imām, who said, "Change thy name or else our enterprise will not succeed."<sup>23</sup> The 'Abbāsīds had to win over the discontented Arabs of Khurasan in order to succeed, even though these Arabs would not provide the bulk of the fighting force. In Khurasan the Iranian-Muslims were far more constant and reliable than the Arabs, who played politics and shifted sides whenever their interests could better be served. The people of Khurasan *became* the backbone and main-stay of Abū Muslim's forces, but at first the Arabs were the main object of the 'Abbāsīd appeal.<sup>24</sup>

Abū Muslim was not able to come into the open or accomplish anything till the main Arab tribes of Yemen and Muḍar (the latter supporting the Umayyad governor Naṣr ibn Sayyār) were at war with one another. This came to pass in 129/747.<sup>25</sup> It was imperative for Abū Muslim to split the Arab tribes from one another, not so that the Iranians could then seize power, but rather to win the support of a strong Arab tribal faction in order to succeed. The position of the Umayyad governor was weak because of the inter-tribal en-

<sup>23</sup> Ibn Khallikān, *op. cit.* II, 100. His name was 'Abd al-Raḥmān.

<sup>24</sup> The enthusiasm and devotion of the non-Arab Muslims for Abū Muslim were unbounded, while the Arabs were lukewarm and uncertain. Browne, E. G., *op. cit.*, 243-4.

<sup>25</sup> D. C. Dennett Jr., *Marwan ibn Muhammad, the passing of the Umayyad Caliphate*, unpublished PhD thesis, Harvard U. 1939, proposes that Arab tribal problems, the assertion of their essential spirit of independence among the Arabs, and the hatred of Umayyad discipline by the Arabs, brought about the fall of the Umayyad caliphate, while the Iranian *mawālī* blindly followed their Arab masters. Religion and the Iranians, however, did play a part, and an important one, in the downfall of the Umayyads. Dennett is probably right in his opinion that the Umayyads were overthrown by events in Iraq and Syria more than by the revolt in Khurasan, but could the 'Abbāsīds have succeeded without the army of Khurasan? Probably not. While the army of Khurasan may have had many Arab leaders, when it defeated Marwān on the Zāb river banks, it was predominantly an army of Iranians. The role of the Iranians may have been emphasized too much by some scholars of the last century, but the pendulum should not swing far to the other side, to the Arabs. Both elements were important.

mities, and many hostile factions among the Arabs. Naṣr tried to win the friendship and allegiance of al-Karmānī, leader of the Yemenites, but he failed, and Abū Muslim succeeded.

It is unnecessary to go into detail to show that the Arabs in Khurasan did not consist of an isolated ruling class which excluded all Iranians from participation in the rule.<sup>26</sup> The non-Arabs did not flock to Abū Muslim as their leader against the Arabs, but only against Umayyad rule. True, some may have joined him in expectation of the former, but they were soon disillusioned. The Arabs seem to have mingled well with the local population. They observed local customs, and spoke the local language, while the local people accepted Islam, and other things from the Arabs.<sup>27</sup> There were many Iranians who fought for the Umayyads against Abū Muslim, so the movement led by Abū Muslim cannot be interpreted as a call to the non-Arabs to rise against the Arabs.<sup>28</sup>

How did Abū Muslim succeed? We have said that he had to win over a large Arab faction in order to be able to oppose the Umayyad governor. He won over al-Karmānī to his cause by a diplomatic move, for Abū Muslim gave al-Karmānī the impression that he was joining him to support the cause of Yemen against Muḍar. Abū Muslim, on his encounter with al-Karmānī, said nothing of the 'Abbāsids, but saluted al-Karmānī as *amīr* (governor) of Khurasan.<sup>29</sup> The Khārijites, and their leader Ibn Shaibān, were also estranged from Naṣr, the Umayyad governor.<sup>30</sup> Until the final break of Yemen and Muḍar, however, Abū Muslim was in a precarious position, for an agreement might be reached to unite and crush him. Once hostilities had begun Abū Muslim applied *divide et impera* and soon won the struggle.

<sup>26</sup> *Mawālī* were active in government service under the Umayyads as well as the 'Abbāsids; cf. Goldziher, *op. cit.* I, 214-5.

<sup>27</sup> Wellhausen, *op. cit.*, 493-6.

<sup>28</sup> The people of Balkh, Tirmidh, and Ṭukhāristān united with the Muḍarites and fought against Abū Dāūd, lieutenant of Abū Muslim on several occasions. Ṭabarī II, 1997, 11.

<sup>29</sup> Ṭabarī II, 1967, 15.

<sup>30</sup> Ṭabarī II, 1956, 6, and 1995, 18; Ibn al-Athīr, ed. C. J. Tornberg V, 281, 11-18.

To return to the subject of the nature of the 'Abbāsīd mission; an interesting letter from Ibrāhīm, the 'Abbāsīd Imām, to Abū Muslim was intercepted by the Umayyads. Ṭabarī tells the story:<sup>31</sup> "Naṣr wrote to Marwān, informing him of the news of Abū Muslim, of his appearance and strength, and how he preached on behalf of Ibrāhīm ibn Muḥammad. Then Marwān came upon (another) letter, for a messenger of Abū Muslim to Ibrāhīm came to him (Marwān). He was returning from Ibrāhīm, and had a letter from Ibrāhīm for Abū Muslim, an answer to his (Abū Muslim's) letter. In it he cursed Abū Muslim and slandered him, since he did not take advantage of Naṣr and al-Karmānī when they offered him the opportunity. He ordered him (Abū Muslim) not to let any Arab remain alive in Khurasan." This last sentence repeats a command of Ibrāhīm, who earlier said to Abū Muslim, "Kill anyone whom you suspect, and who is suspicious in his affair. You can see to it that there is not left in Khurasan a speaker of Arabic."<sup>32</sup> This was repeated by later Muslim authors as evidence of the anti-Arab sentiment of the 'Abbāsīd movement.<sup>33</sup> Van Vloten accepts this and other evidence, such as the verses of Naṣr ibn Sayyār to Marwān, to show that the 'Abbāsīd movement was anti-Arab and meant death to the Arabs.<sup>34</sup> This is certainly not true, whatever some Iranian followers of the 'Abbāsīds, or the Umayyad partisans may have thought. The authenticity of the order of Ibrāhīm to Abū Muslim to kill all Arabs is to be doubted. It indicates the feeling of later Arab writers in regard to the Shu'ūbiya, i.e., the sentiments of non-Arab Muslims to gain equal, if not superior, status to the Arab Muslims. It seems that the true contents of this letter of Ibrāhīm to Abū Muslim were more in accord with the story in the *Jawāmi' al-Hikāyāt* of Muḥammad 'Aufī, which tells of the precaution of the Imām Ibrāhīm in ordering Abū Muslim to kill *all pos-*

<sup>31</sup> Ṭabarī II, 1974, 5-11. It is repeated III, 25, 3-5.

<sup>32</sup> Ṭabarī II, 1937, 13.

<sup>33</sup> Cf. *Iqd al-Farīd* of Ibn Abī Rabbīhi, *op. cit.* II, 278, 8-9. Dīnawarī, *op. cit.*, 358, 14.5.

<sup>34</sup> Van Vloten, G., *De Opkomst der Abbasiden in Chorasān*, Leiden 1890, 103, where references to Arabic sources are given. Cf. also Wellhausen, *op. cit.*, 534.

sible claimants to the caliphate in Khurasan.<sup>35</sup> Ṭabarī says that the Hāshimite Arabs were an important group in the army of Abū Muslim,<sup>36</sup> and many of the commanders, such as Abū Dāūd, were Arabs. Wellhausen has explained the situation well when he says that it was not the Arabs *per se*, but the ruling Arabs who were the enemies of the 'Abbāsids.<sup>37</sup>

A strong argument to support the contention that Abū Muslim was pro-Iranian and anti-Arab, might be derived from the actions of Abū Muslim after he had driven Naṣr ibn Sayyār from Khurasan and secured victory for the 'Abbāsids. Abū Muslim then smashed the Khārijites, whose leader Ibn Shaibān was murdered in Sarākhs.<sup>38</sup> The Yemenite chiefs were murdered by Abū Dāūd, Abū Muslim's right-hand man (an Arab) in the city of Balkh, while Abū Muslim himself eliminated the son and successor of al-Karmānī.<sup>39</sup> The revolt of the Shi'ites in Bukhara was also ruthlessly suppressed. Narshakhī says, "There was an Arab who lived in Bukhara, who was a brave man. He held the Shi'a faith and urged the people to support the children of the amīr of the faithful 'Alī. He said, 'We are now free from the affliction of the Marwānids. The plague of the house of 'Abbās is not necessary for us; the children of the prophet must be the successors of the prophet.'"<sup>40</sup> He further tells us that most of the people of the city joined this Arab to fight Abū Muslim, but the Arabs were in control of the city, while in the surrounding estates there was not an Arab, and there the local people joined Abū Muslim's forces.<sup>41</sup> This does not change our contention that the main objective of Abū Muslim was to suppress anyone who might oppose the 'Abbāsids, be he Arab or 'Ajam.

We have found nothing in the life story of Abū Muslim

<sup>35</sup> Muḥ. Niẓām ud-Dīn, *Introduction to the Jawāmi' u'l-Ḥikāyāt* of Muḥ. 'Awfī, E.J.W. Gibb New Series 8, London 1929, 204, serial 1415.

<sup>36</sup> Ṭabarī II, 1987, 18-20.

<sup>37</sup> Wellhausen 535.

<sup>38</sup> Ṭabarī II, 1996, 16-8. Here the Arabs are fighting on both sides.

<sup>39</sup> Ṭabarī II, 2000, 2-4.

<sup>40</sup> Narshakhī, *op. cit.* 60 (bottom)-61.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.* 61, 14; 62, 4.

to conclude that he was not a good Muslim. His name was not adopted for nothing. He knew how to keep silent and calm, a necessary quality in the presence of the various opposing factions in Khurasan. He is described as a very astute, calm and quiet individual.<sup>42</sup> When asked how he had managed to attain such a high position, he replied that it was by keeping things to himself, patience, and not revealing any secrets.<sup>43</sup> Hence one might suppose that many Iranian groups took Abū Muslim's silence as support for their ideas and doctrines. Certainly he became, and remained to the present, a great Iranian hero, and in the minds of some heretics, divine. The large number of stories and romances about Abū Muslim, which have been preserved, testify to the strong impression which he made on the minds of the Persians.<sup>44</sup> According to Ibn Ḥazm, and others, Abū Muslim was a messiah to many of the Iranians, a theory which Van Vloten accepts.<sup>45</sup> This was hardly in the mind or intentions of Abū Muslim.

To recapitulate, Abū Muslim was not pro-Iranian or anti-Muslim, but loyally pro-'Abbāsīd and a good Muslim. He was first a political man, whose objective was the overthrow of Umayyad power, and, at the beginning he probably was not too particular who helped him. I have found no evidence, contrary to Barthold, that Abū Muslim himself tried to make a fusion of Islamic and Iranian beliefs. It is to be doubted that he compromised his Islam.

At the beginning of the 'Abbāsīd revolt it was far more important to win the Arabs to the cause than the Iranians. In spite of the references in later literature, the poem sent by Naṣr ibn Sayyār to Marwān, and other indications, the 'Ab-

<sup>42</sup> Ibn Khallikān II, 103-4.

<sup>43</sup> *Le Livre des Beautés et des Antithèses* attribué à Abu Othman al-Djahiz, ed. Van Vloten, Leiden 1898, 29, 3-4.

<sup>44</sup> There are a large number of mss. of legends and stories in prose and verse about Abū Muslim preserved in libraries in the Orient, especially in Turkey. In the 'Alī Emri library of Istanbul there is preserved a novel about Abū Muslim in fifteen volumes. These romances are written in Persian and Turkish. Cf. article Ebū Muslim by Mükrimin Halil Yinanç in *Islam Ansiklopedisi*, cüz 29, Istanbul 1945, 40 bottom. The novel by Jūrjī Zaidān, *Abū Muslim al-Khurāsānī*, Cairo 1933, 6, 20-1, etc., portrays him as the head of the Iranian Shi'a.

<sup>45</sup> Van Vloten, *Recherches*, 68; Friedlander, I., *The Heterodoxies of the Shiites* (Ibn Ḥazm), *JAOS* 28, 1907, 36, 70; 1908, 118-9.

bāsid revolt was predominantly an Arab political-religious affair. It was not an Iranian, anti-Arab movement. In every battle there were Arabs and non-Arabs on both sides, with the direction of affairs mostly in the hands of the former. The aftermath of the revolt, and the series of heresies and revolts in Khurasan and Transoxania, are another matter.

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### Nationalism and Evangelism

In few parts of the world does the spirit of nationalism run so deep as in the Near East. The fact that this is likely to become one of the world's storm centres places on the Home Church a tremendous responsibility to strengthen in every way possible the witness of each young branch of the Christian Church. In this strategic area the C.M.S. has probably more work among Moslems than any other missionary society, British or American. Through the centres of Christian activity which the Society has established in Egypt and the Sudan, Palestine and Iran, the Christian Church is steadily making its influence felt in the life of the non-Christian community. To quote Mr. S. A. Morrison:—

“In the setting of fierce nationalism, which is often Islamic at heart, the C.M.S. is quietly carrying on its work of consolidating a missionary-minded Church, of bringing together the hitherto largely conflicting forces of the various Churches, ancient and younger, and of moulding the thought, standards, and practice of the community at large. It is a gigantic task, an extremely difficult and delicate task, but above all a task of potentially supreme importance.”

—C.M.S. Report

## PAKISTAN

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The present political crisis in India grows, not out of the unwillingness of the British to give India a free government, but rather out of the deep religious divisions and fears which have become the dominant factor in Indian politics. With the coming of the Cabinet Commission last April, and its earnest efforts to bring together the Indian leaders for the formulation of a constitution, even those who had been cynics agreed that England was finally ready to withdraw. But the obstacle which had proven an insuperable stumblingblock in the London Round Table Conferences in 1930, 1931 and 1932 again proved the greatest problem: the Congress Party and the Moslem League could not reach an agreement on the issue of religious communalism. Congress claims to represent *all* communities; the Moslem League claims to represent *all* Indian Muhammedans, and the two cannot come together.

The problem in the 1930's was solved by assigning a certain number of seats in the legislative bodies to minority communities, to be filled by the votes of the corresponding religious groups. This time, however, the Moslem League has rejected this solution, which it claims did not protect the religious minorities adequately, and instead is demanding that those areas in which Muhammedans are in a majority or a near majority shall be cut off from the rest of India and become a separate and independent state. To these portions has been given the name *Pakistan*.

"Pakistan," therefore, is the word and the idea about which the present critical situation in India revolves. Literally, the word means the country of the pure. It has been fancifully derived from the initials of the northern and predominantly Moslem provinces in India, with the last "*tan*" taken from the last syllable of Baluchistan:

P unjab  
A fghan (for Northwest Frontier Province, in which Afghans live)  
K ashmir  
(I) (not written in Urdu)  
S ind  
T  
A } Baluchis*TAN*  
N }

Later, Bengal and Assam were added to Pakistan, even though hundreds of miles separate them from the block in the northwest.

The boundaries of Pakistan have never been clearly defined, but—

however they may be drawn—it is certain that the problem of minorities in India will simply be changed in its setting and not in its fundamental character. Large numbers of Hindus, Sikhs, Christians and others will be found in Pakistan, while large numbers of Muhammedans will be found scattered over the rest of India. The arguments for Pakistan lie in the radical differences between Hinduism and Muhammedanism as religions, with consequent differences of culture. This, combined with the fact that almost fifty million Muhammedans are concentrated into a relatively narrow strip in northwestern India and in a part of Bengal, gives a far stronger basis for a separate Muhammedan state than exists for the division between Canada and the United States or between Norway and Sweden.

The arguments against Pakistan have been well summed up by the Cabinet Commission in May, 1946. They pointed out that, though a separate Muhammedan state might fulfil the desires of many of the Moslems of India, it would defeat the interests of large numbers of Hindus, Sikhs and others who would be included within its boundaries. It would disrupt the unified transportation, postal and telegraph systems that have been built up for a united India. It would weaken defense measures. It would complicate the problem of the Indian States. Finally, the two parts of Pakistan would be separated by some 700 miles.

Any decision that is reached is certain to be unwelcome to millions of Indians on one side or the other and may lead to violent action, for emotional tension on the question has become very strong. Fortunately, it is not a problem that we in America can or should decide, but as friends of India we cannot be indifferent to it. It is a problem which Americans, with their "melting pot" of cultures and nationalities have difficulty in understanding fully; but it is similar to that which has had such tragic consequences for Europe during the past decade. It roots in those evils that are so deeply imbedded in the human heart, whether Indian, European or American, the evils of pride, selfishness and love of power.

These faults and attitudes are sufficiently common in American life that we have no grounds for self-righteousness. They are sufficiently common in the world to constitute a major problem which cannot be solved by any manipulation of boundaries or elaboration of safeguards. They limit the formation of democratic governments and hamper the operation of democratic governments already established. They root in the spirit of man and can be cured only by spiritual remedies. If America is making any contribution toward the solution of the problem in India, it is through the work of the church in that land as it exalts the spirit and teaching of Christ and as it wins people to Him. In deep humility America can say to India, "Our

democracy is workable only insofar as we have embodied Christian ideals and attitudes in our government; it is weak insofar as we have permitted racial or group selfishness and prejudices to sway our actions."

What, then, may we expect to emerge from the situation in India?

First, whether there be a united India or a Pakistan, the ideals of the leaders are in the direction of a democracy. But the simple rule of the majority, which is possible in a more homogeneous people, must be modified to provide safeguards for the unavoidable minorities. In the past these safeguards have taken the form of communal representation and voting, and there will be a strong tendency towards this in the formation of the new constitution. It would be far, far better, however, if a proposal made by the Indian Christians could be accepted by others and communal electorates abandoned. This would give an opportunity for the formation of political parties around national policies and administration rather than on the inflexible and emotionally charged religious divisions.

Second, the British Government would prefer to see a united India. It has given *carte blanche* to the constitutional convention (or Constituent Assembly, as it is being called), their only stipulation being that there must be adequate safeguards for the minorities. Consequently, the British may be expected to resist any effort to establish a Pakistan through force or a *coup d'état*.

Third, it will be extremely difficult for the Congress party and the Moslem League to reach an agreement, even if the Moslem League should consent to participate in the Constituent Assembly. There has been too wide an emotional adherence to the idea of a Pakistan for the Moslem leaders to accept anything which does not at least approximate it. The nearest compromise they could now make would be a loose federation with wide autonomy in the provinces and very limited powers in the center.

Whatever happens, the British will probably be the "goats." They will be condemned by the Congress adherents for not compelling the Moslem League to fall into line; they are already being berated by the Moslems as having been faithless to their promises.

India is suffering internally from the malady which appears to have infected the whole world—an inability to reach friendly agreements. Suspicion, fear, jealousy, growing hatreds, are robbing the nations of the ability to compromise and to plan in large ways for peaceful progress. Surely, if ever the message of the Prince of Peace was pertinent, it is today, as He calls both men and nations to repentance and love.

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## DOUGHTY'S MIRROR OF ARABIA

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In the preface to the first edition of *Travels in Arabia Deserta*,<sup>1</sup> Charles M. Doughty writes: "The book is not milk for babes: it might be likened to a mirror, wherein is set forth faithfully some parcel of the soil of Arabia smelling of *sámn* [clarified butter] and camels." A more concise warning and preview could not have been given the reader. The mere fact that this is one of the great books raises an initial barrier, similar to those in front of *The Fairy Queen*, *Plato's Republic*, or even *Gulliver's Travels*. Beyond this lies the wall created by the author's language and style: the studied use of Spenserian and Chaucerian English; the inversion of sentences; the seeming lack of plan save for a chronological sequence; the embroidery of each incident in such leisurely detail as to make a reader accustomed to modern pace impatient. It is as though one were exploring on hands and knees a vast and gorgeous Persian carpet. The innumerable stitches and glowing colors are impressive, but no pattern emerges, nor can one enjoy the beauty of the whole until he stands at some distance from it and begins to absorb some of its meaning.

Is the book worth the effort it requires? Should missionaries, educators, anthropologists, oil men, diplomats and travellers in the Middle East consider it invaluable and indispensable, or is there an easier way to acquire understanding of the Arab world? This reader, at any rate, has discovered that once a taste for Doughty has been laboriously acquired "the appetite grows with the eating," and the supply of food for the mind seems inexhaustible.

Who was Charles Montagu Doughty, and what was he doing in Arabia? The article by Hogarth in the Dictionary of

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<sup>1</sup> *Travels in Arabia Deserta* by Charles M. Doughty, with a new preface by the author, introduction by T. E. Lawrence, and all original maps, plans, and illustrations. Vol. I, 619 pp., Vol. II, 690 pp., New York: Random House.

National Biography tells us that he was the younger son of a clergyman and landowner; that he prepared for, but was rejected by the Royal Navy for medical reasons. He was a student of geology at Downing College, at Cambridge University, and in Norway, but he was also interested in linguistic and antiquarian studies. He travelled in Europe, North Africa, Syria and Sinai. When he was thirty-three years old, he decided he must see the monuments and inscriptions at Madain Salih, a stopping-place on the pilgrim road to the Holy Cities. He was going at his own risk so, "clothed as a Syrian of simple fortune," he mingled with the Persians in the pilgrim caravan thinking that he would thus be "less noted whether by Persians or Arabs." For two years (1876-1878) he travelled in the northern deserts and oases, sometimes under the protection of *sheikhs* or *emirs*, sometimes unsupported and fighting against fanatic hostility. The character of the man emerges clearly from his book: he was fearless and stubborn; his prejudices and intolerance were tempered by compassion and understanding; he proved capable of amazing physical feats, although he was not endowed with a strong body; he won the friendship of hostile Arabs time and again because they learned they could trust him, and because they discovered that in truth he came for knowledge only and not for any material gain.

He understood the subtle humor and the intense melancholy of the nomads. Once when one of them asked him " 'How looked I upon the Arab' I answered, likening them to the *tolh*, a pleasant tree in the wilderness with her branches of few evergreen leaves and sharp spines and with some sweet blossoms . . . unprofitable timber. 'Wellah, . . . (he cried), 'ent *sabt*, thou hast shot into the mark.' " Although he was urged repeatedly to pretend he was a Moslem at the very least, this he refused to do. The Emir's cousin reproached him:

" 'I had no wit,' he said, 'to be a traveller!' 'If thou say among the Moslemin that thou art a Moslem, will your people kill thee when you return home?' . . . at the next coffee meeting he said, 'I have found a man that will not befriend himself! I can in no wise persuade

Sheykh Khalil: but if all the Moslemin were like faithful in the religion, I say, the world would not be able to resist us.' ”

Doughty made plans twice, though they did not succeed, to leave the Arabs “some lasting advantage and good remembrance” of his visit in the form of a new water supply. Wherever he rode, in whatever worsted tent or walled town he remained, he had at all times an insatiable curiosity and remarkable powers of observation in every field of knowledge.

This is an encyclopedic work, and the student in any subject will find something interesting in its crowded chapters. Besides his pistol, and a small stock of medicines (always an “Open Sesame” in Arabia), Doughty had with him an aneroid barometer. The geographer will therefore find that altitudes are carefully noted; temperature changes and the amounts of rainfall, the kinds of soil, the shape and height of hills and mountains, the depth of ground water, the distinctive character of the *harra* or lava regions are all recorded. But in saying this one leaves out the essence of the book, for it is an encyclopedia written by a poet. His words carry us swiftly into the Arabian desert, and once more the carpet metaphor is apt. We find ourselves on the bleak plateau near Madain Salih:

“The mountain backward is an horrid sandstone desolation, a death as it were and eternal stillness of nature. The mountain sandstone cloven down in cross lines is here a maze of rhomboid masses, with deep and blind streets, as it were, or some lofty city lying between them. . . . The heights of wasting rock are corroded into many strange forms of heads and pinnacles.”

Or in the country of extinct volcanoes:

“Such Harra land is more often a vast bed and banks of rusty and basaltic blueish blocks . . . ; stubborn heavy matter, as iron, and sounding like bell-metal; lying out eternally under the sand-driving desert wind, they are seen polished and shining in the sun. . . . The heavy poised stones sliding and toppling to the tread, the herdsman’s feet are oftentimes sorely bruised. . . .”

Or we ride in and out of a storm:

“Late in the afternoon there fell great drops from the lowering skies; then a driving rain fell suddenly, shrill and seething, upon the

harsh gravel soil, and so heavily that in few moments all the plain land was a streaming splash. . . . After half an hour the worst was past, and we mounted again. Little birds, before unseen, flitted cheerfully chattering over the wet wilderness. The low sun looked forth, and then appeared a blissful and surpassing spectacle! a triple rainbow painted in the air before us."

The geology of the Arabian peninsula is summarized in the Appendix to Volume II.

The zoologist will read of how the gazelles and wild oxen in the lava country are black in contrast to the white-coated animals of the sandy plain. He may learn of the habits of the camel, the small flocks, the camp dogs and the much-prized, carefully-tended horses. Ostriches, falcons, birds of prey, and the *wothyhi*, or wild ox are described. The *wothyhi* is actually an antelope, and since its two parallel horns might be mistaken for one, and since it is very difficult to capture, Doughty thinks it might well be the fabled unicorn. No tiny lizard, yellow frog, silver-green fish or black-turreted snail escapes his eagle eye. We learn of the *thob* or "manikin saurian" which with "robust hands digs his burrow under the hard gravel soil"; of the hedgehog, called by the Arab "father prickles", etc.

Although the archaeologist of today will gain more exact information on the monuments and their inscriptions from photographs, T. E. Lawrence suggests in his introduction to the book that "to read Doughty is to know what they make one feel."

"Standing high upon the ladder beam, it fortune'd me to light upon one of them [effigy of the human face] which only has remained uninjured; . . . I found this head such as a comic mask, flat-nosed, and with a thin border of beard about a sun-like visage. This sepulchral image is grinning with all his teeth, and shooting out the tongue. The hair of his head is drawn out above either ear like a long 'horn' or hair-lock of the Beduins. Seeing this *larva*, one might murmur again the words of Isaiah, 'Against whom makest thou a wide mouth, and drawest out the tongue?'"

Nowhere else can the anthropologist find such a wealth of information on Arab tribal customs and characteristics. We read of the Solubby, who are tinkers, hunters and gypsies: "The witty-handed smiths and always winning, are

mostly prudent heads; and suffering themselves in the peevish public opinion, they are tolerant more than other men." Time and again we learn about the desert diet and its deleterious effects. We find descriptions of childrens' games; of the burial customs and the attitude toward death; of racial strains and mixtures; of blood sacrifices and when they are made; of the peculiar role of coffee and tobacco in the desert; of the *mejlis*, or court; of the *harem* in the desert and in the town; of the influence of magic; of the *jan* (spirits), and of the hideous desert *ghrol* (ogre); of a primitive economy with its crudely fashioned millstones of granite or sandstone, its imperfect tanning of leather water-sacks with *er'n* roots, its dependence forever on the camel and the date palm; its eternal search for water, its necessary raids or *ghrazzu* as the only means of increasing one's produce. All these things will not only interest an anthropologist or a sociologist; they form an essential background for anyone who is going to live in or study Arabian countries.

Sixty-seven years have brought few changes in the desert, although with the coming of the airplane and the radio it is unlikely to remain as it was in Old Testament days, and as it was in 1878. When Doughty was in Hayil, he was questioned by Hamud, the cousin of Emir Ibn Rashid, bitter rivals of the Saud family:

"He enquired of those marvellous things of the Nasâra, the telegraph, 'and glass, was made of what? . . . also what thing was rock oil' of which stood a lamp burning on a stool before them: it is now used in the principal houses of Hâyil, and they have a saying that the oil is made from human urine. He wondered when I told them it is drawn from wells in the New World; he had heard of that *Dinya el-jedida* and enquired to which quarter it lay, and beyond what seas."

Of a surety most Arabs know now where oil is found, and have discovered that the men from the New World are as clever as the Moors in the Arabian Nights in their ability to discover treasures hidden in the earth. The kings and the sheikhs are assured their royalties, but what of the poor pearl fisher who now helps the magician from the West to uncover

the golden wealth? Will he be as affluent and as influential as he was in Scheherezade's tale?

In Freya Stark's latest book, *The Arab Island*, she is chiefly interested in the coming position of the young Arab *effendis*. In Doughty's time the development of this group had begun:

"This year he would send his son, he told us, to the English schools in Syria;—the new technic instruction, (by which only they think they fall short of the Europeans,) is all the present appetite of such up-waked Mohammedan Arabs."

The historian, interested in the rise of the present Arab kingdoms, will find descriptions of what Doughty calls the "final defeat of the Wahaby power." Little did he realize that two years after his visit to Hayil, a son would be born to the Saudi family who would restore the Wahaby power and rule over almost the entire Arabian peninsula.

One final facet of this many-sided work should be mentioned: it was used as a military text-book in the desert campaigns against the Turks in World War I. This much Lawrence mentions in his introduction. The rest of the story is more personal. My father, for forty years a missionary to Moslems in Arabia and Egypt, happened to have the only copy of Doughty's *Arabia Deserta* available in Cairo. He had used it, pencilled notes in it, and treasured it. But after the United States declared war on Germany, Colonel Lawrence, then a little-known man without much authority, finally persuaded my reluctant father to part with the two volumes. They were split into sections; the pertinent description of each area was put in the hands of the area commander, and served him well in the guerilla warfare which followed. "We took Madain Salih and El Ally," writes Lawrence, "and further north Tebuk and Maan, the Beni Sakhr country, and all the pilgrim road up to Damascus, making in arms the return journey of that by which Doughty had begun his wanderings."

Only the surface of this immense work has been touched in this article. Today this difficult but stimulating book

should be read in this country with avidity. The Palestine question, the oil fields and airfields of the Middle East, and expanding educational and missionary enterprises have made it imperative for Americans of many sorts to understand Arabs and to know something about their country. In these two volumes, Arabia is mirrored. The image is never blurred by sentimentality or exaggeration, for the eyes that recorded it were keen and pitilessly clear.

MARY Z. BRITTAIN

*New York City*

#### A Pilgrim from Kano

A *Hajji* returned from Mecca and living not far from Kano, Nigeria, heard the Gospel from an itinerating missionary. He recognized it as the truth, confessed himself to be a lost sinner and trusted the Lord Jesus Christ for salvation. Seeking the missionary at his station, he received further instruction, and eventually was baptized. When other methods of petty persecution failed to turn him back to the way of Mohammed, *Alhaji* was arrested and without any formal charge was committed to prison for three years. Still rejoicing in his Saviour, he witnessed to the others in prison and soon was the means of winning three of them to the Lord. "Prayer was made without ceasing of the church unto God" for *Alhaji*, and after two months he was released. A few days after his release, the judge who had committed him to prison suddenly died. As *Alhaji* went through the villages in the Kano area, many hearing his witness turned from Mohammed to Christ.

#### In Chinese Turkestan

Swedish missions in Chinese Turkestan have been closed by Russian influence and the missionaries driven down into India. Here they have undertaken to preach the Gospel to the 300,000 Moslems of the Bombay Presidency. Their ministry has already borne fruit in the conversion of a Western-trained Indian doctor, formerly an ardent Moslem. These fine Swedish missionaries have also utilized the time of exile from their field to finish the translation of Scripture into Turki, the language of the Tungans of Central Asia. This translation could be read also by some sixteen million Turki in North India.

## SINKIANG, THE NEW DOMINION

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Literally Sinkiang means the New Dominion. Chinese history reveals that, politically, this term is an out and out misnomer. As early as two thousand years ago, Wu Ti of the Han Dynasty had already cast an eye on China's Northwest. He sent such prominent men as Chang Ch'ien, Ho Chu-pin and others to make inspection tours of, and to submit detailed reports on, these undeveloped areas. That the succeeding rulers were not so keen as he in the important matter of developing Northwestern China does not alter the plain fact Sinkiang has been a part of China for many long centuries. The province of Sinkiang was first established in 1882 on the recommendation of the famous General Tso Tsung-t'ang, after his successful suppression of the Moslem uprising in that area. Before that date Sinkiang was just a part of Hsi Yü or Western Frontier.

This is a rough sketch of the historical background of China's "Back-door." Now I shall try to present a few salient points about Sinkiang for the prayerful consideration of those interested in Moslems:

*So far as the Gospel is concerned, Sinkiang is undoubtedly a New Dominion.* Thirteen centuries ago the Nestorians came to China by way of the Silk Route through South Sinkiang. But they left no trace of their evangelistic activities in Sinkiang. Evangelism in that remote part of the country has been a matter of only a few decades. At the close of the preceding century a few very resolute missionaries went to that unoccupied field to exalt the Name of Jesus. Their difficulties were almost unsurmountable. With the deportation of the seventy-two year old China Inland Mission labourer, the Rev. G. W. Hunter, in 1941, a vast area of one million, six hundred and four thousand square kilometers, Sinkiang, is without a mission or missionary. That the wandering people in a province four times the size of Szechuan (and esti-

mated to be two to three times the size of Texas), have no opportunity to hear the Gospel is no trifling matter. The Lord sent Jonah, the Prophet, to Nineveh to bring the six-score thousand persons of that city to repentance. Should he not spare that great province of Sinkiang with four million persons? As Sinkiang is almost untouched, let us pray that those who cherish the same ardent ambition as St. Paul to preach the Gospel in the *regions beyond* (II Cor. 10:16), will respond to the Divine Call.

*Sinkiang is a strategic place in evangelism.* St. Paul was not only a good evangelist, but also a missionary strategist. According to Dr. Deissmann, all the important centers of St. Paul's activities are now junctions for railways or steamship connections—a proof of his wisdom in choosing strategic centers (*St. Paul: A Study in the Social and Religious History*, pp. 200-202). If we of the air age take the strategic importance of Sinkiang into consideration, we shall soon realize that no cost will be too high to win the people to Christ. Moslems are a minority in China, but a majority in Sinkiang. Seventy per cent of the population being Moslems, it is the stronghold of Islam in China. Moreover, Sinkiang is bordering on the southwest two most important Moslem countries; i.e., India and Afghanistan. If the Cross is to triumph over the Crescent in China we are in duty bound to bear Sinkiang in mind. What a great difference it will make if we can succeed in establishing missionary stations at Hami, Tihua (or Urumchi as the Russians call it), Tacheng, Kashgar, Ili, Khotan, Tarbagatai, Yarkand, Aksu, and other important centers. There may be those who strive to preach the Gospel, not where Christ was named, lest they should build upon another man's foundation (Rom. 15:20). We could hardly suggest a more appropriate place than Sinkiang.

*Sinkiang needs the Gospel of Peace.* Sinkiang, well known for the repeated disturbances, was once China's Siberia. Those who had to go there, be they criminals or otherwise, used to doubt if there was any chance to return. A Chinese proverb descriptive of the frequent disturbances has it that "There is a small-scale disturbance in every ten years,

and a big-scale one in every twenty years." This is not surprising if we remember that, according to the official classification there are fourteen peoples in this least populated province with different faiths, custom, languages, etc. Under such circumstances it may be too much to expect that the people will live together peacefully. In the event of an uprising the Government has only two weapons in hand, suppression by force and pacification by compromise. Sometimes one is considered more effective than the other, and sometimes both of them are employed simultaneously. After all, they do not prove to work well. We, followers of Christ, know that the solution of this serious problem is found only in Him. (Eph. II, 13-21.) That is exactly why we must introduce the Prince of Peace to the peoples of Sinkiang. Nowhere is there more urgent need of the Gospel of Peace. "The sword divides, the Cross unites." For chaotic Sinkiang, as well as for the chaotic world, the Cross of Jesus is the only way out, for

"In Christ there is no East or West,  
In Him no South or North;  
But one great fellowship of Love  
Throughout the whole wide earth."

*The door of Sinkiang is swinging open.* Since the door of Sinkiang was closed to the messengers of the Gospel, we have been praying fervently that "God may open to us a door for the word, to speak the mystery of Christ" (Col. 4:3). We have to thank the Lord for He is now saying to us, "Behold, I have set before thee a door opened, which none can shut" (Rev. 3:8). The newly re-organized Sinkiang Government has promised to restore to its peoples the freedom of worship, and to make no discrimination against any religion. From what has actually happened during the last one or two months, it seems very likely that, under the leadership of the Christian Chairman, General Chang Chih-chung, these promises will be faithfully kept. "For a great door and effectual is open to us, and there are many adversaries" (I Cor. 16:9). This is a Macedonian cry. Have we not heard it? Shall we accept the challenge? Who will follow the footsteps of Marco Polo, the

famous Italian traveler of the thirteenth century, or of Hsuan-chuang, the distinguished Buddhist scholar of the T'ang Dynasty, to the Gobi?, "We must work the works of Him that sent me while it is day: the night cometh, when no man can work."

The time is ripe for all missionary-minded Christians to consider what we can do to win this greatest province of China to Christ.\* What Raymund Lull, the earliest missionary to the Moslems, said of Palestine is also true of the New Dominion: "It is my belief, O Christ, that the conquest of the Holy Land [and of Sinkiang, as in our case] should be attempted in no other way than Thou and Thy apostles undertook to accomplish it, by love, by prayer, by tears and by the offering of our lives." How shall we show our love for the neglected peoples of Sinkiang? Shall we pray earnestly for their salvation? Who will go forth and weep, bearing precious seed, so that he may come again with rejoicing, bringing his sheaves with him? Are we willing to lay down our lives for those whom we want to bring to Christ? We cannot feel unconcerned when millions of people south and north of the Tien-shan are still in darkness. The same old question is again clearly audible: "Whom shall I send, and who will go for us?"

RICHARD C. S. HU

*Shanghai, China*

\*POPULATION OF SINKIANG IN 1944

<i>Races</i>	<i>Male</i>	<i>Female</i>	<i>Total</i>
Uigur	1,522,331	1,377,842	2,900,173
Khazak	168,346	150,370	318,716
Chinese	115,128	87,111	202,239
Chinese Moslems (Tungan)	48,501	43,635	92,136
Kirghiz	30,679	34,569	65,248
Mongol	33,105	29,913	63,018
Taranchi	22,161	19,146	41,307
Naturalized emigré	6,567	6,841	13,408
Sibo	4,953	4,250	9,203
Tajik	4,545	4,322	8,867
Uzbek	4,163	3,803	7,966
Tartar	2,370	2,231	4,601
Solum	1,385	1,104	2,489
Manchu	376	294	670
<b>Total</b>	<b>1,964,610</b>	<b>1,765,431</b>	<b>3,730,041</b>

## ARABIA PHOENIX\*

(Reprinted by permission from *The London Times Literary Supplement* of July 13, 1946)

It is strange that not a full-orbed book has come out of polar travel; the world of eternal ice, tragic with heroic effort and lost endeavour, has yielded no more than would provide an anthology with sober and impressive passages. But Arabia, the home of Ishmael, whence came Islam and conquest, has a name—and how earned is a mystery—that has moved even the poets to songs of melancholy love and wistfulness, though they have not seen so much as Jedda, and might decline to go, if invited. It seems that Colonel Gerald de Gaury himself, whose delightful book prompted this reflection, while in hospital with wounds in the first world war, began to learn Arabic from a book left by his bedside. He doesn't say why. Whatever his reason, it was lucky for us, as the sequel shows. Since then he has travelled across Arabia from the Persian Gulf to the Red Sea; and few Christians have done that. Therefore he does not share the superficial view of a voyager at a ship's side, who is overawed by the mass of what appears to be calcined desolation; instead, he closes the narrative of his journey by turning to Walter de la Mare to sing for him, that there may be no doubt about his sentiment. Only a poet could find the right words for it.

They haunt me—her lutes and her forests;  
No beauty on earth I see  
But shadowed with that dream recalls  
Her loveliness to me:  
Still eyes look coldly upon me,  
Cold voices whisper and say—  
“He is crazed with the spell of far Arabia,  
They have stolen his wits away.”

Colonel de Gaury, turning in distaste from the noisy vulgarity of industrial civilization, must have read a deal about Arabia before ever he landed on the island of Bahrein, to begin his journey. He knew what to expect. The valuable bibliography he appends to his story shows that. It has been remarked, and more than once, that tales of far countries have the same effect on some people as the moon in a certain phase, or the music heard by one listener alone. It is impossible to believe, when he hears it—keeping the matter strictly

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\* GERALD DE GAURY: *Arabia Phoenix*. With a Foreword by FREYA STARK. Harrap. 10s. 6d.

secret—that Pan is dead. He knows how that rumour began. It was put out by interested Ionian merchants. Such men become stern and rational when they hear of time wasted in Arcady, or any other seclusion where wheels do not profitably go round.

The author is too polite to say so, but he wants to get away from us; yet to show there is no ill-feeling, he lets us into the secret of making and serving coffee in the Nejd style, knowing that to be as near Arabia as most of us will ever get. Misfortune so distressing deserves a little pity. We shall never be entertained in the Old Palace at Riyadh, shall find not so much as admission to a Beduin fellowship in a desert camp, so at least let us take coffee in the real right way—if we can get Mocha berries—while reading Freya Stark, the Blunts, Lawrence, Hogarth, Doughty, and this book. Yes, the Colonel's little book—descriptive of an historic event, however one looks at it—may be put with the classics of Arabian travel.

But the Colonel has a prejudice? Of course he has. Who hasn't? It goes as far as showing Islam in a nice light. After all, the bigoted Wahhabis let him alone. As a fact, they had to, for their King himself had given sanctuary to distinguished guests, and the Arabian lore of hospitality is sacred; but those priests, with their henna-stained whiskers and cruel righteousness, certainly let him see what they thought of kafirs. We learn that the peak of their fanaticism is past, yet a reader cannot help wondering how they might work upon the feelings of an ignorant community should he, an unimportant traveller, pause there to recover strength, all unfortified by luggage containing the gift of the Garter from one king to another.

The tolerance of the Wahhabis is nothing like that of the Moorish rulers of Cordova, in the days when Islam was a great intellectual power in the world, but he does not condemn them. The Colonel's kindly feelings for Arabia extend even to a prejudice in favour of its sunsets. "The colours are more delicate than might be expected, and the violence in the sky's colouring, seen in India and some other Eastern countries, does not appear often in Arabia. It is Mozart, not Wagner." Now, is a traveller who knows the Far East going to remain quiet under that? What, sunset over the China Sea, magnificent and terrible, merely Nordic grandiloquence? That is nearly enough to make a reader turn again savagely to Doughty, to quote a bit from the scene when the righteous knives were out after him. The retort would not be fair, but it would be human. Still, it must be remembered, even of Wahhabis, that other lands, where the skies of dawn and sunset can be suitably Mozartian, have had their puritans and their inquisitions.

Though our author must know that. He was only thinking regretfully of the simplicity of life in the desert, far away. For he admits in

a postscript that Old Arabia is changing at last. "Where we landed from a sailing-boat on the edge of the virgin dunes of the east coast is now an American industrial town, the centre of the oilfield of the Arabian-American Oil Company." The Wahhabis are going to learn something not in the Koran, evidently. Not date palms, goats, camels, mosques and the smell of herbs and charcoal fires, but quays, derricks, rigs, sheds, pipelines, telegraph-lines, power-plants, automobiles rushing about and hurrying gangs of workmen. Not the salutation, "Peace upon you," but "Okay, boy."

The colonel, in a sudden change of mind, seems to suggest that it may be all to the good. Arabia, he thinks, is coming on. "Arabia and the Arabs are now astir. He who visits the Arabian lands may yet see again that wondrous Arabian bird—a Phoenix." He tells us there are now motor roads across the desert; there are aerodromes; the King has completed the task of restoring his dynasty; there is a revival of Islamic teaching; irrigation experts from America are busy; the towns of Arabia are linked by wireless telegraph stations; the royal camp of hundreds of tents is mechanized; six-wheel lorries rumble through the wadis. As Shakespeare foretold: "The vasty wilds of wide Arabia are as thorofares now."

Well, is that the Phoenix? A remarkable fowl. We cannot say we admire it. Its nests are commonplace, marked by stains of black grease, and by many strong smells, none of them like the fabled incense of Araby. Is it better for the Garden of Eden to be a car-park? "Aircraft have landed at Al Bowaib, an hour by car from Riyadh." It might be Croydon, which also, like Riyadh, has an Old Palace. The transforming properties of magical petrol transcend the most powerful incantation of the Arabian Nights; yet its common result is not to make the desert blossom as the rose, but to change an oasis or what not into concrete and tarmac. This comes about through the logic of necessity, though other names have been found for it.

The colonel is sure Arabia's lutes and forests are thus to be improved. Even the Beduin is in the right way to become machine-minded, like the rest of a forthcoming generation.

"There are over fifteen thousand miles of regularly used car-tracks in Arabia; and where we painfully made our way through the Hejaz valleys are well-metalled roads,"

So all is for the best, apparently, as the Phoenix reappears. Alas for the myrtles, apricots, pomegranates, palms, fountains and doves when the explosive engine arrives, and with it the mind that loves the music of racing pistons above the music of nightingales. But is the colonel only advising us, ironically, that there was once a serious crisis at Tours and that we may expect another?

—*London Times Reviewer*

## THE MOORISH SCIENCE TEMPLE AND ITS "KORAN"

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In "Black Gods of the Metropolis,"\* Dr. Arthur Huff Fauset presents evidence as to the character and practices of five Negro cults in the northern cities of the United States, namely, (1) Mt. Sinai Holy Church of America, Inc.; (2) United House of Prayer for All People (Bishop Grace); (3) Church of God (Black Jews); (4) Moorish Science Temple of America, and (5) Father Divine Peace Mission Movement.

This review-article is especially concerned with the chapter on the Moorish Science Temple of America. The author gives a sympathetic treatment of this cult. Because of the difficulty he had in using a copy of the Moorish Science "Holy Koran," due to the esteem of the members for this document, his study and interpretation of the movement may be supplemented by the material in this article. Dr. Fauset's chapter contains testimonies and observations of people familiar with the movement. This article will present further conclusions.

It was in 1937 that Hartford Negroes were told of the Moorish Science Temple of America by a leader from the present headquarters of the movement in Brooklyn, New York. He convinced many Negroes here that the Moorish cult was the true religion of the Negro. The group now meets in a home on the corner of Capen and Main streets. A large room there is called the Holy Temple. A platform holds the pulpit. Chairs are used for seats. A picture of the late Noble Prophet Drew Ali, the founder of the faith, hangs prominently on the temple wall. The picture shows the prophet in full oriental regalia—fez, linen trousers, shawl and sash. On the opposite wall is a Charter from the State of Connecticut, issued in 1938, declaring the organization to be a corporation without capital stock. The third important item is a set of printed laws, called Acts of Moorish Science Temple of America. Act Six deals directly with the racial issue. It states, "With us all members must proclaim their nationality and we are teaching our people their nationality that they are a part and partial of this said government and know that they are not Negroes, colored folk, Black people or Ethiopians because these names were given to slaves

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\* *Black Gods of the Metropolis*. Negro Religious Cults of the Urban North. By Arthur Huff Fauset. Publications of the Philadelphia Anthropological Society, Volume III. Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1944. pp. 126. \$2.00. There is a second edition.

Our readers will remember articles on this cult in *The Moslem World* Vol. XXV, pp. 40-44 and Vol. XXXII, pp. 55-59.

by slave holders in 1779 and lasted until 1865 during the time of slavery. This is a new era, all men must proclaim their free Nationality. In order to be recognized by the government in which they live and the nations of the earth this is the reason why Allah the Great God of the Universe ordained Noble Drew Ali the Prophet to redeem his people from their sinful ways. The Moorish Americans are descendants of the ancient Moabites who inhabited the Northwest and Southwest shores of Africa."

At the end of the Acts is a prayer to Allah: "Allah the Father of the Universe, Father of Love, Truth, Peace and Freedom. Allah is my protector, my guide and my salvation by night and by day."

Act Six has caused much debate in the Negro community from the beginning of the movement in Hartford. To most Negroes it has caused much amusement, because the average Negro is more interested in dignifying the name "Negro" than in escaping from it.

In the Moorish Temple on Main street the Sabbath is observed on Friday. But Sunday School is held on Sunday at one o'clock. At the Friday worship service a reader presides. He is a layman who is one of the leaders of the movement. The two highest local officers are the Grand Sheik and the Grand Sheikess. Music is not important in the service. Tunes of the spirituals and other hymns of familiar Negro music are used, but the words have been changed to fit the new teaching. The service is open for discussion and members may talk on receiving permission from the presiding officer. The subjects discussed deal mostly with racial advancement.

When the movement first started in Hartford a large number of Negroes left the churches to which they had belonged. It is said that hundreds of Negroes joined the movement. Some were dissatisfied with their churches. Others joined the movement because it was something new and others because it offered sick benefits. Some were attracted by the type of services conducted and the special dress worn by the membership, which was colorful and indicated rank. Persons of another faith are not barred from the services. The Negroes who have joined the cult believe they have found the real religion because it provides for spiritual needs and their emotional expression, and for racial advancement through communal rather than individual business enterprises.

On pages 45 and 46 of his book, Dr. Fauset reproduces the front cover, the inside cover and page one of the book, "The Holy Koran," which contains the central teaching of the cult.

On page 2 there is a picture with the following words below it: "Sultan Abdul Aziz Ibu (*sic*) Suad (*sic*) / The Descendant of Hagar, now the Head of the / Holy City of Mecca." The picture is one of 'Abdu 'l-'Aziz Ibn Sa'ud, King of Saudi Arabia.

On page 3 we find the following statements: "Know Thyself / and Thy Father God / Allah /

"The genealogy of Jesus with eighteen years of the events, life works and teachings in India, Europe and Africa. These events occurred before He was thirty years of age. These secret lessons are for all of those who love Jesus and desire to know about His life works and teachings.

"Dear readers, do not falsely use these lessons. They are for good, peace and happiness for all those that love Jesus.

"Dear mothers, teach these lessons to your little ones, that they may learn to love instead of to hate.

"Dear fathers, by these lessons you can set your house in order and your children will learn to love instead of to hate.

"The lessons of this pamphlet are not for sale, but for the sake of humanity, as I am a prophet and the servant is worthy of his hire, you can receive this pamphlet at expense. The reason these lessons have not been known is because the Moslems of India, Egypt and Palestine had these secrets and kept them back from the outside world, and when the time appointed by Allah they loosened the keys and freed these secrets, and for the first time in ages have these secrets been delivered in the hands of the Moslems of America. All authority and rights of publishing this pamphlet of 1927.

"By the Prophet / Noble Drew Ali /

"The industrious acts of the Moslems of northwest and southwest Africa. These are the Moabites, Hamathites, Canaanites, who were driven out of the land of Canaan, by Joshua, and received permission from the Pharaohs of Egypt to settle in that portion of Egypt. In later years they formed themselves kingdoms. These kingdoms are called this day Morocco, Algiers, Tunis, Tripoli, etc."

After this introduction the text of the pamphlet begins on page 4 with "Chapter I / The Creation and Fall of Man / . The first sentence reads: ' "Time never was, when man was not." ' On page 5 we find "Chapter II / Education of Mary and Elizabeth in Zoan, Egypt / ."

The text of the pamphlet has forty-eight chapters and ends on page 60. An Index of three more pages gives the number and subject of the chapters. Beginning with page 2 the pages have the headings: "The Divine Instructions / from the Holy Prophet / ."

For the understanding of the teaching of the Moorish Science Temple the following passages are selected:

Page 56: "Chapter XLV / The Divine Origin of the Asiatic Nations /

1. The fallen sons and daughters of the Asiatic Nation of North America need to learn to love instead of hate; and to know of their

higher self and lower self. This is the uniting of the Holy Koran of Mecca, for teaching and instructing all Moorish Americans, etc.

2. The key of civilization was and is in the hands of the Asiatic nations. The Moorish, who were the ancient Moabites, and the founders of the Holy City of Mecca.”

Page 57: “Chapter XLVI / The Beginning of Christianity /

1. The foundation of Chistianity (*sic*) began in Rome. The Roman nations founded the first Church, which crucified Jesus of Nazareth for seeking to redeem His people from the Roman yoke and law.

2. Jesus himself was of the true blood of the ancient Canaanites and Moabites and the inhabitants of Africa.”

Pages 57, 58, 59: “Chapters XLVII / Egypt, The Capital Empire of the Dominion of / Africa /

1. The inhabitants of Africa are the descendants of the ancient Canaanites from the land of Canaan.

9. According to all true and divine records of the human race there is no negro, black or colored race attached to the human family, because all the inhabitants of Africa were and are of the human race, descendants of the ancient Canaanite nation from the holy land of Canaan.

10. What your ancient forefathers were, you are today without doubt of contradiction.

16. Through sin and disobedience every nation has suffered slavery, due to the fact that they honored not the creed and principles of their forefathers.

17. That is why the nationality of the Moors was taken away from them in 1774 and the word negro, black and colored was given to the Asiatics of America who were of Moorish descent, because they honored not the principles of their father and mother, and strayed after the gods of Europe of whom they knew nothing.

Chapter XLVIII / The End of Time and the Fulfilling of / the Prophesies /

1. The last Prophet in these days is Noble Drew Ali. . . .

2. John the Baptist was the forerunner of Jesus in those days. . . .

3. In these modern days there came a forerunner, who was divinely prepared by the great God-Allah and his name is Marcus Garvey, who did teach and warn the nations of the earth to prepare to meet the coming Prophet; who was to bring the true and divine Creed of Islam, and his name is Noble Drew Ali; who was prepared and sent to this earth to teach the old time religion and the everlasting gospel to the sons of men. That every nation shall and must worship under their own vine and fig tree, and return to their own and be one with their Father God-Allah.

7. Therefore we are returning the Church and Christianity back

to the European Nations, as it was prepared by their forefathers for their earthly salvation.

8. While we, the Moorish Americans are returning to Islam, which was founded by our forefathers for our earthly and divine salvation."

On page 41 Dr. Fauset quite correctly tells us that the Holy Koran of the Moorish Holy Temple of Science is not to be confused with the orthodox Mohammedan Koran. The use in the book of the terms Mecca, Moslem and Islam might result in such confusion with people unacquainted with the Koran and Islam of the history of religions.

It was the late Professor Duncan Black Macdonald who discovered the source of much of the text of the Moorish Science Koran. When he was shown a copy of the Holy Koran he recalled its similarity to a book of which there were two copies in his library. These two copies are now among the books he bequeathed to the library of the Hartford Seminary Foundation.

The title page of one of these books reads as follows:

"The Aquarian Gospel / of / Jesus the Christ / The Philosophic and Practical Basis of the Religion / of the Aquarian Age of the World / and of / The Church Universal / Transcribed from the Book of God's Remembrances, / Known as the Akashic Records, / by / Levi / with / Introduction / by / Hon. Henry A. Coffeen / London: / C. F. Gzenove / The Royal Publishing Company / Los Angeles, California, U.S.A. / 1909 / Power-Book Co. / 29, Ludgate Hill, E. C. /

On the reverse is the boxed statement: "Copyright, 1908, by / Henry A. Coffeen / Copyright in England, 1908 / Entered at Stationers' Hall, London / All Rights Reserved / including rights of translation / .

On page 3 there is a table of Contents, listing Sections I-XXII, to include Chapters 1-182. Pages 5-7 contain a Preface about the book by the Publishers. This edition contains an Introduction dated Sept. 15, 1908, by Henry A. Coffeen, former U.S. Congressman from Wyoming, which extends from page 9 to 23 inclusive. Page 24 is blank.

The title page of the second copy is the same down to the words "Introduction by" and continues: "Eva S. Dowling, A.Ph.D.

"Eva S. Dowling, A.Ph.D. / Fourth Edition / London: / L. N. Fowler and Company / Published and for sale by / E. S. Dowling / Los Angeles, California / 1916 /". On the reverse is the boxed statement:

"Copyright 1911, by / Mrs. Eva S. Dowling / Copyright in England, 1911 / Entered at Stationers' Hall, London / All Rights Reserved / including rights of translation /".

An Introduction by Eva S. Dowling, A.Ph.D., Scribe to the Mes-

senger, extends from page 5 to page 14 inclusive. Then a closely printed Subject Index occupies pages 15-24.

The text begins on page 25 and is obviously printed from the same plates as the other edition of 1908.

The Holy Koran of the Moorish Science Temple has the same material in its own Chapter I that is in the Introduction to this Fourth Edition of The Aquarian Gospel, pages 13 and 14, with the word "God" of the latter changed to "Allah" in the former and the words "Creative Fiat" of the latter changed to "Creative Fate" in the former. Some verses of the latter are omitted from the former. Instead of "all thoughts of God are infinite" in The Aquarian Gospel, the Koran has "all things of Allah are infinite." There are other minor changes.

Chapter II of the Koran is Chapter 7 of the Gospel, using again the term "Allah" instead of "God" in verses 13, 18, 20, 25, 26 and 28.

Except for changes and omissions of chapters and verses such as those indicated above, all that is in The Holy Koran of the Moorish Science Temple, from Chapters I to XIX inclusive, may be found in the Fourth Edition of The Aquarian Gospel of Jesus the Christ.

Chapters XX to XLIV inclusive of the Koran seem to have some other source which is not identified here as yet. Most of these chapters include the words "Holy Instructions" in their titles. For instance Chapter XX, which has ten verses, is called "Holy Instructions and Warnings for All Young Men." Chapter XXVI is called "Holy Instructions of Unity." Chapter XLIV is called "Holy Instructions from the Prophet / Misery."

In the opinion of this writer, the Moorish Science Temple Movement is to be commended for attempting to solve the economic problems of its members. In Connecticut, Massachusetts and Long Island, tracts of land have been acquired for farming purposes. Nevertheless, he believes that the movement is not the answer to the religious needs of the Negro because it does not provide a constructive program for the whole community. The members of the movement do not understand completely its teachings and its methods of operation. The movement should promote respect for the personality of the individual. Further, the Negro's escape from his hardships is not provided by change of name, but by improved education and cooperative effort with all groups. The leadership of the movement should study its role in relation to its members and have definite objectives for its members, of which the members know and approve.

Finally, this cult should consider whether the best contribution it can make to the whole community can be based on claims that are historically inaccurate.

FRANK T. SIMPSON

*Hartford, Conn.*

## BOOK REVIEWS

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**Geschichte der Christlichen Arabischen Literatur, von Georg Graf. Erster Band: Die Übersetzungen.** Citta del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1944. Studi-e-Testi 118, pp. 662.

In his recent study of *Islam and Christian Theology*, J. W. Sweetman concludes that the influence of Christianity on the early development of Islamic thought was far-reaching and profound. The reason given being the fact that in the lands conquered by the new faith in the seventh century, there was an extensive Christian literature in use "which Islam employed in its own systemization." Everyone knows that the great Oriental churches had their own Bible, liturgy, hagiography, hymnody and other Christian books in Coptic, Syriac, Armenian, Latin or Greek. But the paradoxical fact remains that Arabic was also used by Christians in their worship long before the rise of Islam and that "the name of Jesus Christ was hallowed by the Arabs before they learned to revere that of Mohammed." It was the early work of Père Louis Cheikho which called attention to this and inspired Georg Graf, Doctor of Philosophy and Theology, Honorary Professor of Theology at the University of Munich and Corresponding member of the Society of Coptic Archeology at Cairo, to undertake further survey of this and later Arabic Christian literature.

He began his scholarly task at the University of St. Joseph, Beirut, and published two smaller books on this subject. But the *terra incognita* was so large that it allured him to new discoveries in the libraries of Rome, Paris, Florence, Beirut, Bonn and Halle as well as in the old Monasteries of Syria and Egypt. The encyclopedic result of these many years of research lies before us in this portly volume which is *Band I* and deals solely with *Die Übersetzungen* (Translations) into Arabic of Christian literature.

An Introduction (pp. 1-79) defines Christian Literature in the narrow sense as that which is distinctively Christian in authorship and character, excluding secular literature although by Christian writers. Then we have a résumé of earlier attempts to catalogue these MSS and books; a brief sketch of the eight scattered Christian tribes in Arabia before Islam; and discussion of the question whether there was any Arabic Christian literature before Islam. This is answered largely in the negative, and Louis Cheikho's extravagant claims are refuted with candor. There *were* Pre-Islamic Arab poets but their product was mostly pagan, and although there may have been liturgies in use, there is no trace of actual translation of any considerable portion of the Bible into Arabic before Mohammed's day. The celebrated rock-inscriptions at Marib which testify to the Trinity are an outstanding exception, but these are not in Arabic. After Mohammed's death Islam invaded Christian territory and there is considerable evidence that Tabari (855 A.D.), who was a Nestorian convert to Islam, quotes from the Gospels but it is not certain whether it is from the Syriac or a lost Arabic MS. (pp. 44-47). The same is true of Jähiz

(d. 869) and Al Qutaiba. After sketching the rise and strength of the various oriental churches up to the fifteenth century—Malechite, Maronite, Nestorian, Jacobite and Coptic—Dr. Graf describes and classifies his material in this first volume, i.e., *Translations*. The second volume is to be on original Patristic and Oriental Christian Literature in Arabic and the third will cover Scholastic and Western Arabic Christian literature.

There are over one hundred pages on translations of the whole Bible, of O. T. and N. T. portions and of Scripture selections found in Arabic lectionaries. Then (pp. 196-297) Dr. Graf takes up Apocryphal and Pseudographic MSS and books; followed by Patristic literature (pp. 298-486), Hagiography (pp. 487-555), Canonical (pp. 556-621) and Liturgical translations (pp. 622-661). The exhaustive character of his research may be deduced from the fact that the two final pages are on the magical use of Christian Arabic formulas and texts, to guard against plague and as evil-eye amulets!

The most interesting and important section is that on Arabic Bible translations. It supersedes all previous attempts and articles in the Encyclopedias. The oldest MSS are fragments from the Mar Saba and Sinai Convents. A Coptic-Arabic diglot of the 10th century is mentioned and according to Mas'udi (d. 957) Hunain-ibn-Ishāq translated the entire Septuagint into Arabic (877), but no trace of it remains. The MSS translations extant, date back mostly to the 16th century (Leningrad and Vatican). Dr. Graf also gives a careful list and evaluation of all Protestant and Roman Catholic printed versions prepared by missionaries in the 19th century. Even the recent versions of Bible portions into colloquial Arabic are carefully noted viz., in Egyptian, Algerian, Moroccan, Tunisian and Maltese; the last named by Roman Catholic missionaries. There is an alphabetical index of contents and also a very extensive Bibliography of twelve pages. The whole work bears the marks of careful scholarship and excellent printing. One is astonished at the quantity and character of this Christian heritage, so largely unknown to most of us.

SAMUEL M. ZWEMER

*New York City*

The Hebrew-Arabic Dictionary of the Bible Known as Kitab Jami' Al-Alfaz (Agron) of David Ben Abraham al-Fāsi, the Kairite (tenth century). By Solomon L. Skoss, Vol. I, pp. cli + 600, X - П, 1936; Vol. II, pp. clx + 756, В - Д, 1945, Yale University Press; list price, \$12.00 per volume.

These two volumes constitute numbers XX and XXI in the *Yale Oriental Series—Researches*, and are published on the foundation in memory of Alexander Kohut. The editor is Dr. Solomon Leon Skoss, the distinguished professor of Arabic in Dropsie College, Philadelphia, who with his profound knowledge of Semitic languages and the Old Testament has performed a magnificent piece of work in bringing out this Dictionary. For a number of years Professor Skoss has been working in the Judeo-Arabic field, and no man was better qualified to undertake this colossal task.

In the Introduction he opens with a discussion of the rise and decline of Judeo-Arabic literature, which flourished during the period

beginning with the tenth century and closing with the thirteenth. Of comparatively short duration was the use of the philological and exegetical works of Saadia, who has been regarded as the founder of Hebrew philology. Other important grammatical and lexicographical works were those of Judah Ḥayyūj and Ibn Janāh. The golden age of the Karaite branch of Judeo-Arabic literature was during the tenth and eleventh centuries, but on account of the gradual decline of the Karaite community in the Orient it fared worse than that of the other Arabic-speaking Jews. Furthermore the Rabbanates had little use for the writings of the Karaites and generally ignored them entirely. Jerusalem, however, had a great Karaite centre of learning in the second half of the tenth and throughout the eleventh century.

The compiler of this Dictionary, David ben Abraham al-Fāsī, was a Karaite probably of the second half of the tenth century, and as his name implies, was a native of Fez. It seems, however, that he lived for some time in Palestine, and it is more than likely that he wrote his Dictionary in Jerusalem. An abridgement of this work was made by Levi ben Yefet, who lived in Jerusalem at the end of the tenth and the beginning of the eleventh century; this compendium was in turn abstracted by 'Alī ben Suleimān of the same city. At what seems to have been a previous date, however, 'Alī ben Israel had made a compendium of Levi Ben Yefet's work. It is hardly probable that 'Alī ben Suleimān found anything new or original in the work of his predecessor, if he knew it at all, but he used the philological works of David ben Abraham, Levi ben Yefet, Abu 'l-Faraj Harūn, and Judah Ḥayyūj. The similarity in the two compendia is due to the fact that both were derived from the abridgement of Levi ben Yefet.

There were two editions of the Dictionary made by the author. That which is called the "Shorter Version" is represented by two main Manuscripts, A and B. Codex A was found in 1830 in the Genizah of the Karaite synagogue in Jerusalem and is now in Leningrad. Codex B, which was copied from Codex A, was found in the same synagogue, and is now in the Bodleian Library. Dr. Skoss collated with these two codices four fragments of the "Shorter Version", which are also in Leningrad. Of the "Longer Version" fifteen fragmentary manuscripts were available and consulted.

Dr. Skoss' edition is based largely on Codex A; in a few cases he found that Codex B has a better reading. As regards the use of the "Longer Version" in the preparation of this edition, Dr. Skoss says (I, cxlix-cl): "The texts of the Longer Version and the abridgements were utilized only in those passages where they generally agree with that of the Shorter Version of the present edition; in which case, if the latter text contains what appears to me an obvious error or omission, the more correct reading of the former is adopted and the variant is recorded in the notes. But having constantly in mind the danger of confusing the texts of different versions, I have resorted to such corrections rather cautiously. However, in several instances some variants and additions found there were included in the notes, especially when they tend to elucidate a certain point or clarify a somewhat obscure passage. The marginal notes refer to the MSS. and fragments of the Shorter Version." The editor endeavored to present a text as faithful as possible to the work of the author, and so he abstained from altering dialectal forms to conform to Classical Arabic. Since the

Dictionary is one of the oldest works in Judeo-Arabic literature, he rightly preserved all the linguistic peculiarities of the text as valuable for the study of the development of dialectal Arabic. These non-classical forms, however, do not cause any difficulty in using the Dictionary.

David ben Abraham al-Fāsī presents the uniradical and biradical theory of Hebrew roots; he recognizes as radicals only those consonants which are retained in the various inflections of a given stem and disregards the ones omitted in some of its forms. In accordance with the usage of early Karaite grammarians the imperative is taken as the fundamental form of the verb. Thus, for example, ילד, גנת are listed under לד and גע respectively. In the case of יקר and יגע David ben Abraham emphasizes the fact that *yod* belongs to the root, since it is present in all the inflexions, even though it appears as *waw* in the Hiph'il. The uniliteral roots, which are fourteen in number, are not included in the Dictionary, but Dr. Skoss has assembled them on pages lxi-xlii of Volume I. This Dictionary presents a view of the linguistic knowledge of the second half of the tenth century before the inauguration of the triliteral theory of Hebrew roots by Judah Ḥayyūj and its further development by Ibn Janāḥ. This lexicon is the oldest extant philological work written by a Karaite and is one of the earliest sources for Hebrew and comparative Semitic philology.

In accordance with the number of letters in the Hebrew alphabet, the Dictionary consists of twenty-two parts, in each of which are twenty-two chapters, except when a Hebrew root happens not to have certain letters. Thus *aleph* has twenty-one chapters, because there is no root אא; similarly ב has only twenty-one chapters, because the combination בב does not occur. Under *aleph* the words or roots beginning with this letter follow the order אב, אג, אד, אה and so on to אט; a similar scheme is followed for every letter of the alphabet. At the foot of the pages of the Dictionary are found the Scriptural references to Biblical words and expressions cited in the lexicon. In this case Dr. Skoss has performed a labor of detail with scrupulous exactness; in consulting the Dictionary for various words the reviewer found the references accurate.

In the Introduction to Volume I, Dr. Skoss has chapters on the Rise and Decline of the Judeo-Arabic Literature, David ben Abraham al-Fāsī, the Plan and Scope of the Dictionary, Versions, Compendia, and Manuscripts, and the Method of Editing. Volume II, pages cxi-cxxxiii, contains copious indexes of Biblical passages, the Targum, Rabbinic Literature, Grammatical and Masoretic Terms and Phrases, and Names, Terms, and Topics. All this work is done with characteristic thoroughness.

The print is very clear, and so it is a joy to consult this lexicon. Dr. Skoss is to be commended for the careful manner in which he has edited the *Kitāb Jāmī' al-alfāz*, and the Yale University Press is to be congratulated for having published the two beautiful volumes. Fine scholarship has been placed in an attractive form.

HENRY S. GEHMAN

*Princeton Theological Seminary*

**Why We Learn the Arabic Language.** An Essay on the Manifold Importance of the Arabic Language Considered from the View-Point of Islamic Religion, Semitic Philology, Romance Philology, Biblical Studies, History of Science and Civilization, Jewish and Christian Life, etc. By Shaikh Inayatullah, Press of Sh. Muhammad Ashraf, Lahore, ed. 2, 65 pp., 1943.

In the present turmoil of the world it is a great satisfaction to the reviewer to have received this publication as a personal gift from a distinguished Indian Moslem scholar. And there is a no more congenial magazine in which to notice it than *THE MOSLEM WORLD*. The writer, professionally a Shaikh, is Lecturer in Arabic in Government College, Lahore, with degree of M.A. from Panjab University, and that of Ph.D. from the University of London. Here, among his teachers were Sir Thomas W. Arnold and Professor H. A. R. Gibb. Accompanying the booklet is an extensive Bibliography of the author's publications, essays, book reviews, and translations from Arabic, French, German, Italian, Spanish. This is followed by an announcement of projected works, seven in number, all of which from their titles should be valuable and useful.

The subordinate part of the title indicates the wide scope of the work. This is more exactly exhibited in the fifteen sections in which it is divided. There might be briefly noted those on "Arabic as a Living Language", "Arabic an International Language", "Arabic Language in Relation to Christianity and the Christians" (the fact is generally sadly ignored that Arabic is not confined to Moslems, but is the common language of all the Near East), "Importance of Arabic for Universal History" (again it was Arabists, like Ibn Khaldun, who introduced this subject into the sciences of the world). Further may be noted the sections on "the Value of Arabic for Biblical Studies", "Arabic Studies among Jewish Orientalists", "Greek Authors in Arabic Translations", "Importance of Arabic for the History of Science".

That is, there is a summation in brief of the great part played by the Arabic language in the history of the world and its culture. Doubtless in the early Middle Ages Arabic was the chief source of culture until the Renaissance rediscovered the Classics. Again that language to this day presents the most solid contiguous belt in the geography of the world, extending all the way from the west coast of Africa across Asia, and into the Pacific Ocean, and so within the scope of the dominions of our American nation.

The reviewer has been touched by the charming easy English style of the writer, which shows that "the Arab", so called, can be a man of international culture. It were well that such a survey as this be placed in the hands of all students of the world's civilization, to whom the many large detailed studies of the subjects involved may be unknown or inaccessible.

JAMES A. MONTGOMERY

*University of Pennsylvania*

**A Short Account of the Copts.** By William H. Worrell, Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Press, 1945, pp. 54 + viii. \$2.00.

Originally presented in substance as the Henry Russell Lecture for 1941-42, this treatise tells a great deal more than would be expected from its size. The author, with the skill of a scholar and a writer, suc-

ceeds in compressing into its fifty-four pages the wisdom and folly, the religion and superstition, the erudition and naïveté of an ancient civilization covering a period of some twenty-seven centuries. His eloquent facile style, his concise, lucid interpretations, and his effort to avoid any colorful or spicy material that might cloud or obliterate the truth—all combine to make the book a masterpiece of research, as well as pleasant reading. The eleven excellent etchings by Wilfred B. Shaw, illustrate admirably, though not adequately, the spirit of the book, and enhance its charm.

Modest, cautious and unpretentious, the author makes it clear that: "the book is intended as a description rather than a history;" and that "the interest behind the description is not ecclesiastical, theological, or religious, but secular and human." Yet, between the lines, the reader will find that the interest is all of these artistically blended together.

Most of the book is devoted to the language and religion of the Copts, not for the sake of language or religion per se; but because they reveal the life and history of the Copts. As to the language, the transition from hieroglyphic figures to Greek letters, and finally the fading and gradual disappearance of Coptic after the Arab invasion, comprise the literature, the struggle, and the aspirations of the Coptic race. As to religion, the transition from the worship of Osiris, Isis, Horus, and Apis to the worship of the child and the Virgin and the Christian saints gives a vivid picture of a nation that was among the earliest to accept Christianity. Of particular interest to the reader may be the following facts:

1. The Coptic language is but vernacular Egyptian of the time, written in Greek letters, with supplementary letters derived from Demotic and reduced by persons of excellent philological training and experience, into grammatical and orthographical regularity.
2. Egypt contributed to Christianity "two of its most picturesque and fundamental features—the hermit and the monk . . . the spell of the desert is something that cannot be understood until it has been experienced." St. Anthony was one of the earliest and most illustrious hermits (271. A. D.).
3. Many specimens of passages translated from papyrus are given by the author, which show blind belief in saints and priests, or attribute disease to the will of God.
4. Similar passages show the cruelty of religious vows at that time. The very beautiful stories of Archellites and Synkletike, and Eucharistos and his wife Maria are original and most interesting.
5. By about 350 A. D. the translation of the Bible had probably been completed.
6. "Nationalization" of the Coptic Church was completed when the Byzantine authority was overthrown by Islam in the seventh century; and the price of this deliverance was gradual decline under the yoke of a still harder authority.
7. The Patriarch of Alexandria retired to the Natron Valley, and the Seat remained there until the eleventh century. Since then, Cairo has been the Seat of the Patriarchate.

8. A Literary Coptic Renaissance took place in the second half of the seventh, and in the eighth centuries, as discipline in the monasteries became less rigid.
9. Many of the legends, myths, anecdotes of miracles, magic, and martyrdom, of the Apocryphal Gospels and Acts of the Apostles, mentioned by the author, are still narrated and handed down from father to son among the surviving Copts.
10. Shenuté, (IV century) . . . "the most remarkable man Copts ever produced, founder of Coptic Christianity, prolific author and greatest of all writers in the Coptic language," condemned superstitions and some rustic doings at the shrines of the saints and martyrs." Strange to say, these practices referred to still abound among both Copts and Moslems.
11. With the advent of the golden age of Islam, (IX & X centuries) Coptic intellectual life gravitated into Arabic culture. Death of the language, due to persecution of the Copts, was almost complete and by the end of the eleventh century the Copts became an Arabic-speaking race.

The author doubts that there was (a) direct connection between Irish and Coptic Churches claimed by various authorities, such as Stanley Lane-Poole; (b) that St. Mark came to Egypt. This latter seems strange, for at the famous Chiesa San Marco at Venice everyone is told that the body of St. Mark was stolen, wrapped in pork, and carried from Alexandria to Venice.

The author did well to correct the blunder made by some writers (including the Italians during their occupation of Abyssinia) that the Ethiopians are Copts. That they follow the Coptic creed of Christianity does not make them Copts. The word Coptic is an Arabic corruption of the Greek *Agyptus*, meaning Egyptian. Now the word simply means Egyptian Christians.

The writer of this review, being a Copt himself, admires the way the author has treated the subject. Perhaps the only point at which he takes issue is the subject of discrimination against the Copts in modern times, including the present day. Although a majority of Copts who are unaware of the state of minorities in Europe would agree with the author, the writer of this review has strong reasons to believe (and his belief is based on facts, not mere opinion) that on the whole, Copts, compared with minorities in Christian Europe are better treated, and occupy better economic and social positions. Whatever discrimination there is, is a natural and only human consequence of a small minority enjoying a higher scale of living, on the average, in the midst of a vast majority.

AMIR BOKTOR

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Urbana, Illinois*

**Masterpieces of Persian Art.** By Arthur Upham Pope with contributions by Phyllis Ackerman and Eric Schroeder. New York, the Dryden Press, 1945. pp. vi + 204. Illustrated by 150 plates in black and white and 9 in color. \$10.

Those who visited the Exhibition of Persian Art in New York in 1940 will still remember some of the exquisite objects such as ceramic

wares, metal works, textiles, carpets and miniature paintings which were exhibited at that time. This beautifully illustrated volume was published primarily to commemorate that exhibition. Most of the objects illustrated were on display, but reproductions of about twenty other well-known works of art have been included to facilitate comparison and general analysis.

Sections on *Prehistoric Painted Pottery*, *Luristan Bronzes* and *Sasanian Silver* have been contributed by Dr. Phyllis Ackerman and sections on the *Arts of the Book*, *Calligraphy* and *Miniature Painting* by Mr. Eric Schroeder. Dr. Ackerman has also collaborated with the author on the section on *Textiles* as well as on the editing of the entire text. Both the title and the illustrations of the book will appeal to the general reader for whom it is evidently intended, but certain sections of the text will fail to inspire serious students of Persian art. In the opinion of the present reviewer, the book would have been useful to the latter group had Mr. Pope and his collaborators avoided using such a tedious and stilted style and had devoted their discussions to basic facts rather than to rhetoric and generalities.

Such general statements as: "Iranian art is certainly the oldest" (page 2); "Man emerged as *homo sapiens* in the land of the Persians" (page 2); "No important religion would now be what it is were the Persian contributions to be taken from it" (page 2); "In all essential respects civilization in this region (Iranian plateau) preceded that of Egypt by at least five centuries, that of India by more than a thousand years, of China by two thousand. The first towns in Mesopotamia (such as Tepe Gawra) were derived from the nearby mountains of Iran" (page 4), are more easily made than proven.

The authors use such words as *beauty*, *majesty*, *eternal*, *precious*, *magnificent*, *perfect*, *superb*, *unique*, *significant*, *symbolic* and so on until the reader, dizzy with high-sounding words and punch-drunk with general statements, is unable to form any personal judgment about what he is reading. Discussions of basic problems are often altogether neglected, and new theories and ideas are frequently sprung upon the reader who hardly knows what the author is talking about. Much of the text consists of comments on the objects of the Exhibition, which Mr. Pope himself admits are not all masterpieces. Important sections bearing on the history of Iranian culture are so drastically condensed and so summary in their discussion of facts that they fall short of their purpose. The ramifications of a vast culture like that of Iran are too complex for such a brief outline, and the reader, especially a beginner, cannot possibly grasp without greater detail and without greater effort the mere speculations on a few chosen objects.

Space will not permit us here to take each section and discuss its shortcomings. But to show what we mean, let us take the very first section, namely the *Prehistoric Painted Pottery*, which immediately follows the two introductory chapters. The importance of this section in a popular work of this nature can hardly be overemphasized. Painted pottery is the most characteristic product of any civilization. There was no particular need for boring the reader with unintelligible symbolisms and fanciful conjectures when a useful appraisal of the pottery under discussion could have been easily included. A scientific analysis of the pottery of Iran, Mesopotamia, India and

Turkestan would have helped to establish the antiquity of the Iranian civilization.

Many important sites in Iran which have furnished us with valuable material have been either barely touched upon or altogether omitted. We find not a single reference to the pottery found by Professor Ernst Herzfeld in the prehistoric sites of Persepolis dating from the later Stone Age. Reporting his discovery in an article entitled "Prehistoric Persia" Herzfeld says: "Together with these most humble and unassuming relics of a primitive civilisation, a painted pottery of unexpected perfection and great artistic merit has been discovered. This pottery is "hand-turned" or simply kneaded by hand, made of the purest soft clay, and burnt at a low temperature; the characteristics which this pottery shares with Susa I."<sup>1</sup>

In the same way, no mention has been made of the prehistoric pottery of Sistan. Numerous sites were opened there by Sir Aurel Stein in the southern delta of Halmund in the vicinity of Hauzdar, and also along the Afghan border. Kalte-gird and Ramrud in the south have both yielded complete jars and vessels. A well-drawn goat's head from these sites deserves mention. In the north, in Shahre Sukhte east of the Lake Hamun, pottery fragments both of plain and painted unglazed ware were found. These remains are the product of a ceramic industry extending through centuries.

Again we find no mention of the pottery of Baluchistan and Vaziristan. Sir Aurel Stein has also explored a number of sites in these regions. The mounds of Dabar-kot and Surjanganl in the Loralai Valley and Mehi in the Mishkai Valley have yielded types of pottery the fabric of which is generally reddish or pink and painted in black. There are of course local differences in style, but hints of the Indus style—intersecting circles, scale patterns and alternating triangles—do occur. The Sigma motif, too, recurs at Mehi and in another site at Kulli, and rows of goats are represented in precisely the same abstract stylization as at Musayan in Elam, another important site of which no mention has been made.

Speaking of the relationship of the Sistan pottery to those of other sites Sir Aurel Stein says: "We do not know whether it was as a result of migration of races, conquest, or peaceful intercourse that the sites in Sind (Mahenjo-daro), the Southern Panjāb (Harappa), and Balūchistān (Nal) now reveal the existence of a culture strikingly akin in various aspects, on the one hand to that of pre-Sumerian sites of Mesopotamia and Susa, and on the other to that of the earlier strata at Transcaspian Anau. But it is certain that the routes indicated by nature and most likely to have been followed by those movements pass through Sistān. . . . The resemblance of the Sistān prehistoric pottery in forms, technique, and painted ornamentation to that brought to light by the Pumpelly expedition from the older strata of the Kurghāns of Anau, is particularly close, as has been fully recognized by Mr. Andrews."<sup>2</sup>

Stressing the importance of his finds at Persepolis, Herzfeld says: "A close study of the rich material reveals clearly the fact that the Neolithic civilization of Persepolis is the prototype and source of the

<sup>1</sup> Illustrated London News, May 25, 1929.

<sup>2</sup> Sir Aurel Stein, *Innermost Asia*, vol. 2, p. 956 (Oxford, 1928).

very first civilisation of Susa. . . . The oldest civilisation of Elam was not created in that land, but on the Iranian plateau, and was brought to Susa already in an advanced stage of development. The Neolithic civilisation of Iran is prior to anything so far known in the Near East."<sup>1</sup>

Professor Spieser in his "Preliminary Excavations at Tepe Gawra" says: "The earliest observable movements bring the Painted Ware Culture from the northern highlands, in which it most likely originated, down to the head of the Persian Gulf. This Proto-Zagros civilization established the first elements at Gawra as well as in the south."<sup>3</sup> But after the completion of his work at Gawra he reports: "What we wish to know at present is whether the Sumerians were responsible for the civilization of Middle Gawra, and specifically of Str. VIII. The answer must be unqualifiedly in the negative. The architecture is not typical of Sumer. When certain elements of it appear in Lower Mesopotamia they are regarded as intrusive and of northern origin. . . . The material remains of the stratum under consideration have disclosed relations with the highland zone and some possible contacts with other unidentified sources. We are faced with too many unknown factors."<sup>4</sup>

While discussing relations between Sumer and India, Gordon Childe says: "Further analysis of Indo-Sumerian relations will only be possible when the intervening region from which both countries might have been influenced and indeed populated has been explored."<sup>5</sup> It is possible that this intervening region lies somewhere on the Iranian plateau, and it is even probable that the earliest civilization of the East sprung from there, but results of future excavations will have to be awaited before one can make such conclusive statements.

These criticisms of treatment in the section on *Prehistoric Painted Pottery* also apply to other sections of the book such as the *Bronzes, Metal Arts and Textiles*. Sections on the *Achaemenid Period, Early and Late Mediaeval Ceramic Wares and Carpets* are readable but inadequate summaries and contain errors of fact.

An interesting item belonging to the Walters Art Gallery, labeled as a chopper (Plate 107C), is from all indications a bookbinder's tool. The Persian name for it is *gazan*, and it is used in cutting leather. The inscription on the metal end of it is from one of the shortest sūrah's of the Koran, the Sūrat al-Ikhlās (Sūrah 112), and reads: "Lam yalid wa lam yūlad wa lam yakun lahu kufuwān aḥad." The first part of the sūrah is no doubt on the reverse side of it.

Mr. Schroeder's brief comments on the *Arts of the Book, Calligraphy and Illumination* are poorly written. He has decorated the first of these sections with translations from Jāmi's "Yūsuf va Zulaiḫhā," which he considers the poet's greatest work. The Persians for whom Jāmi wrote have always considered the Bahāristān as his best work. What benefit will the reader derive from these transla-

<sup>3</sup> Reprint from Annual IX, 1928, American Schools of Oriental Research, p. 50.

<sup>4</sup> Joint Expedition of the Baghdad School, the University Museum and Dropsie College at Mesopotamia, Excavations at Tepe Gawra, vol. 1, p. 187 ff. (Philadelphia, 1935).

<sup>5</sup> V. Gordon Childe, *New Light on the Most Ancient East*, p. 227 (London, 1934).

tions? Their artificial composition, as impressive as they may seem, are too stiff and will serve no purpose except to puzzle the beginner with misinterpreted Šūfi symbolisms.

Mr. Schroeder would have rendered better service if he had given a brief account of the development of Persian painting. Upon the basis of inappropriate and inadequate evidence he revives the myths of *Aḥmad Mūsā* and the *Istanbul Bidpai*, *Shams al-Din* and the *Demotte Shāh-nāmah*, similar to assertions he made in his book on *Persian Miniatures in the Fogg Museum of Art*. The word *pāshān*, imperfect participle of *pāshidan*, means sprinkling or scattering and was chiefly used to describe the work of the illuminator.

The system of transliteration used throughout the book is not always uniform. One finds for instance both *Shahnama* and *Shah Nama*, the latter form sometimes with a hyphen and sometimes without, *Riza* and *Reza*, *Husayn* and *Husain* and others. Diacritical marks and other orthographical signs are sometimes used and sometimes omitted. We find *Sa'di*, *Ni'mat Allah*, *Jami' at-Tavarikh* but also *Ismael*, *Quran*, *Mamun*, *Manafi al-Hayavan*, etc. There are also some errors which have slipped the proofreader. The following corrections are in order: on page 2 read *Shabistari* (a native of *Shabister*); in the caption of Plate 37 substitute *Shapur II* for *Shapur I*; on page 67 substitute *Shapur II* for *Ardashir II* (see Plate 35); on page 69 read *Mutawakkil*; on page 70 read *Mohandis*; on page 77 read *Mashhad*; in captions of Plates 60 and 61 substitute *Nakhchivan* for *Nachshirvan*; on page 149 read *Timurid* princes of the fifteenth century; on the same page read *Ni'mat Allah*; in the caption of Plate 123 read *Jami' at-Tavarikh*; in the caption of Plate 128 read *Masnavi*. Incidentally, the verses quoted here are not from the *Mathnavi*.

Along the inner borders of the blue and white reproduction of the beautiful sixteenth century book-cover, which has been selected for the covers, the following verses appear:

Bahtar zi kitāb dar jahān yāri nīst,  
Dar ghamkada-ye zamāna ghamkhvārī nīst;  
Har laḥza as ū bagūsha-ye tanhāyī  
Šad rāḥat hast o hargiz āzārī nīst.

There is no better friend in the world than a book,  
There is no (better) sympathizer in this house of care;  
Every instant with it in a quiet corner  
Brings a hundred comforts and never a care.

May the remaining books in the series live up to this ideal.

MEHMED A. SIMSAR

*New York City*

**The Highway of Print: A Worldwide Study of the Production and Distribution of Christian Literature.** By Ruth Ure. New York, Friendship Press. pp. 277. \$1.50.

This book is a clarion call to the Christian church in all lands to fight illiteracy and provide a worthy and genuine Christian message in print on all the highways of the world of thought. It is a complete reply to the exceedingly clever but specious argument of those who speak of "the Bugbear of Literacy." Ananda Coomaraswamy,

for example, wrote in *Asia* (Feb. 1944), "There is no necessary connection between literacy and culture and to impose our literacy and our contemporary literature upon a cultured but illiterate people is to destroy their culture in the name of our own." He goes on to prove that by conferring literacy we often inflict profound and lethal injuries. "Education is a two-edged weapon, creative but also destructive." There is some truth in his extended argument and he might have strengthened it by the example of Germany and Japan, the two most literate nations of Europe and Asia plunging mankind into the horrors of hate and war. But all these specious arguments are smitten down by the one word, *Christian*.

The Bible has always been the harbinger of true culture and its surest anchor. Christian literature is the hope of the world. Read this volume and you will be convinced. Jesus Christ, down the centuries, became through His written and printed word an overflowing fountain of life and light and love to all nations. Today the whole world is hungry for books and it is a hunger of the heart more than of the head. To flood the world with bad books would spell its doom. To do so with the best books would uplift humanity.

Here we have evidence of the effect of Christian literature in Moslem lands, not only in the conversion of individuals but in changing social life and attitudes. The emancipation of Moslem womanhood owes much to Moslem and Christian writers who condemned the veil and purdah and Koranic laws of divorce. *Al Neshera* of Beirut was pioneer in this crusade. Who can estimate the influence on the world of Islam through the Bible in its dominant languages—Arabic, Turkish, Persian, Urdu, Swaheli, Hausa, Bengali and many other tongues? Eye-gate, says the Chinese proverb, is more important than ear-gate. This book shows why and how and where.

Miss Ure has an able pen, a grasp of her theme and skill in persuasion. The book is true to its subtitle, is well arranged and has unhackneyed illustrations on the utter need, the long history, the preparation, the printing and the circulation of Christian books and tracts. It is a fascinating story from A to izzard and from the Arctic to Zanzibar. We are introduced to pioneer translators, brave colporteurs, keen and canny men and women who travel to and fro on this great highway of the printed page. The author expresses her aim clearly, "Our purpose will remain the same, first or last: to make books ubiquitous; to plan so unitedly, so wisely, so prayerfully, so under the leadership of the Holy Spirit, that the literature shall be a highway on which the Son of God walks with men and they see His glory."

*The Place of the Press* is perhaps the best among all the excellent chapters. Who remembers that the first printing press in the New World was set up in Mexico by the Jesuits in 1536 and that the first book was entitled: "A brief Compendium of Christian Doctrine"? The pride of place should still be given to that theme. The Halsey Memorial Press in the Cameroons reported a total of nearly 80 million pages of Christian literature printed in twenty-eight years!

There are valuable Appendices on Colportage, Language Simplification and School Book Fairs. Also a rather incomplete Bibliography and a good Index. Two matters invite criticism. There is no adequate reference to Catholic Christian literature before the Re-

formation and before the invention of printing. Paul's epistles and the four Gospels were mighty to the pulling down of strongholds and bringing thought into obedience to Christ before Guttenberg. The Ante-Nicene Fathers and the Post-Nicene writers also did their part on the Highway of Culture without a press. But their aim was the same as ours. Their faith and courage are our heritage. In the glorious words at the close of this volume, "This is not a human enterprise. It is of God, building a highway for the coming of the King, a highway over which the redeemed may walk, a highway of hearts made ready. The path of print may lead to that glorious highway, if we faithfully tend it and if we walk upon it in the very company of Christ Himself. He, the Incarnate Word, is the Highway, when our goal is God."

SAMUEL M. ZWEMER

*Kings and Beggars, The First Two Chapters of Sa'di's Gulistan.* Translated from the Persian by A. J. Arberry. London, Luzac and Co. 1945. pp. 110. Paper 6/6.

At the very beginning of his introduction the translator asks the question, Why another translation of the *Gulistan*? He thus anticipates his reviewers and critics. He goes on to mention five other translations in English, and this most famous work of Sa'di has been rendered into other languages. The introduction proceeds to give what is known of the poet's life and a critical study of the *Gulistan*, with a discussion of its literary history and translations. The introduction is well worth while and the notes at the end of the text are good, though on first reading they seem to contain little that is not given in other publications of this work.

The translator is more of a poet than some others who have attempted the same work and hence his translations of the poetic portions, which are rendered in verse, seem to bring out much of the spirit of the original. The prose portions of the work, which follow this form in the original, are literal translations but seem to lack the quality of the verse, perhaps because they are tied too closely to the literal meaning.

The form of this publication leads one to think that the translator will go on to publish the balance of the "Rose Garden" and we believe this will be a worth-while project in spite of many other renderings. It may be that Sa'di is read more than any other poet by the Persians themselves, although they rank Firdawsi above him, just as we might rank Shakespeare above the greatest of the English lyric poets. Omar Khayyam has been published more in English than any other Persian poet, but this is largely due to the genius of his translator. Though done with care the present translation will never do for the work of Sa'di what Fitzgerald did for Khayyam

J. CHRISTY WILSON

Princeton, N. J.

*Padmavati of Malik Muhammad Jaisi.* Translated by A. G. Shirreff, I.C.S. pp. xiv + 372. Bibliotheca Indica, Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta, 1944. Price, Rs. 8-8.

All who are interested in Indian literature, culture and religions will welcome this splendid contribution by Mr. Shirreff in the trans-

lation of this very lengthy poem in the form of a Masnavi by a famous Muhammadan saint of Jais in the Sultanpur District of Oudh, U.P. The poem was written more than four hundred years ago in the dialect still spoken today on the spot and the imagery is taken from the scenery and life of the countryside with which the author was so familiar. During all this time there has been "no great change in the language or in the way of life of the people, or in their surroundings, and the poet's name and fame still live in local tradition."

The work of translation was started many years ago by the well known scholar Sir George Grierson, but was never completed by him. Mr. Shirreff, in 1938, secured the permission of Sir George to finish the task. No one could have done it better, for in addition to being a competent scholar Mr. Shirreff, through his experience as Commissioner of Fyzabad Division, knows the dialect of that area so thoroughly that he could explain many obscure passages of the poem, which is nothing less than a "metrical encyclopaedia of Hindu-Islamic lore of medieval India."

The story of Padmavati is a long and fascinating tale of love and adventure, kings, and warriors, ranging in scene from Ceylon to Chittaur. All the circumstances and pomp of medieval India are revealed in rich detail, and the story ends with the death in battle of King Ratanen, and the immolation (*sati*) of his devoted wife, Padmavati, on the funeral pyre.

Malik Muhammad Jaisi, the author, was a Muslim Sufi of the Chistiya Order, and one of the lineal spiritual descendants of the famous Nizam-ud-Din Auliya of Delhi. Malik Muhammad died in the year A.D. 1540. He was greatly influenced by Kabir, and as a Muslim mystic made spiritual contact with Hindu mystics and Yoga philosophy, with which he found much in common. He is held to be the earliest vernacular poet of Northern India (Hindustan) whose original work remains uncontested. As Grierson says, "his work is a valuable witness to the actual condition of the vernacular language of Northern India in the sixteenth century. It is, so far as it goes, and with the exception of a few lines in Al-Beruni's India, the only trustworthy witness we have."

The book is well furnished with a useful index and unusually helpful notes in explanation of the text.

Mr. Shirreff has indeed placed all who love medieval Indian literature under a debt of gratitude. He has in his English version, "definitely caught the inspiration of the Master poet," and we congratulate him on this admirable achievement.

M. T. TITUS

*Nagpur, India*

**Medieval Islam, A Study in Cultural Orientation.** By Gustave E. von Grünebaum, University of Chicago Press, 1946. pp. 347. \$4.00.

The life and thought of the great Islamic bloc that confronted medieval Europe in the Near East and at the two ends of the European continent, is delineated vividly and dramatically in this account of how the Arabs preserved much of the culture and learning of Greece and Byzantium and transmitted it again to Europe after "the shocking retrogression of a barbarized world, which it took perhaps

four centuries to halt and two more to reverse." Beginning with a background of Islam's position in relation to Byzantine and Western European thought and culture in the middle ages, the author proceeds briefly to outline the development of the religious, political, and social life during the early caliphate and the Umayyad and the Abbasid periods. An examination of the literary achievements of Islam leads in the final chapters to an appraisal of the particular genius of Islam as well as its limitations. In contrast with the color and overflowing fertility of Greek thought, Islam's eclecticism is seen as an unusual ability to adapt and make its own, elements from both the Persian and the Byzantine civilizations, without, however, understanding the spiritual sources of strength which made those civilizations significant. "Islam does not reach to the stars—it is realistic, which is only a euphemism for being timid." The attempt to cover such a large subject in only 347 pages necessitates an abbreviated and sometimes almost abrupt treatment, and tends occasionally to such over-simplification as the picture of medieval civilization west of India as made up of three fairly constant blocs or cultural units, Islam, Greek Christendom, and Latin Christendom. The chapters are written in an easy flowing style, full of illustration and vivid portrayal that make it a volume easy to pick up and hard to lay down. The author is Professor of Arabic in the Department of Oriental Languages and Literatures at the University of Chicago.

HARRY G. DORMAN JR.

*New York City*

A Short History of Eritrea. By Stephen H. Longrigg. Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1945. pp. 188.

The swift change of events during the past five years and the pressing problems of reconstruction of lands in Europe and Asia, where there are teeming millions of hungry displaced persons, have overshadowed the problems of territories in Eastern Africa, like Eritrea. It was in this area that the British, when fighting, practically alone, the war against the Nazis and Fascists, won their first decisive battles and by their wise strategy left no enemy pockets behind the Eighth Army when it began its sweep across North Africa.

Stephen H. Longrigg, the author, spent almost three years as chief administrator of Eritrea following the British occupation. The aim of this book is "to provide on an historical basis, material for answers to the questions sure to arise, and indeed already arising, as to the disposal or future treatment of the territory on lines consistent with its history, its geography and its political and economic realities."

Beginning with the Hamitic and Semitic origins of the inhabitants of Eritrea, he brings their story down to the Keren campaign of 1940-41 and the present British administration. The country, although possessing little of commercial value and few agricultural resources, has been the object of many conquests in recent history. As early as the fifteenth century, Italian visitors, among them Franciscan missionaries, came here, but the prevailing foreign influence in modern times was Turkish and Egyptian until Italy arrived in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. Already the ruling caste of the Bilein and Bait Asghedé, the Meusa and Marea had renounced

Christianity for Islam. A decree of the King of Italy dated January 1st, 1890 created the colony of Eritrea, named from the Mare Erythraeum (Red Sea) of the Roman geographers.

Although Italians dreamt of colonization on a large scale, as evidenced by the 40,000 European inhabitants among Asmara's 100,000 in 1940, Mr. Longrigg believes that Eritrea, even under a favorable regime, will not provide a livelihood for more than a few thousand Italians. In contrast to Cyrenaica, Eritrea under Italian rule enjoyed, in spite of many short-comings, an administration of sympathy and goodwill. According to the author, "Taxation was always light, justice carefully administered, the never-ending land disputes settled or postponed, security generally maintained."

There are many problems connected with the future of this colony, arbitrarily created to satisfy Italian ambition. The suggestion which is favored in this book is a partition of the territory, Muslim tribal areas to the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, the Dankali country with Assab unconditionally to the Emperor of Ethiopia and the central Christian highlands, with the port of Massawa and the Samhar and the Saho tribes, to be placed under the sovereignty of the Emperor, but administered in his name by a European power, for either a stated or an unstated number of years.

E. E. ELDER

*New York City*

**Malaya.** By G. S. Rawlings, Oxford University Press, London, New York, Bombay, 1945, pp. 38.

Mr. G. S. Rawlings is stated to be a member of the Malay Civil Service, who studied in Japan, Formosa and South China, and served in both Federated and Unfederated Malay States, as well as in the Straits Settlements. He has travelled widely in Asia and Malaysia, and speaks Malay, Chinese (Amoy dialect) and Japanese. He was in Kota Bharu when the Japanese landed there and observed the invasion from north to south. For the past three years he has been Regional Adviser for Malaya in the Far Eastern Bureau of the British Ministry of Information at New Delhi.

This little book deals with the Malay Peninsula, but also with the related British Territories of Sarawak, Brunei and British North Borneo, with the Malay States of Southern Siam, the Netherlands Indies and the Philippine Islands. He describes briefly the fauna and flora of Malaya, the mineral wealth of tin, which before the war approached 40 per cent. of the world's production, but he says surprisingly little about the recent rapid growth of the rubber plantations, which have added so much to the prosperity of Malaya. As to the inhabitants, he writes very fully about the Malays, the Chinese and the Indians. The history of the Peninsula under European influence, beginning in 1511 with the Portuguese capture of Malacca, and followed by the Dutch capture in 1641, has been entirely under British influence since the Napoleonic wars; and since the treaty signed at Pangkor in 1874 with the Sultan of Perak, the Malay States have been under British influence, the tendency having been for the British residents to administer the States for the Sultans, so that the "pace of development and change has of necessity been swift and

beyond the capacity of the Malays." But it is generally felt that it is the aim of British policy that the colonial peoples shall attain self-government as early as practicable.

W. G. SHELLABEAR

*Hartford Seminary*

Glasgow University Oriental Society Transactions, Volume XI, Years 1942 to 1944. Edited by James Robson. Glasgow, The University Oriental Society, 1946. pp. 60. 10s.6d.

Among the interesting articles of this Volume is one by Dr. Nicol Macnicol on "Indian Culture and Some Indian Culture Contacts." It describes "some aspects of the influence that the Indian sages have exerted on other peoples." He mentions the Greeks before and during the time of Alexander the Great, and names such leaders of thought as the pagan Pythagoras, the Christian Dionysius the Areopagite and the German mystic Eckhart, as well as Emerson, Thoreau and Walt Whitman. The article calls attention to the ancient Hindu lack of interest in history, and explains the Indian gift for drama as encouraged by the Hindu view that "all the world's a stage and men and women merely players."

The article by Dr. Richard Bell on "The Style of the Qur'ān" deserves close study with the Arabic Qur'ān open to the passages that are cited. Professor Bell mentions Muhammad's denial that he was a *kāhin*, (soothsayer), and says that Muhammad could "quite confidently challenge them, (the kahins), to produce anything like a surah of his Qur'ān." It is however true that later there were Arab authors who both imitated and parodied the quranic style. It is Dr. Bell's conclusion that it is "impossible to represent the Qur'ān as a model of style." Here Muslim writers would not agree, for to this day not only are formal prayers and sermons in one of the quranic styles, but the introductions to religious and other books often consciously reproduce the sentence assonance which Dr. Bell rightly says is the most general characteristic style of the Qur'ān.

There is another article to which special attention should be drawn. It is that by Dr. Henry George Farmer on "The Importance of Ethnological Studies." His first sentence is: "The study of primitive peoples ought not to be neglected by Orientalists, since this domain of interest may furnish many a hint towards the solution of problems that confront us in religion, art, language and custom." His paper presents evidence in the field of music strongly supporting that thesis.

There is a useful article on "Punic Literature" by Prof. A.M. Honeyman and other papers on Hebrew and Old Testament subjects. The Glasgow University Oriental Society renders scholarship a fine service in publishing the papers read at its meetings, so preserving the special knowledge gained by the research of its able members for larger and later audiences.

E. E. C.

## CURRENT TOPICS

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### Islam in Trinidad

The island of Trinidad (Trinity) at the mouth of the Orinoco, was discovered by Columbus and named in 1498. Colonized by Spaniards, it passed to the British in 1797. Of a total population of about 250,000 only 26,000 are Moslems. The export trade of the island is mostly sugar and asphalt.

Although there are several missions on the island, our readers have never had any account of the neglected Moslem community. Through the kindness of Mr. Haidar Ali in sending me a copy of a magazine, *The Islamic Message* (April, 1946) published at Port-of-Spain, we can share some interesting close-up views of Islam in this outskirt of the Moslem world.

We gather that the two factions of Old and New Islam are active and mutually hostile. The Reform party has its own magazine, *Al Azān*, which carries on a brisk attack on orthodox belief and practice. The moot questions concern mixed dancing, whether meat slaughtered by Jews and Christians is lawful to Moslems, and the use of the veil. The Reform party is broad and includes, so *Al Azān* says, Sunnis, Hanfis, Shaffai and Ghair Mukalid." The spirit of the Old Islam is evident in its reply to *Al Azān* in the question of attitude towards Christians (who, of course, are the vast majority of the population of Trinidad):

If there is a man who calls himself a Muslim, and worships the Holy Prophet Muhammad (u.w.b.p.) as a God, would such a man be a muslim? The answer is definitely No! Then how can one who worships Christ as God (and these are in the majority among the Christians) be considered an Ali Kitab? It is evident that such persons existed in the days of the holy prophet, as the Holy Quran teems with reference to them, always referring to them as infidels, and extensive quotations were given by us in our comments. One point must be reiterated, that is the method used in strangling meat, i.e., strangling and goring, both of which are prohibited in the Holy Quran in Sura Maidā v.3, which states specifically that meat so slaughtered is forbidden to Muslims."

The "u.w.b.p." is found frequently in the magazine and is an abbreviation of "upon whom be peace." The Holy Prophet is exalted in the Children's Page as an example to youth. They are also wisely urged in a strong article to abstain from intoxicants. The ideal "Muslim Home" is pictured as based on the five pillars of Islam. The call of the hour is to revive Islam by joining the Young Men's League, whose motto is "Onward we march for the honor and glory of Islam." In the advertising columns we learn how important Trinidad has become as a center for air-transport to South America and Europe. Also that Moslems should buy *Nylon* tooth-brushes, which are not made of hog-bristles!

For Arabic students this copy of a Trinidad magazine offers ex-

amples of transliteration which might be improved; the instructions for prayer are detailed:

"We now proceed with the way in which the first Namaz—Swalaat-ul-Fajr 2 Rakaats Sunnat—must be read: (a) After having made Wuzu, stand upright facing Quabba Shareef (in our case East) and read: *Inee waj jahto waj hayaa lillazee fatras samaa-waatay wal arrdway haneef fawn wa maa ana minal mushray keen—bismillah-hir-Rah manir-Raheem.*

"(b) Then read the following Neyat: *Nawaito an o swallay a lilla-hay taala (Rakkatai swalatul Fajray—Sunnatay rasoolil lahay taala) mota Wajjay han aylaa jay hatil kaaba tish shareefatay.* Then raise both hands to the ears saying, *Allah-o-akbar*, then fold the hands a little under the navel, with the right hand over the left. (The thumb and the fingers of the right hand should not reach further than the wrist of the left.)"

There are beautiful obituaries, which incidentally tell of three cemeteries and of noble lives. Altogether, our friend has given us a small window into a forgotten corner of the world of Islam.

Z.

### The Priest in Ismailism

(From an article by V. Ivanow on The Organization of the Fatimid Propaganda, in the Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. 15 (1939) pp. 1-36.) We quote from page 6:

"But the most important difference which was introduced by Ismailism, as compared with Sunnism, was the idea of the *priest*, in approximately the same sense as it is in Christianity and some other religions. (Note: The author of *al-Mujizatu'l-Kāfiya*, as may be seen further on [i.e., in the article] plainly compares the Ismaili *dā'ī* with the priests in the three main religions known to him—Zoroastrianism, Jewism, and Christian—although it is not clear to what extent he realizes the implications of such comparison.) As is known, Muslim *mulla* cannot be called a priest, in the real sense of the word, because he is not *ordained*. He acquires this position by virtue of his own learning, talents, piety and by the consent of the congregation. This applies even to the great doctors, supreme authorities in legal matters, the *imams* in the Sunnite sense. All of them are merely specialists or experts in religious matters, just as there are expert medical men, engineers, astronomers, etc.

"The Ismaili *dā'ī*, i.e., accredited agent of the Imam, *is ordained*. In addition to the position of ordinary Islamic *mulla*, he has spiritual authority, commission, received either directly from the source of religious authority, the Imam, or indirectly, through those who themselves received it from him, together with the right of transferring it to others. The sacrament which he is commissioned to perform is not only teaching, i.e., distributing the sacred wisdom of the Imams, but also accepting, on their behalf, the oath of allegiance of the followers." (Italics by the author.)

p. 7. "This is quite different from the state of things in Sunnism, although it cannot be regarded as a heretical practice, *bid'a*, for the simple reason that it is respected and sanctified by Sunnism in its Sufic form. As many other ideas and institutions, this one has a complete parallel in the Sufic theory of the 'chains' of permissions, by

which accredited spiritual teachers, *murshids*, receive their authority ultimately from the Prophet himself, through a long succession of similar commissioned priests. Just as the Sufic *murshid* without a genuine *ijāza*, *khirqā*, or other certificate of his commission, is an impostor, however pious and learned he may really be. (Note: Obvious autodidact and self-made *murshids* had to declare that they had received their *khirqā* either from Khidr, or from a certain famous saint during their sleep, in a dream. This sort of pious fraud was apparently condoned by the public at a period of the gradual decline of Sufism, but was impossible during its early flourishing phase.) The *dā'ī* is a *dā'ī* only in so far as he is commissioned by the Imam, and whose name he accepts the oath of allegiance from his converts."

E. E. C.

### Arab-World in New York

Washington Street, at the lower end of Manhattan Island, is today a condemned street. From Rector Street to Battery Place, all the people who live there and run restaurants and spice shops and Oriental bakeries and newspapers have received notice to vacate so that Washington Street can become the approach to the new Brooklyn-Manhattan tunnel.

Until about the first of the year, however, Washington Street will remain the heart of New York's Arab world. That is because it is the center of the section where the first Arabic-speaking people to come to New York settled and where many of them still have their businesses—although the majority have long since moved their homes to Brooklyn. There are between thirty and forty thousand Arabic-speaking people in New York today, of whom about 60 per cent are from Lebanon, most of the remainder from Syria and a small number from scattered places, principally Palestine. The overwhelming majority are Christians; about 5 per cent—mainly from Palestine—Moslems.

There is a rumor on Washington Street that the best arrack in town is served by the editor of *Al Hoda*, S. A. Mokarzel, whose oak-paneled book-lined office at 55 Washington Street doubles as a consulting room for people of the neighborhood. Mr. Mokarzel is the "guide" of Washington Street. "*Al Hoda*" means "The Guidance." There are three other Arabic papers in New York, but *Al Hoda* is the oldest of them, and wherever there are Arabic-reading people its owner is known as the man who originated the Arabic linotype. Mr. Mokarzel made his invention in 1912, in the cellar of No. 55.

Right next to *Al Hoda* is the little church of the colony, a small, simply built chapel-like graystone house with a coating of faded blue, in which a white-haired Maronite priest leads his congregation in hymns and prayers. The language is Syriac, the Aramaic of old, and its throaty sounds mingle strangely with the noise of trucks rattling over the street outside.

There are two Arab restaurants on Washington Street—The Son of the Sheikh and The Nile. From all over Manhattan and Brooklyn, Lebanese and Syrian Americans come down to the two small eating houses to enjoy *sheesh kabab* and stuffed grape leaves, and to talk politics, business and home over the honey drippings of some real

*bakhlavah* or the restful hubble bubble of a water pipe. The Nile has an additional specialty of the house. The man who services the elevator of The Nile building at No. 85 also operates the only commercial Arabic bookshop in New York.

The immigration of Arabic-speaking peoples to the United States began in 1870—the greatest influx occurring between 1885 and 1910. Most of those settling have prospered. The majority of them are merchants—importers and exporters—or manufacturers of linen goods, rugs and textiles. Others are successful doctors, dentists and lawyers.

—*New York Times*

### Educational and Rural Problems in Algeria

*Education.* The Algerian government has adopted projects intended to increase considerably and rapidly the school enrollment of Muslim children. Out of a total Muslim population of  $7\frac{1}{2}$  million, it is estimated that there are  $1\frac{1}{4}$  million children of school age, that is between the ages of 6 and 14. In 1943 a total of 110,200 Muslim boys and girls, the majority being boys, were receiving primary instruction. The problem was to provide instruction for 1,150,000 more as soon as possible. After a thorough study of the situation a project was adopted on Nov. 27, 1944 calling for the creation of 20,000 new classes over a period of 20 years to care for 1 million new pupils. At the same time a plan was elaborated for the recruitment of additional teachers, both French and Muslim. The great difficulty was to acquire or construct new class rooms. Nevertheless the plan has been initiated, and during the first year of its operation an augmentation of 449 new classes is reported, providing instruction for 24,301 additional pupils. However the increase has become possible only by reducing the actual class time for fifty percent in one half of the new classes formed. This year seventy-five percent of the new classes functioned on half time.

There is an increasing demand for the instruction of Muslim girls. In 1945 twenty-five percent of the new classes were reserved for girls, and in 1946 fifty-four percent. In principle, coeducation is not practised. All instruction is in French.

*Rural Life.* In the field of rural welfare the Algerian government is attempting radical reforms. The population has increased from one and one-half million in 1830 to nine million in 1945. In general the land is not rich. Algeria has 25,204,200 cultivable acres, of which 18,500,000 are in the hands of Muslim families. Yet the larger proportion of Muslim families are without land.

The Government proposes three means to ameliorate the situation: 1) Improvement of agricultural methods by education, organization and loans; 2) Reclaim land by irrigation, this necessitating the construction of dams and the utilization of electric power; 3) Attribution of additional land to Muslim farmers, by ceding State domains and perhaps by repartition of privately owned property.

The relocation of farmers on small holdings is being planned, consideration being given to the variety of types of agriculture: grains, olives, figs, almonds, fruits, dates, flocks, etc.

E. H. DOUGLAS

## THE FELLOWSHIP OF FAITH FOR THE MOSLEMS

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This Fellowship, known to all our readers by its advertisement appearing in each issue of our Quarterly, seeks to unite in prayer, service, and sacrifice all who love the Moslems and who labour in any way to win them for Christ. By permission, we reprint below its Cycle of Prayer.—*Ed.*

### CYCLE OF PRAYER FOR 1947 “Continuing daily with one accord.”

#### FIRST DAY. “Our God is able.”

Praise for accessibility in most parts of the Moslem world. Of its 300,000,000 no less than four-fifths now live in places open to Missionary approach.

Pray for Governments at Home and Abroad, and all in authority in Moslem lands, that God will put it into their hearts to keep doors open to the Gospel and to open those now shut.

For Moslem Rulers, that their contacts with Western civilization may not drive them further into Islam but lead them to the feet of the King of kings.

#### SECOND DAY. “Able to do.”

For the CHURCH OF CHRIST in Moslem lands and for all NATIVE CHRISTIANS. That they may be baptised into the Spirit of Christ and be faithful and true witnesses in life and service to the Moslems around them.

Pray that many of the officials and business men who go forth to Moslem lands may be keen Christians.

#### THIRD DAY. “A God that worketh.”

For PALESTINE, SYRIA, TRANSJORDAN AND IRAQ. Praise for openings and pray that the opportunities may be fully realized. Praise for an increase in the number of inquirers, pray that many of them may become true believers. Pray for the Hospitals and the Schools, that through them the Gospel may be fully preached and many homes reached. For inquirers and baptised converts, that the problems of their finding work and a livelihood may be solved. That the extreme bitterness all over the Near East may be assuaged—as between Moslem and Jew, and as between sections of the Christian Church—a great hindrance to the work of God.

#### FOURTH DAY. “As for Ishmael, I have heard thee.”

For ARABIA. It is much to praise God for that in answer to prayer medical mission work has been the means of breaking down barriers and opening up the interior. Pray specially for open doors for evangelism in the Arab kingdom of Saoudia and in the Yemen. Pray that

points of contact may be made with Moslems on the pilgrimage, and every opportunity of presenting the Gospel to them taken advantage of.

For a blessing on the circulation of Christian literature.

For Aden and its hinterland, where the situation is full of promise.

For Hadramaut and Oman. For the British island of Socotra, once Christian now Moslem.

FIFTH DAY. "*There is nothing too hard.*"

PERSIA. Pray for the growth in faith and holiness and unity of the young Church, and that the doors may be kept open for the Gospel.

Pray for the large regions still unoccupied, and that the existing political barriers may be broken down and a way made for the Gospel to reach these peoples.

SIXTH DAY. "*He rebuked the Red Sea.*"

For TURKEY. Praise for the large circulation of Scriptures: may God use them and all Turkish Christian literature. Literacy has increased considerably since the adoption of the Roman script, very suitable to the phonetical Turkish language, and a revised edition of the New Testament has been issued by the Bible Societies.

Pray for the evangelical community, and for the converts that they may by God's grace display the miracle of a holy life.

For CYPRUS. Turkey is closed to direct evangelism, but in Cyprus there are 60,000 Moslems to be reached, forming a "springboard" for the mainland.

SEVENTH DAY. "*Jordan was driven back.*"

For the Moslems of ALBANIA, BULGARIA, GREECE, MONTENEGRO, ROUMANIA, and YUGOSLAVIA. Many of the Moslems in these countries were peculiarly open to approach before the war.

Pray that the missionary opportunities may be "bought up" and the work restarted.

EIGHTH DAY. "*The walls of Jericho fell down.*"

For the Moslems of RUSSIA (U.S.S.R.), including the Crimea, Siberia, Russian Turkestan, Bukhara and the Azerbaijan Republic. Bolshevism has so far destroyed faith in Islam that to-day it can be said that every educated young Moslem has been won over to atheism.

May Christian literature find an entrance, and the way be opened up for the establishment of Mission centres in these unoccupied territories, and may Russian Christians be set free to worship God and to evangelise their Moslem fellow-countrymen.

NINTH DAY. "*The iron gate opened automatically.*" (Greek).

For the Moslems of AFGHANISTAN. Thanksgiving that from Peshawar in India and other frontier towns, Christian literature is entering Afghanistan. That Afghans crossing the frontier to trade or coming as patients to the mission hospitals may be won for Christ and bear the glad tidings to their own people. Praise God for Afghan converts during the past two generations.

TENTH DAY. *"He saw the multitudes."*

For the MOSLEMS OF INDIA. Thanksgiving for converts from Islam and for their work as evangelists, pastors and writers, and for the witness of martyrs. Pray that the younger generation may follow in faith and endeavour.

That the present political unrest and divisions may not lead to the expulsion of workers from any area.

Pray that more missionaries, specially trained for work among Moslems, may be raised up. That the Urdu Bible and Christian literature, both largely read by Moslems, may turn many to Christ.

Ninety per cent. of the people in India are illiterate, and very few of the women can read. Pray that education may rapidly become widespread.

For the Depressed Classes and their leaders that they may be guided aright and fearlessly take their stand for Christ.

ELEVENTH DAY. *"He was moved with compassion."*

For the Moslems of the PUNJAB, SINDH, the NORTH-WEST FRONTIER PROVINCE, BALUCHISTAN, KASHMIR, and BALTISTAN. Dark and needy; with scattered and lonely workers and the few converts they rejoice over with trembling.

Pray for the circulation of the Scriptures in the colloquial languages of the millions of simple village folk, and for a blessing on the new literature prepared for this area.

TWELFTH DAY. *"Lift up your eyes and look."*

For the Moslems in the UNITED AND CENTRAL PROVINCES, and BIHAR-ORISSA, BENGAL and ASSAM. That prayer and effort in BHOPAL, the principal Moslem State in Central India, may be followed by much blessing.

That converts from Islam and Hinduism may lay aside their hereditary variance and unite as one in Christ.

THIRTEENTH DAY. *"Pray ye the Lord of the harvest."*

For the Moslems of BOMBAY, MADRAS, HYDERABAD, MYSORE, CEYLON and BURMA, for the MOPLAHS on the S.W. Coast, and for the Maldivé and Laccadive Islands.

For the Moslems of India, who speak and read English, that a far wider use be made of Christian literature to meet them. May new plans, methods and spiritual power to be given for the distribution of the literature that already exists.

FOURTEENTH DAY. *"Believe ye that I am able?"*

For the Moslems of CENTRAL AND OF S. E. ASIA, including BRITISH MALAYA and the NETHERLANDS INDIES. Also for the Moslems of the Philippine Islands.

Thanksgiving for the many Moslem converts in Java. Pray that they be kept faithful and imbued with the missionary spirit.

That misconceptions in the minds of the Moslems regarding the Christian religion may be removed. That a suitable Christian litera-

ture may be provided for those who are learning to read in the British and Dutch vernacular schools.

FIFTEENTH DAY. "*These from the land of Sinim.*"

For the Moslems of CHINA and of CHINESE TURKESTAN.

Praise God for an increasing realization of the responsibility of the Church—including foreign missionaries—to Moslems: for Christian officials who witness in Moslem areas: for special literature prepared to give workers increased understanding of Moslem needs, and that prepared for distribution among Moslems.

Pray for the "Society of the Friends of the Moslems in China" that all members may be faithful in work and prayer for Moslems, and that many more may be led to see their need: for an increase in production and distribution of suitable literature: for the protection of enquirers and converts from dangers—both physical (especially in the North West) and spiritual: for Moslems in high Civil and Military Office, that in their enthusiasm for efficiency they may not hinder missionary work.

SIXTEENTH DAY. "*They shall return to the Lord.*"

For EGYPT, SINAI, AND THE ANGLO-EGYPTIAN SUDAN. For God's over-ruling Providence in all the political changes. For the pastors and members of the Evangelical Church, that they may be so filled with the Holy Spirit that they will care for the souls of their Moslem neighbours and seek to win them for Christ. For the converts, that they may be kept faithful. For "Friends of the Bible" and other Reform movements within the Coptic Church. For a work of God among the students of Al Azhar, congregated from all parts of the Moslem World, and the Government Colleges and Schools throughout Egypt.

For the Bedouin of Sinai that the door to reach them in their darkness and need may be opened.

Praise God for many opportunities in the Sudan and encouragement given of late. Pray that what has happened in Nigeria may happen there and that the Moslem provinces and districts may be occupied for Christ.

SEVENTEENTH DAY. "*Ethiopia shall soon stretch out her hands.*"

For the Moslems in ETHIOPIA, ERITREA, AND THE SOMALILANDS.

Praise for the growing Native Church.

Pray that God's purpose of blessing for ETHIOPIA may be fulfilled, that His work may be established, and that all that has happened may turn out for the furtherance of the Gospel. That much literature distributed may bear fruit to God's glory.

For the Native Church in Eritrea bereft of European helpers. For the evangelisation of the Somalilands too long neglected.

EIGHTEENTH DAY. "*My word shall accomplish.*"

Praise God for the increasing number of Scriptures circulated by sale and gift amongst the ARABS AND KABYLES in the BARBARY STATES (MOROCCO, ALGERIA, TUNISIA, and LIBYA). Praise God that there are

so many open doors, and so many attentive hearers of the Gospel. Pray that the ministry made possible by the mission motor cars in many towns and villages in Desert areas, representing a very large population of Moslems hitherto untouched by the Lord's messengers, may be in the power and demonstration of the Holy Spirit.

The medical mission in Tripoli, which has stood for Christ there for over half a century, has been reopened after having been closed by the government and the missionaries expelled.

NINETEENTH DAY. *"Do ye now believe?"*

FOR SIERRA LEONE, SENEGAMBIA AND NIGERIA and the French Territory of Niger and all West Africa. The Niger Valley, like those of the Nile and the Shari, is a highway for the advance of Islam.

Pray for the native Christian Church of Sierra Leone and Nigeria, that it may be strong to withstand the tide of Islam and aggressive in seeking to win Moslems for Christ.

Praise God for the complete change in the attitude of the Government towards mission work in Nigeria and for the many open doors.

Pray for missionaries in touch with the Touareg, and others preparing to go; French Government restrictions make entry difficult.

For those engaged in the preparation of Scripture portions in the Tamachek language.

TWENTIETH DAY. *"The spirit of faith."*

FOR THE MOSLEMS IN CENTRAL AND SOUTH AFRICA, and for those on the East Coast. The French and Belgian Congo, Uganda, Kenya, Tanganyika, Zanzibar, and Madagascar, Mauritius and the Comoro Islands.

Islam is penetrating through Tanganyika into the heart of Africa. Two millions of the population are already nominally Moslems, "they represent an advancing host intent on occupying all the main roads and the main areas of the Territory." (Richter). Pray for the native Church members in this area; much depends on them.

TWENTY-FIRST DAY. *"Them also I must bring."*

FOR MOSLEM COMMUNITIES in Japan, Korea and Formosa; in South America, Brazil, British, Dutch and French Guiana, and the West Indies; in U.S. of America, Canada and Australia, that witnesses may be raised up to tell them the Glad Tidings.

TWENTY-SECOND DAY. *"I was a Stranger. . . ."*

FOR MOSLEM STUDENTS in Christian lands, that they may be brought in touch with those who will be a blessing and a help to them. For Moslem Sailors and Firemen, that the work done among them at many ports, and the Christian literature distributed to them, may bear fruit to God's glory.

Pray that the propaganda emanating from Woking and elsewhere may be counteracted and Islam revealed in its true light. Also that the danger of mixed marriages with Moslems may be widely known, and that many women living in misery in Moslem lands may be freed from their bondage.

TWENTY-THIRD DAY. *"Your prayer and the supply of the Spirit."*

For all missionaries working amongst Moslems. May a fresh endowment of the love of God and the power of the Holy Ghost be given to them. May they be lifted above all discouragement and learn to triumph as those who are seated in heavenly places in Christ Jesus. May they be preserved from all assaults of the enemy on mind and body. May men and women come forward to take the place of those who have recently finished their task and who rest from their labours.

TWENTY-FOURTH DAY. *"Pray that the word may have free course."*

For the work of ALL THE BIBLE SOCIETIES with thanksgiving for what has already been accomplished through these agencies. For the PUBLISHING SOCIETIES AND MISSION PRESSES. For all TRANSLATION WORK. That many may be raised up to write books and tracts in the vernacular with a powerful spiritual message. For all readers in every class of life. For all colportage work and all Book Dépôts. That the problem of the *circulation* of literature may be solved. For newspaper evangelism and the use of posters to proclaim the Gospel. For all Christian periodicals specially published to reach the Moslems. For work amongst the Blind.

TWENTY-FIFTH DAY. *"If ye ask . . . I will do."*

For all CHRISTIAN COLLEGES AND SCHOOLS in Moslem lands. Pray for the presentation of Jesus Christ to every pupil with a view to his acceptance of Him as Saviour and Lord.

For the establishment of sympathetic contacts with Moslem communities so as to remove their misconceptions of Christianity. That the routine work may not crowd out the spiritual. For all teachers and pupils. For all Sunday school work. For all orphanages and homes for Moslem children and women converts and others. For a great increase in the number of these and of Christian boarding schools. For the establishment of Bible schools in strategic centres.

TWENTY-SIXTH DAY. *"Ye have not because ye ask not."*

FOR ALL MOSLEM CONVERTS AND INQUIRERS. That converts may be kept by the power of God, and enabled to witness for Him in spite of all they have to face. That secret believers may have faith and courage given them openly to confess Christ. That inquirers may be kept true however severely they may be persecuted, and find joy and peace in believing. That backsliders may be restored. That all native evangelists and Bible women may be constrained by the love of Christ in seeking to lead souls to Him.

TWENTY-SEVENTH DAY. *"There went virtue out of Him."*

FOR ALL MEDICAL MISSION WORK. For Mission hospitals and dispensaries. For itinerant Medical Mission effort. For all doctors, nurses and native assistants, that their service may ever be on the spiritual plane with one end in view. For the patients in the wards and for those attending the dispensaries that the kindness and sympathy shown may open their hearts to Christ.

Thanksgiving for the vast amount of sowing that is being done

through Medical Mission work, and for adequate staff to "buy up" the opportunities created through it. Pray that this work may be greatly extended, and that it may be followed up everywhere by systematic visiting and by the establishment of outstations in the districts touched.

TWENTY-EIGHTH DAY. "*He putteth forth His own sheep.*"

FOR THE TRAINING OF WORKERS. That God may call out special men and women adapted to be leaders and pioneers, writers, translators and teachers. That the need may be specially laid on students in our universities who are spiritually and intellectually fitted for the work.

For all training colleges at home and for the candidates.

For language study centres and schools of Islamics in the mission field. May help be given to those who are studying Arabic, and other difficult languages.

TWENTY-NINTH DAY. "*Possible to him that believeth.*"

FOR ALL MOSLEM WOMEN AND CHILDREN. For the amelioration of their social condition, that they may be delivered from the degradation of the religious laws relating to polygamy and divorce and from the cruelty of child marriage.

For their deliverance too from the bondage of ignorance, superstitious custom and fear.

That the sympathetic action and the faithful witness of women missionaries may be used to raise up a new womanhood in Moslem lands and communities.

THIRTIETH DAY. "*Where there is no vision, the people perish.*"

FOR COMMITTEES AND SECRETARIES of Missionary Societies at the home base and in the field, that new vision and a spirit of adventure for God be granted. For the Conference of Missionary Societies and the Inter-Mission Councils. May all home boards and their constituencies be stirred to face responsibility regarding the evangelisation of Moslems. For all missionary magazines, books and pamphlets. For the "Moslem World" Quarterly Review and its Editors, Dr. S. M. Zwemer and Dr. E. E. Calverley.

For all deputation work. For a great revival of missionary zeal and self-sacrifice.

THIRTY-FIRST DAY. "*Believing . . . abound in hope.*"

FOR THE CHILDREN OF MISSIONARIES, especially those who are separated from their parents. May they follow in their footsteps and early purpose to give their lives to Christ for His service.

That ALL NEEDED SUPPLIES may be sent in to carry on the work. That anxiety may be removed through faith in our Heavenly Father, and that we may not hinder His loving care for us through making any false step or wandering from the Word of Life. May we overcome through the blood of the Lamb and the word of our testimony, and love not our lives unto the death.

*"The Lord fulfil all thy petitions."*

## SURVEY OF PERIODICALS

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By SUE MOLLESON FOSTER

*Union Theological Seminary Library*

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### I. GENERAL

AN ARAB PAPYRUS IN THE ORIENTAL INSTITUTE. Nabia Abbott.  
(In the *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, Chicago. July, 1946.  
pp. 169-180).

Translation of a fragment dealing with stories of the prophets.  
Accompanied by comments.

HAFIZ AND HIS ENGLISH TRANSLATORS. Dr. A. J. Arberry. (In  
*Islamic Culture*, Hyderabad. April, 1946. pp. 111-128).  
The first installment of a study.

THE LETTERS OF RASTŪD AL-DĪN FADL-ALLĀH. Reuben Levy. (In  
the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, London. Parts 1-2,  
1946. pp. 74-78).  
Refutes the authenticity of certain letters.

MARIE PETIT'S PERSIAN ADVENTURE. Laurence Lockhart. (In  
*The Asiatic Review*, London. July, 1946. pp. 273-277).

The sprightly career of an unofficial delegate at the court of  
Shah Sultan Husain in the early days of the 18th century.

PERSONAL OPINION. THE MUFTI OF JERUSALEM. Vincent Sheean.  
(In *Asia and the Americas*, New York. August, 1946. pp. 373-  
374; 383).

A convincing article, pro-Arab and pro-Mufti, who is described  
as a man of great simplicity with one idea in his head—the free-  
dom of his people.

POEMS. NIMR IBN 'ADWĀN. Translated by H. H. Spoer and E. N.  
Haddad. (In the *Journal of the American Oriental Society*,  
Baltimore. April-June, 1946. pp. 161-181).

Arabic text, with translation and notes, of poems XXI-XLIV.

RESTORATION OF ARCHITECTURAL MONUMENTS IN UZBEKISTAN.  
Walid Jahangir. (In *Indian Art and Letters*, London. Part  
2, 1945. pp. 59-61).

The remains of the ancient empire of Timur and his famous  
grandson, Uleg Bek, are being preserved by the Uzbek Soviet  
Republic.

### II. ARABIA

ANCIENT ARABIA: EXPLORATIONS IN HASA, 1940-41. P. B. Corn-  
wall. (In *The Geographic Journal*, London. January-Febru-  
ary, 1946. pp. 28-50).

A detailed, well-illustrated account, indicating that the section

around Jabal Umm ar Ruus affords the most interesting geological and archaeological finds; also evidence of pre-Islamic Christianity.

### III. HISTORY OF ISLAM

THE END OF ARAB ISOLATION. Gerald de Gaury. (In *Foreign Affairs*, New York. October, 1946. pp. 82-89).

Arabia's entry into the concert of nations means she must learn industrialization—a difficult task, but affairs of the spirit will play a large part in the future of the country.

### IV. KORAN. TRADITION. THEOLOGY

CHRISTIANITY AND EARLY ARAB NATIONALISM. Leslie F. Church. (In *The London Quarterly and Holborn Review*, London. July, 1946. pp. 193-198).

Attributes the development of the Arab national movement to the impetus given to the revival of the Arabic language and literature by Protestant and Roman Catholic missionaries over a hundred years ago.

SHAIKH NASĪRUDDĪN MAHMŪD CHIRĀGH-I-DEHLĪ AS A GREAT HISTORICAL PERSONALITY. Mohammad Habib. (In *Islamic Culture*, Hyderabad. April 1946. pp. 129-153).

A short biography of the last of the Chishti mystics of the 14th century.

### V. RELIGIOUS AND SOCIAL LIFE

DEMOGRAPHIC PROBLEMS OF THE LEBANON. Eliahu Epstein. (In the *Royal Central Asian Journal*, London. April, 1946. pp. 150-154).

Lebanese Christians are in danger from the increasing populations of Druze and Moslem neighbors, who have lower standards of living.

LIFE IN TURKEY TO-DAY. Malcolm Burr. (In *Asia and the Americas*, New York. August, 1946. pp. 359-362).

Although conditions in the main are very promising, the lot of the numerous minorities is still thorny.

THE NEW INDIA IN FORMATION. (In *The Student Outlook*, Allahabad. July, 1946. Whole issue, pp. 1-66).

Contains articles by various contributors on education, reform movements, religion and the question of minorities as affecting Moslems and Hindus.

LES RELATIONS COMMERCIALES ENTRE L'ÉGYPTE ET LA FRANCE. Dr. André Eman. (In *L'Égypte Contemporaine*, Le Caire. Janvier-Février, 1946. pp. 65-82).

A survey from 1931 to date.

A TURKISH INDUSTRIAL VENTURE. F. E. M. Thrupp. (In *The Asiatic Review*, London. July, 1946. pp. 269-270).

Tells of the work of an up-to-date blast furnace operating at Karabuk, north of Ankara.

A VISIT TO SOUTHERN KURDISTAN. Witold Rejkowski. (In *The Geographical Journal*, London. March-April, 1946. pp. 128-134).

Describes the life and customs of the people encountered during an expedition from Kirkuk to Biyara.

## VI. POLITICAL RELATIONSHIPS

FUTURE OF ERITREA. Brig. Stephen H. Longrigg, O.B.E. (In *African Affairs*, London. July, 1946. pp. 120-127).

Presents three possible plans for the peaceful disposal of the country—join the Muslim areas to the Sudan, give part of Tigray Province immediately and unconditionally to Ethiopia, and part later conditionally and gradually.

THE IMPACT OF THE WAR ON TURKEY. A. C. Edwards. (In *International Affairs*, London. July, 1946. pp. 389-400).

Finds that in the main the country is progressing politically and economically and that the United States and Great Britain are viewed favorably.

MIDDLE EAST IMBROGLIO. Jamil M. Barody. (In *Asia and the Americas*, New York. June, 1946. pp. 269-272).

The masses in the Middle East are likely to be the principal sufferers from British and Russian mutual distrust.

THE MIDDLE EAST—POWDERKEG OF THE WORLD. Mark Krug. (In *The Chicago Jewish Forum*, Chicago. Fall, 1946. pp. 23-26).

Considers conditions in Azerbaijan, Northern Iraq, the regions of Kars and Ardahan, the Lebanon, Egypt and Palestine and finds them as dangerous to world peace as the Balkans were before World War I.

THE PROBLEM OF EGYPTIAN TREATY REVISION. (In *Great Britain and the East*, London. April, 1946. pp. 44-46).

Egypt hopes to remove irking restrictions and yet maintain friendship with Great Britain.

SOME OF THE PROBLEMS FACING PERSIA. A. K. S. Lambton. (In *International Affairs*, London. April, 1946. pp. 254-272).

Lack of confidence and governmental indecision plus Russian interference are Persia's main difficulties, but she is also beset by disquieting internal conditions both urban and rural.

## VII. PALESTINE

EMPIRE AND ZIONISM: A BANKRUPT PARTNERSHIP. Victor Eppstein. (In *Commentary*, New York. September, 1946. pp. 212-219).

Presents a strong criticism of Great Britain's policy of *divide et impera* and of her building up Arab nationalism as a bulwark for British security.

IMPRESSIONS OF LIFE ON A JEWISH SETTLEMENT IN PALESTINE. C. Witton-Davies. (In *Christendom*, London. September, 1946. pp. 208-210).

Finds the communal, or collective, colonies one of the greatest

achievements of contemporary Jewry and no cause for friction with the Arabs.

INQUIRY ON THE PROBLEM OF THE JEWS. Leopold C. Klausner. (In *World Affairs Interpreter*, Los Angeles. Spring, 1946. pp. 25-41).

Suggests three solutions: 1. Transfer of the Palestinian Arabs to Iraq. 2. Partition of Palestine into two self-governing states. 3. Creation of Palestine into a democratic commonwealth open to all on an equal footing.

PALESTINE: CONFUSION, FEAR AND HOPE. (In *The Round Table*, London. September, 1946. pp. 311-322).

A thorough survey of recent developments and their implications, especially the findings of the Anglo-American Committee, closing with a hope for a bi-racial government.

PALESTINE: THE POINTS AT ISSUE. Franklin Lushington. (In *The National Review*, London. September, 1946. pp. 203-208).

The author believes that the "stiff-necked people" of Moses' day will continue to be uncompromising and uncoöperative.

SHOULD A JEWISH STATE BE ESTABLISHED IN PALESTINE? T. Reid. (In *The Royal Central Asian Journal*, London. April, 1946. pp. 161-177).

Contents that there is no historical, legal or moral right for establishing a Jewish National State in Palestine, that such a step might lead to an international catastrophe, but that a Jewish national home there is desirable.

## VIII. MISSIONS TO MOSLEMS

APPROACH TO MOSLEMS IN AFRICA. Frederick Pilkington. (In *World Dominion and the World To-day*, London. July-August, 1946. pp. 233-239).

Describes methods used in Northern Nigeria among which the ministry of healing, with its magnificent service to lepers, reaches a high peak of usefulness.

EGYPT—LAND OF PARADOX. S. A. Morrison. (In *World Dominion and the World To-day*, London. September-October, 1946. pp. 267-271).

A survey of Christian work in Egypt through the centuries and of the difficulties and restrictions facing Christian missions there now.

IN PERSIA TO-DAY. A. T. Howden. (In *World Dominion and the World To-day*, London. July-August. 1946. pp. 205-210).

Tells of the work of the Church of England in Southern Iran, with its center at Isfahan where the Bishop lives.

"QUIT INDIA!" H. W. Sibree Page. (In *The London Quarterly and Holborn Review*, London. July, 1946. pp. 243-250).

Hindus and Muslims alike recognize the fact that Christian missions are desperately needed for evangelistic work, education, medical care and social regeneration.

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