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EVANGELISM

It was with a deep and abiding assurance of the adequacy and universality of the Gospel that the International Missionary Council, in Jerusalem, issued its Christian message for a bewildered world. "Christianity," they said, "is not a Western religion, nor is it yet effectively accepted by the Western world as a whole. Christ belongs to the peoples of Africa and Asia as much as to the European or American. We call all men to equal fellowship with Him. . . . We believe that men are made for Christ and cannot really live apart from Him. Our fathers were impressed with the horror that men should *die* without Christ—we share that horror; we are impressed also with the horror that men should *live* without Christ."

Those who believe this have a real sense of urgency and are conscious of an impelling motive that is not of themselves but of God. The Good News is for all or it is not good news at all.

When we think of the world of Islam, however, it is evident that the mission of our Saviour is not portrayed in the Koran as universal or final. There Jesus is sent as a prophet to the Jews only and of His own day; His real mission is that of harbinger to one who comes after Him. Yet the only message Jesus had is by Mohammed called the *Injil,* that is the Evangel.

This New Testament word has become a commonplace in the religious vocabulary of all Moslems. It occurs twelve times in the Koran[1] and refers either to

[1] I. e. Surahs 7:156; 3:2; 3:43; 3:58; 57:27; 48:29; 9:112; 5:50, 51; 5:70; 5:72; 5:110 and perhaps 19:31.

Christ's teaching or to "a book" which He brought down from heaven.

The highest praise is given to this "Good News" of Jesus. It confirms all God's teaching that preceded it; it is a guidance to men; it is the basis of firm belief and of salvation. "Ye rest on naught until ye stand fast by the Law and the Gospel" (5:72). It is a word of truth. Its effect is to produce the spirit of adoration (48:29) and it provokes to deeds of kindness and compassion (57:27). But although the Gospel is so highly spoken of and declared to be the very word of God, yet neither in the Koran nor in Moslem Tradition have we anywhere an adequate account of the real content of Christ's message. On the contrary, both books deny His deity, the finality of His teaching, the fact of His death for sin on the Cross, and His glorious resurrection. This is, therefore, at once an invitation and a rebuff to evangelism among Moslems. An invitation, because they too love Jesus the son of Mary and are always glad to hear more about Him; a rebuff, because the deepest truths meet with denial and the Cross of Christ, to us a glory, is to them a stumbling-block. The paradox is this: our Gospel is lauded because of its label but libeled because of its content. Was there ever such an age-long and world-wide misunderstanding as that between the Cross and the Crescent?

The task of evangelism may be exceedingly difficult but it is increasingly imperative, for the heart of our message is winning its way, in spite of all misunderstandings, to the heart of Moslems. In this number of our Quarterly there are evidences that the Gospel is sufficient for the world of Islam. What is that Gospel? The World Conference on Faith and Order gave no uncertain reply. "The Gospel is the joyful message of redemption both here and hereafter, the gift of God to sinful man in Jesus Christ. . . . Because He Himself is the Gospel, the Gospel is the message of the Church to the world. It is more than a philosophical theory; more

than a theological system; more than a program for material betterment. The Gospel is rather the gift of a new world from God to this old world of sin and death; still more, it is the victory over sin and death."

Such a message the Moslem heart needs and of such a message who would be ashamed? Lest we mistake the circumference for the center we need to remember the limitations and implications of the Great Commission. *"We are sent,"* in the words of Hugh Thomson Kerr, *"not to preach sociology but salvation; not economics but evangelism; not reform but redemption; not culture but conversion; not progress but pardon; not the new social order but the new birth; not revolution but regeneration; not renovation but revival; not resuscitation but resurrection; not a new organization but a new creation; not democracy but the Gospel; not civilization but Christ. We are ambassadors not diplomats."*

If this be true perhaps some of our methods of evangelism need overhauling and our message itself needs a clearer and less cumbersome expression. We have good news of forgiveness and pardon, of peace and victory over sin. Everywhere the human heart is hungry for such a message. Jesus is the only hope of the world.

The one thing we need is contact. All methods are futile unless they lead directly or indirectly to the goal.

Personal evangelism is a collision of souls. The impact depends on the momentum. John was "a burning and a shining light"—but the burning comes before the shining. A passion for souls will kindle the flame of evangelism.

Raymond Lull, Henry Martyn, Karl Gottlieb Pfander were all men who loved individual Moslems with a love that would not let them go. That same spirit is found today among an increasing number of Oriental Christians. When their hearts are set aglow by the love of Christ they will make the Church a home for Moslem converts, not only, but run to meet the prodigals and welcome them to the Father's home and the Father's heart.

The chief function of the missionary today should be to inspire and train the members of all the indigenous churches for evangelism—in the words of the Jerusalem message—"to call all the followers of the non-Christian religions to join with us in the study of Jesus Christ as He stands before us in the Scriptures, His place in the life of the world and His power to satisfy the human heart," and to accept Him as Saviour and Lord.

One is greatly cheered by evidence of a new spirit on the part of Armenian, Greek and Syrian Christians, enabling these brethren who have suffered to return with a radiant hope to those who have caused their suffering and loss and win them with forgiving love. Jesus Christ is at work in the tangled human relationships of the Near East and Northern Africa. How much homely wisdom regarding the right method and the right spirit in evangelism is crowded into these words of a letter received from a Syrian evangelist:

"The best indirect method is to form friendships with them in the natural business of life: in the market, in clubs and schools; in relationships of family life; dealing with them in the spirit of real brotherhood. If I had money and opportunity the first thing I would do in this work would be to make it possible for as many devoted Christians as possible to live right in the midst of the Moslems, that is in the Moslem quarters of the towns where they are found; there to live among them not as formal workers with assigned wages for their work, but to have their business such as trade, industry, or any other work carried on directly in their midst, and in coöperation with them. I can at least do this much now: suggest this idea to those who are interested in the evangelism of Moslems. That is, the need is for Christians who are equipped with the gift of forming friendships with them as Jesus formed friendships with every class of people."

SAMUEL M. ZWEMER.

MATIAS, A SON OF MORO PIRATES

An Arab named Abu Bakr, who was said to have been a descendant of Mohammed himself, came to the Philippines in 1450, and won the hand of the princess. So he became the first Sultan of Sulu, and made five tribes into Mohammedans. Magellan called them "Moros" because they had the same religion as the Moors (or "Moros") of Northern Africa, though they were not, of course, of the same race.

After seven hundred years of fighting Spain drove the last "Moros" across Gibraltar, in 1492, the very year Columbus discovered America. Then she sent Magellan around the world to find a path free from Mohammedans, but he met them in the Philippines, coming around the world the other way! So Spain plunged into a new struggle with "Moros" in far off Mindanao, a struggle which lasted almost four hundred years. She fought them, but could not conquer them.

Most of the Spanish expeditions which went to Mindanao and Sulu met with disaster. They comforted themselves by capturing pagans and making them "Christians." Chief Tonkoling of the Bagobos told me once when I was visiting him, how the Spanish troops had lined his tribe up and pointed their guns at them while the priest went along and baptized the whole line. "After they had marched off," said the old chieftain with a chuckle, "we went down to the river and scoured all day to get it off!" The Spaniards could do that with pagans but not with Mohammedans; the Moros would die first!

Almost every year Moro pirates would sail northward in their swift *vintas,* stealing, burning, killing, and carrying off slaves. The best of the captives were sold in Java or Singapore, while the old and infirm captives were sold cheap to the savages of Borneo, to be used as human sacrifices.

Two hundred and thirty years of this sorry mess—and then the Spaniards tried another method, the method of William Penn with the Indians. It resulted in one of the most amazing incidents in Moslem history. An unusually wise and devout Moro sultan named Alum-id-Din I, became very friendly with the Spanish Jesuits, and at last paid a visit to Manila.

He was received in the city with the greatest pomp ever accorded any visitor. Triumphal arches were put over the streets in his honor, he was showered with presents,—gold chains and gold canes, fine garments, precious stones—and the government paid the expense of keeping his wives and children and relatives.

The Jesuits then pictured to him the marvelous conversion of Constantine, the emperor who made the Roman Empire Christian, and declared that another Constantine was among them! In honor of this crowning event of 1750, there were held games, theatricals, fireworks, and bull fights. The sultan gave up all but one wife, and began to live a devout Christian life.

But the Spanish governor of Mindanao had no use for this sentimental William Penn business. Hard knocks had taught him that the way to deal with Moros was to kill them on sight. So the moment Alum-id-Din returned to Zamboanga, the suspicious governor there threw him into prison, and two hundred of his followers including princes, princesses, and distinguished *datos.*

The brightest hour in Spanish-Moro relations suddenly turned into the blackest. The entire Moro country went mad with rage, like a hornet's nest torn open. Fleets of *vintas* started forth through the Islands bent

upon revenge. "The year 1753 was the bloodiest in the history of Moro piracy."

So the reign of terror continued another hundred and fifty years. All along the coast of the Philippines even to the very northernmost islands you may still see watch-towers where silent watchmen once kept vigil night and day, ready to ring the dread alarm that pirates were coming, so that everybody might flee to the mountains.

The watch-towers are empty now, for thirty years ago America arrived. We knew that the Moros had proved unconquerable, so we tried another way. We sent among them men like Leonard Wood, John Pershing, and Tasker Bliss who were statesmen as well as soldiers. They fought only when they could not find another way, and made friends as fast as they could. The Moros soon saw that America did not propose to compel them to change either their customs or their religion, nor even to work without pay.

When Captain Bullard wanted a road built to Lake Lanao he offered the Moros more wages than they had ever heard of before. They are keen business men, and quickly jumped at this opportunity to make money.

The Moros were dying of cholera, so Captain Bullard called their wisest old man and showed him the American soldiers boiling all the water. "That," he said, "is why Americans do not die."

The old Moro shook his head in approval. Then he went back to his people and said: "These Americans are better Mohammedans than we are, for they drive the devils out of the water with fire before they drink it."

Captain Bullard then made up his mind to master the Mohammedan Koran in the Moro language. He studied far into the night for several weeks, and then went to visit the Moro priest. He quoted so much of the Koran that the priest was dumbfounded. In the Moro assembly a few days later the priest stood up and gravely announced: "It is the will of Allah that Americans should rule over the Moros and tax them to a fifth of all their goods."

Miracle of miracles! Never before had the Moros allowed anybody to tax them. What wonders friendship and appreciation can work!

Governor Frank Carpenter worked another miracle in Zamboanga. He called a landscape gardener from Washington and told him to do his best. Brush heaps began to be transformed into lovely little parks, and mud holes became canals filled with marvelous water lilies. In a few years round-the-world steamships were calling Zamboanga "the most beautiful little city in the world."

The Moros watched open-mouthed while this magician worked his wonders. Then he offered to do the same thing for their homes—free! The government distributed seeds and sent men to show the Moros how to plant them and to harvest the crops. It was treatment like this which caused the Moros to say, as they have so often said to me, "We don't like Christians, but we do like Americans."

And Americans love the Moros too. For however bloodthirsty they may have been, they are real men, and have in them the making of a great race.

Now the Moro boys are going to school, and so are some girls, although not many of the latter. If asked why, the Moros reply, "An educated woman makes a poor wife; she talks back too much."

When public schools were opened in Siasi the first Moro boy to enroll was Matias Cuadra. A German Jesuit watched the bright boy with eager eyes and won his friendship. One day he invited Matias to go on a boat with him, and while they were inside, the boat steamed away toward Borneo. Matias had been kidnapped!

He was terrified at first, but he was treated so kindly by the German priest that he became reconciled. He found the mind of the Jesuit far better trained than any he had ever before encountered, and his fierce young blood beat fast as he heard tales of interesting countries and stirring adventures. By the time they reached

Borneo, Matias was repeating the prayers and the words of the Mass, to the delight of the priest. Soon Matias became a sacristan, as the assistant in the Catholic Mass is called.

Suddenly the German Jesuit vanished. He had heard that the World War was coming and had fled from British Borneo to Germany. His Moro friend never heard of him again.

Matias walked the streets of Sandakan, Borneo, until he found work in an office. As soon as he had a little money he spent it—for a Bible—for a very human reason indeed. The Jesuit had forbidden his reading the Bible, and this sharpened his curiosity to see what was so bad in it. "I was much surprised," writes Matias, "to find that it was all good."

Some months later he took a boat and came to Zamboanga. On the dock stood David Lund, a Danish missionary with a kindly face. Seeing that the Moro boy seemed lost, the missionary asked where he was going.

"I don't know anybody here," was the answer.

"What have you been doing?" asked David Lund.

So Matias told him the story of his training for the priesthood, and the disappearance of the priest. Then he proudly exhibited his Bible and said, "It is a wonderful book and I want to study more of it."

"You shall," cried the missionary. "Come with me and we will study it together."

The Lunds took Matias into their home as their own son. "It was they," he now says, "who first aroused in me a burning desire to serve my people."

Seeing the unusual ability of the boy, David Lund sent him on to the seminary in Manila. Each month the realization that he was the first Christian Moro and that his people waited for him to lead them to Christ made him more intense.

Well do I remember the day he was ordained. He had prepared a written statement of his life and faith, but could not read it, so full was he of tremendous emo-

tions. So the chairman took the paper and read it aloud. Every man in the circle was moved and the chairman had to stop every few minutes to regain control of his voice. Then came the time for asking the candidate questions. I thought, "What right have I to question this young firebrand for Christ?"

The others seemed to have thought the same, for there were no questions, just a candidate with his face covered and his shoulders shaking in the midst of the circle.

"Mr. Chairman," somebody had the wit to say, "I move we dispense with questions." Everybody agreed.

Matias Cuadra was, so far as I know, our first candidate who passed an ordination examination without reading his own paper or answering a single question. He married a lovely Tagalog girl who had just graduated from the Ellinwood Girls' Bible School, and soon the young bride and groom set sail for Moroland. They opened their little portable organ on the streets of Jolo and began to sing until children gathered. Soon older Moros gathered on the outer edge, and Matias told them stories about Abraham, Isaac, Moses, and David. An old Moro said: "You must not tell these sacred stories on the street. Come over into the mosque."

So Matias and Maria Cuadra entered the mosque, followed by the crowd. "For two nights," he writes, "we could not sleep, for the people insisted upon Maria singing until she was hoarse and upon my telling Bible stories."

His fame spread over all Sulu. He knew more about the prophets and could tell it better than any of their priests. The governor called upon him as interpreter, and the senator sought him for advice. Every Moro was proud of him. His mother, learning that this great young Moro was her long lost son, came to find him. Moro women are not demonstrative. She did not kiss him. She did not weep; she did not laugh. She took his two hands and looked deep into his black eyes, long.

Then Matias, his mother, and his wife sailed off to

see his father. As their boat was threading one of the passages between the islands there suddenly shot out from the shore a dozen *vintas* full of pirates. One glance showed Matias that they were armed with guns and *bolos*.

"They are coming to kill us," he said. "Let's sing."

"Don't sing just before you are killed!" cried his mother.

"They may think we have money in this little organ. Let's show them what it is." So Maria opened the organ and began to play, while Matias sang the Twenty-third Psalm, which he had translated into the Moro dialect. Maria joined in the song—their voices blended beautifully. The pirates slowed down and then stopped. Music in their own language? What could it mean? "Are you *Moros?*" called out the leader. "Yes, sir, we are," answered Matias. "Where are you going?" "To Bas Nonok." "Whom do you know there?" "Bapa Sahid." "Why," exclaimed the pirate leader, "He's my uncle." "And he's my cousin," replied Matias. "Then we'll go with you."

So the twelve *vintas* gathered about the boat with the organ, and they talked and sang all the way to Bas Nonok.

Well do I remember Maria Cuadra telling that story, and I still feel the thrill as she said, "I tell you, we love the Twenty-third Psalm, and the little organ that saved our lives!"

The home-coming of Matias Cuadra was like the return of a conquering king. The old father gripped his son's shoulders and looked him straight in the eye with undisguised pride.

"Father," said Matias, "you know that I have become a Christian. Today is the anniversary day of my new life, and I want you to hold a feast. And, father, I want you to become a Christian too."

"My son," said the old man, "I am proud of you—the greatest young Moro of them all! But I am too old to be a Christian, besides, what would I do with all my

wives? No, son, I shall remain a Moslem. But I do want you to make Christians out of all the children."

"I couldn't do that without their consent."

"Go ahead," said the old man with an impatient gesture. "I have talked to them, and they are ready!"

So not many weeks later Matias Cuadra baptized all his brothers and sisters and some of his cousins and uncles and aunts as Christians. The old father built a Christian church on one side of his house, while the Mohammedan mosque still stood on the other.

Then something happened which, so far as I know, never happened anywhere else in the world. At the feast of Ramadan, which comes about Easter time, the Moros fast all day long, and worship and eat all night. They invited Matias to come into their mosque and placed him in the central seat, with the Moslem priests or "pundits" sitting on either side of him. They called him affectionately their "Christian pandita." He talked to them about Adam, Noah, Joseph, Isaiah, Jesus, for an hour; then he leaped upon a waiting horse and rode to the next mosque. There Matias talked for another hour, and then rode to the next mosque, and to the next, and the next, and the next, all night until daybreak. He had ridden around the Island of Siasi!

A new danger arose—they wanted to make Matias Cuadra governor. When he refused the nomination, they were inclined to take him by force. Partly to prevent this, he returned to Manila to continue his education. There were fifty other Moros studying in Manila. Matias organized them into a club called "The Strength of the South." At the 1926 student conference in Baguio thirty of these young men stood up and declared their intention to follow Jesus Christ from that day onward.

Now Matias and other Moros are dreaming eagerly of the day when their people shall have become Christians in large numbers, and shall go among the Mohammedan Malays to the south of them in Borneo, Java,

Sumatra, and the Straits Settlements, with the message of Christ.

"Once," they will say, "we were divided, brother against brother, full of hatred, hungry, stagnant. But in Christ we have found a better way. Now we are united, peaceful, safe, happy, progressive. What Christian ideals have done for us, they may do for you."

So the ancient pirates of the Pacific may become a key to Islam. They represent the new way to approach that religion.

The Mohammedan Koran says that Jesus was sinless, and that he now lives in high heaven as intercessor for men. The Mohammedans held him in high reverence until Christians hurled the Crusades at them. Then they became hardened against everything Christian. We cannot win the world to love with the sword. Nor can the Mohammedans be won by arguments, such as a lawyer makes before a court, comparing all the best things in Christianity with all the worst things in Mohammedanism.

The way of Matias Cuadra and of the modern missionary is better. "I have come," says the missionary, "to learn all the fine things you have in your faith. And in return I wish to give you all I know of that Jesus whom you count so great a prophet. So in the end, by comparing our experiences, we shall all be richer."

When we approach Moslems in this friendly way we are astonished—and so are they—at how many things we believe alike. They pray five times a day—oftener than some Christians! They believe there is but one God, and are quite surprised to find that we do not believe in three. They are so much opposed to the worship of images that they will not have a single picture in their mosques and holy places. Instead of pictures, their decorative art consists of beautiful and intricate geometrical designs. They believe our Bible to be true, and are so strict about the Mosaic law that they will neither eat pork nor drink alcohol. And they believe, as we do,

that every true believer ought to be a missionary, ready to die if need be for his faith.

At a recent conference in which I was pointing out to Moro students these resemblances between Islam and Christianity, one of them said, "After all there is only a hair between us. Two big differences are disappearing. We may have four wives, and you have only one. But in Turkey they have abolished the other three wives, and we young Moros are taking only one. You Christians drank whiskey, but the United States has passed a prohibition law, so you have become Mohammedans on that question. If we give up three wives and you give up whiskey, there isn't much to keep us apart, is there?"

There *is* a big difference between Christ and Mohammed, but, unfortunately, very few have followed Christ all the way. His life and death expressed love in terms of self-sacrifice and service, while Mohammed advocated conquering the world by force. This difference we can only reveal by deeds, not by words. And the young Moro was nearly right, for in deeds there has often not been even a hair between us.

Manila, P. I. FRANK C. LAUBACH.

EVANGELISTIC WORK THROUGH MEDICAL MISSIONS

We are doubtless all agreed that the main purpose of evangelistic work amongst ex-patients from hospitals is to bring them to a saving knowledge of our Lord Jesus Christ, and to introduce them as active members into the living church of Christ.

There are two different ways in which it is possible to follow up the evangelistic work which has already been carried on during the patient's presence in the hospital itself. The first is to visit ex-patients with a view to their acting as a means whereby we can gather together a group of other Moslems, so as to be able to preach to as large a number as possible, in as many villages as possible throughout the length and breadth of Egypt. The second way is to aim at the follow-up of patients alone. It seems to me that the first way is far too extensive and expensive for us to undertake at the present time. It would require an enormous staff, a great deal of money in travelling expenses, and for myself I am doubtful as to whether it would bring in commensurate results. We might, however, follow this first way, but restrict ourselves to our own district of the Giza province, the town of Cairo and the Menoufia. Even so, it seems to me that the task is too big with our small handful of evangelists. Rather I would suggest that we confine ourselves to the second method, and again restrict ourselves to our own areas.

Quite apart from the question whether it is possible for us to visit all our ex-patients even in our own areas, I am doubtful whether the outlay of time and money involved is really worth while. I would suggest that in-

stead of trying to get into touch once more with all our ex-patients, we should concentrate rather upon those who have shown, while in hospital, definite interest in the messages which they have received: clearly they are, *prima facie,* the most likely people to respond to further instruction, and we have some basis upon which to build.

We should keep a card index, not by any means of all patients, but only of those who, either in the out-patient department or in the wards, have manifested a real interest, and possibly have purchased Gospels in order to read the Christian story by themselves at home. This card index file would be arranged according to the name of the village, and each person would have one card to himself. On the card would be mentioned the date at which the patient was in hospital, the subject about which the catechist or the doctor spoke to him, and the nature of his response. In this way I would suggest that we compile a list of names and aim at visiting this smaller group—and this smaller group only—adding, of course, the names of others from time to time as new people show interest, or as others from whom we had hoped for a response fail to show it when we visit them.

If possible, I should like to see all or most of the members of the hospital staff sharing in this visiting, so that it would not be confined merely to the evangelists. It would be particularly helpful if those orderlies or doctors who had had special care of a patient were able to pay him a visit at some future date. At the time of the visit the evangelist (or orderly, or doctor) should have a note of the subject which interested the Moslem patient in the first instance, and follow that up by some teaching which is related to what the Moslem has already heard. In this matter we must try to see things from the point of view of the Moslem himself. Maybe he has heard only one parable or one story from the life of Christ, and it seems to me a pity if the next time we visit him we should begin from an entirely different angle,

instead of building up upon the basis of what already exists.

All this visiting should be personal. The gathering together of a group of Moslems in a village and spending two or three hours in controversy with them does not seem to me to be likely to lead to fruitful results, and I think that the experience of the past confirms my opinion. On the other hand, if we could visit the patients individually and ultimately persuade them to be willing to take a weekly or fortnightly lesson from the Bible itself, I sincerely believe that there would be real hope of ultimately leading the individual concerned to a knowledge of our Lord Jesus Christ, and I am strongly of the opinion that in all follow-up work it is better to deal with individuals rather than with groups.

I fully realize that it is impossible altogether to avoid controversy, but it seems to me that this should come when an inquirer is drawing near to the acceptance of Christ, but is hesitating because he or she has not reconciled the new thoughts which are coming to him with his old traditional beliefs; and not at the outset, before possibly any real desire for Christian teaching has been stirred in his heart.

I would suggest that instead of visiting patients in twenty or thirty different villages, we should concentrate on those villages in which there are three or four possible inquirers; so that we should aim ultimately at getting three or four baptisms at one time in one village. The benefits of this are obvious. It would save us from the dreadful practice of invariably uprooting a Moslem from the village in which he has been brought up and placing him in a strange environment. I believe that this practice is good neither for the convert nor for the church. It is not good for the convert because it tends to shelter him too much, instead of encouraging him to give witness in his own environment, and it is bad for the church because it restricts its growth in a number of different areas.

Another very important point is that as soon as a man

begins to show real interest and to be willing to take weekly or fortnightly lessons, a lady evangelist should get into touch at once with the man's wife and the members of his family, and in like manner, if a woman shows interest, an evangelist ought to get in touch with the woman's husband. We must cease to aim at winning individuals—we must revert to the New Testament practice of seeing the whole household converted at one time.

If, then, it were possible to secure the conversion of three or four households in one village, or even in some small district, at one and the same time, we would immediately have the nucleus of a new church, and the pastoring of this group would come within the functions of our clergy, and above all I believe of our permanent deacons. Immediately these households could be brought together for worship on Sundays, and we could send a permanent deacon, or preferably two together, to take a service in a house or in a hired room. Were this to take place, I feel pretty sure that a large number of conversions in the same district would follow. It is an interesting fact that the largest number of conversions have taken place in areas where there is a group of Christians. We must have solidarity if we wish to have strength.

Furthermore, I think we ought to encourage our converts themselves to become soul-winners. We have done far too much in the past to give the impression that we will protect them from any sort of attack from without. Rather we wish to give them the spirit of bold adventure in evangelism. I fully agree with Bishop Linton's maxim that in order to get in touch with Moslems we need group work, and this the hospital itself supplies in an admirable way; but in order to do the work effectively we must deal with individuals and not with groups. Furthermore, I think our objective of securing conversions ought to be clearly before us all the time.

Cairo. S. A. MORRISON.

ISLAM AND CHRISTIANITY IN WEST AFRICA

A few years ago it was usual for missionary workers to liken the progress of Islam in West Africa to a prairie fire sweeping all before it. Some reports were almost alarmist in their story of tribes and villages being won over within a comparatively short time, and we pictured great pagan populations being rapidly Islamised. But whatever the conditions may have been twenty years ago, I am convinced that the position is wholly different to-day. Careful personal investigation in Sierra Leone and Mendeland, the Gold Coast and Ashanti, Nigeria, and in the French colonies and protectorates of Dahomey, Togo, and the Ivory Coast, have made it very clear to me that the advance of Islam is being definitely checked, and that today we are winning far more Africans to the faith of Christ than the Moslems are winning for their Prophet. Startling as this may sound, I believe it to be absolutely true.

It is an unquestionable fact that almost everywhere, from the Gambia to the Niger, the number of Mohammedans is increasing, but it is, in the main, due to immigration rather than to conversions from paganism. The Hausas and other Moslem peoples of the Sudan are born traders and the travel-lust is strong in their blood. From such great commercial cities as Kano, Zaria, Sokoto, and Timbuktu, they wander far and wide—the commercial travellers of Islam. The railways that carry European merchandise into the interior, bring Mohammedan traders down to the coast, and the steamers carry them from port to port. Fine new roads and modern motor-trans-

port facilitate their movements. I have met them in almost every place I have visited. There is not a town on the coast, and probably hardly a village of any size, without its little colony of resident Moslem traders. In places like Lagos, Ibadan, and Porto Novo, there are quite large numbers, with big mosques. Far into the forest belt and beyond, there are at least a few Mohammedans in every village market. The number of Mohammedans along the coast and in the great pagan areas of the interior must have increased considerably during the last twenty or thirty years, *but it is due to immigration rather than conversion.*

Take Ashanti for example—a splendid instance of an ancient Negro kingdom, with a strong, virile people, a remarkable pagan civilization, and an organized religious and social system. Practically every Ashanti village is a double village—having two clearly defined and entirely separate sections, one pagan and the other Moslem. But even a passing glance shows that the difference between the two communities is one of *race* as well as of creed. The town of Wenchi, right away in northern Ashanti, is a typical instance. There is the main village, thoroughly Ashanti in every feature—its architecture, its people, its social organization, and its religious life. A couple of hundred yards away there is the Mohammedan quarter or *zongo*. On entering it, one steps into a totally different world. The architecture is that of the Moslem Emirates of the Sudan, the mud houses and mosques are foreign to Ashanti; the people are as obviously foreign, and their social and religious life proclaim a totally different civilization. One very soon discovers that the inhabitants of the *zongo* are not converts from the pagan village, but men and women of a different race. Ashanti is not their home, they have come from the Northern Territories or from the great Sudan far beyond. They remain a separate people; few, if any, Ashanti women aspire to "increase their prestige by marrying Moslems," for the Ashanti are a proud people,

and in their eyes these Northerners are *not* a superior race.

A missionary of eighteen years experience, with whom I stayed in Wenchi, asserts that there is practically no Mohammedan propaganda going on in Ashanti, and that, so far from every Moslem trader being a missionary for his faith, they are making no serious efforts to win Ashantis from their fetichism—in fact, many of them are notably ignorant of the religion they profess.

This I found to be in substance true of every place I visited over very wide areas. Not in a single instance could any missionary, African minister, Government official, or trader with whom I conversed, tell me of any important present-day movement towards Islam, and some of them had, on reflection, to admit that they did not know of a single convert from fetichism to Mohammedanism. It would be absurd to suggest that there are no such converts; undoubtedly there are many. In some places, when the market is over, a Moslem will teach two or three pagan boys to write on wooden slates and to repeat passages of the Koran; in time they begin to join him in his morning and evening prayers (very few West African Mohammedans observe *all the five* daily prayers).

A few years ago in Mendeland the Mohammedans were making considerable progress, and Paramount Chiefs were coming under their influence and even building them mosques. Today, in that very area, there is unmistakable evidence that their progress is being arrested. In one chiefdom I visited, the chief had been a convert to Islam and had built a small mosque; then he came under Christian influence, invited missionaries to his chiefdom, built them a house, a church, a dispensary, and a boys' boarding school; he himself became a catechumen and a regular attender at the House of God. The mosque in this place barely holds twenty men, and last year, even for the great Ramadan gatherings, the worshippers were all able to find room *inside* it!

In an adjacent chiefdom, the Paramount Chief had built a mosque and had taken a Moslem name. But, hearing reports of Christian work in the neighboring chiefdoms, he appealed for a missionary; "Mohammedanism is good," he said, "but I believe that Christianity is better for my people. . . . If you cannot let me have the best, I must have the second best." We were able to accept his challenge, and today in his principal village he has built us two churches, a mission house, a boarding school, a dispensary, and a Theological Training Institution—practically without cost to the missionary society; he attends service regularly, and has a weekly catechumen class for his sixty odd wives. A few miles away, another mosque has been pulled down and a Christian Church built on the site.

From what I myself have seen in many places, the spread of Islam in West Africa presents no insurmountable obstacle to the spread of Christianity. Fetichists who have become converts to Islam are still open to Christian influence—like the Mende chiefs we have mentioned—and even the Mohammedan immigrants from the Sudan are remarkably free from fanaticism. I can only recall one instance of being received with curtness by a West African Mohammedan, usually they were courteous and friendly to a degree, and freely allowed me to enter and take photographs in their houses and mosques —though they knew I was on missionary service. Sometimes they took my hands between both of theirs and pressed them to their breasts. "Tell him we are brothers," said one fine old Hausa Chief to my interpreter at our final parting.

In Oyo, the capital of the Alafin "of all the Yorubas," I saw a very remarkable example of the lack of fanaticism—and of the indifference to the tenets of Islam. On entering a mosque, we saw several large colored prints pasted on the wall just beside the prayer-niche; to our amazement we found that the largest one was a picture of our Lord washing His disciples' feet! The Imam al-

lowed me to take a photograph of this unique scene. In several mosques I was allowed to photograph worshippers at prayer, and on several such occasions I found I was the only one present who had read the Koran through —a fact that greatly impressed them, for they knew me to be a Christian.

In many features Islam in West Africa is very different from Islam as we have seen it in other lands—in its beliefs, in its practices, and even in its architecture. The mosques, for example, are totally different from those I have seen in India and Egypt. But the absence of fanaticism is the feature that impressed me most. Even in the great Moslem city of Kano it is possible publicly to proclaim to an open air crowd that Jesus is the Son of God. At Christmas time I stood with a C. M. S. missionary in the great market outside the city while he preached for half an hour, with no uncertain sound, the great fact of the Incarnation, and there was not the slightest sign of opposition or dissent from the large crowd who listened. Such a thing would be almost unthinkable in North India.

During the last fifteen years the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society missionaries and African ministers have baptized over one hundred thousand adult converts from fetichism in West Africa alone. The other missions also have had notable ingatherings. In addition to all these, there are the multitudes baptized on the French Ivory Coast by the black prophet, William Harris, and his helpers—probably from 60,000 to 100,000. What can Islam show to compare with these great ingatherings? Practically nothing. The followers of Christ are winning all along the line, and our successes are only limited by the paucity of our resources.

London. F. DEAVILLE WALKER.

ISLAM AMONG THE TIBETANS

The first historical king of Tibet, Srong-btsan-sgam-po, reigned from 600 to 650 A. D. About one hundred years after his death, the Tibetans became for the first time acquainted with the Musulmans. That was due to the hard wars they had to fight against the Chinese, about the possession of Turkestan. The Chinese were the allies of the people of Kashmir, and both tried to strangle the Tibetans. Those, however, sought the assistance of the Arabs, and in this way escaped the dangerous grip of the enemy. The documents recently found in Turkestan may throw some light on these proceedings, for among the Tibetan documents of the eighth century, which I had to catalogue, there were several pieces with Arabic writing, which have not yet been thoroughly examined.

It is difficult to decide if in those days any influence was exercised by Islam on the religion of Tibet. But soon after, the decaying Buddhism of India certainly felt the spiritual strength of Islam. There the *Kāla-cakra* system of philosophy was developed with the doctrine of the *Adibuddha* as central figure, and this doctrine was carried to Tibet by such teachers as Atīsa in the eleventh century. This system of uniting all the many Buddhas under one principal head, the *Adibuddha,* was in all probability suggested by Islam with its one God, Allah. But it must be observed that there is still a great difference between Allah and Adibuddha, viz. that the latter is a rather impersonal, not a personal deity.

The first Mohammedan assaults on Tibet came from Kashmir, where a Mohammedan king had arisen in the beginning of the fourteenth century, although Islam, in its Ismailian form, had entered Kashmir already in the

eleventh century. This first Mohammedan king of Kashmir was, it is strange to say, a Tibetan. A Tibetan prince, Rinchen, had conquered Kashmir at that time and become King, taking the name of Rainchan Shah. There are very interesting legends connected with him, for instance a story of a Solomonic verdict by him in a quarrel about a foal. He died after a short reign in 1323 A. D. His tomb and the mosque built by him, I discovered in Srinagar in 1909. After his death the old dynasty came to power again, and accepted the Sunnite form of Islam in 1326.

The first Moslem king of Kashmir who went on an expedition against Ladakh and Tibet was Adam-Khan, of the fifteenth century. The people of Purig as well as the people of Ladakh, who were not able to resist him, became his followers, when he entered the Tibetan province of Guge, and took their part of the spoil. Now the first influence of Islam is shown by the appearance of Musulman names among the Buddhist names of the royal and princely families of Purig and Ladakh. One of the sons of the Ladakhi king has the name Drung-pa-Ali. Probably the king had entered into matrimonial relations with Adam-Khan, otherwise a name like Ali could hardly be accounted for. As regards Purig, we have an inscription of those times when the princes had still the title of Khri-dpon, not yet Khri-Sultan; the chief had the Buddhist name Bhag-dar-skyabs; but his eldest son was also called Ali-dar-skya, and a daughter was called Khatun. Adam Khan was followed by the Kashmir king Zain-ul-abidīn, who also made an expedition against Ladakh and Western Tibet in the fifteenth century. Of him it is said, that he made a stay at the village of Sheh on the Indus, eight miles from Leh. There is still to be seen the oldest mosque of Ladakh, Sunnite, and it is almost certain that it was built by these Kashmiri kings. It is a very small building, without any embellishments.

As the Kashmir kings were Sunnites, it is clear that they did not carry Islam to Baltistan, for the Baltis are

Ismailian (Shiahs). That form of Islam may have entered their country even earlier, perhaps at the time when it came to Kashmir; but it was not at once accepted by the princes or the nobility, who apparently remained Buddhist for some time.

Now, at the beginning of the sixteenth century (1530 A. D.) there was another invasion of Ladakh and Tibet, and this time it came from the North. Those Moghuls, who had remained in their native country, Turkestan, broke forth and crossed the Karakorum pass (over 18,000 feet in height) with an army. The Ladakhis, who were taken by surprise, did not offer much resistance, but suffered the enemy in their country, hoping that the roughness of the land would soon make it unpleasant for them. The Turks under Mirza Haidar, went on various expeditions to the neighboring provinces, using Leh as the basis: to Zangskar, Purig, Baltistan, and last of all, to Lhasa, (at least so they say, but they did never get beyond the holy lakes). It is remarkable that whenever they started on these expeditions, they proclaimed that they were undertaken for the sake of religion, to punish the bad idolators of those districts. The chief of Khapulu-Nubra had to show the way to Shigar, where one of these idolatrous chiefs was supposed to live. The modern historian would have believed that he was an Ismailian Musulman; and it is only the book of Mirza Haidar, which makes us feel doubtful about this point. In this way, the Moghuls spent their strength in fighting the Balti and Purig princes, and last of all also the Lhasa Tibetans. Now, when the last fragment of their army turned back to Ladakh, to take a rest there, the time of the Ladakhis had come; they overwhelmed the poor remainder of the Turkish army, and annihilated it (1532 A. D.).

But as regards Islam, the result of the campaign was not quite without success. Although Ladakh proper and Zangskar remained Buddhist, Islam became firmly planted in both the Purig principalities, and in Baltistan,

at least Shigar became fully converted. Khapulu-Nubra separated in a Musulman portion, (Khapulu), and a Buddhist portion, (Nubra), which came under Ladakh.

In the latter half of the sixteenth century, there arose a very powerful chief in Baltistan, Ali-Mir-Sher-Khan, who became master of all Baltistan. He may have come from Shigar, but he resided at Skardo. He was an Ismailian Musulman, and apparently it was he who made all Baltistan a Mohammedan country.

He found an opportunity to make war against Ladakh, and was very successful. The king of Ladakh as well as his army became his prisoners. Now all Ladakh was overrun by the Baltis, who destroyed the Buddhist temples, broke the idols and threw the Buddhist books into the river. This might have been the very end of Buddhism in Ladakh, had not an unexpected event taken place at that time.

Ali Mir-Sher-Khan's daughter fell in love with the prisoner-king of Ladakh. She begged him from her father, and now this king was reinstated and when on his former throne, the army was set free, and the wedding was celebrated. It is said that this Ladakhi queen remained faithful to Islam all her life-time, and she had a mosque built in Nubra; but the Ladakhi dynasty remained Buddhist; and after a short time all the Buddhist shrines of Ladakh were restored to their former splendor.

Once more in the middle of the seventeenth century, Islam was on the point of being successfully introduced into Ladakh. The Ladakhi king was engaged in a fatal war with Lhasa and the Mongolians, and in these great difficulties asked the Moghul emperor of India (Shah Jahān) to come to his help. Help was promised on condition that Ladakh was to become a Musulman country. The Ladakhi king was ready to promise everything, and a numerous army with cannons, etc. was sent across the Soji pass. In the great battle of Basgo, the Tibeto-Mongolian army was routed. How far the Ladakhis fulfilled

all the promises they had given, is difficult to say. We know for certain that the dynasty as well as the majority of the people remained Buddhist.

However, as the peace-treaty included a trade-privilege to the Musulman wool-merchants of the Punjab, the practically closed land was opened to trade, and Musulman merchants began to travel to and fro, and some remained stationed at Leh. To them a piece of ground had to be given for the building of a mosque in Leh, and the present conspicuous mosque of Leh was erected according to an inscription in 1077 A. H. It is Sunnite.

There have been other wars in Ladakh, after 1650 A. D., but they never again had such religious character, therefore we need not mention them. As regards the present state of Ladakh proper, and the Tibetan-speaking surrounding countries, the following are entirely Mohammedan. All Baltistan is Shiite, all Purig is Shiite (the Mohammedan population of Baltistan and Purig together numbers about 136,000) and all the low-caste people of Nubra are Shiites. Spadum, the capital of Zangskar, has a strong colony of Sunnites, and Leh also has a very strong colony of Sunnites. At Chushod, south of Leh, on the Indus, there is a strong colony of Shiite Mohammedans, descendants of Purig chiefs and soldiers, taken prisoners in the wars. There is also a small Mohammedan colony in Lhasa.

Now it may be useful to mention one particular sect, which was discovered in Baltistan by Vigne, 1842. He has the following note: In the time of Zufur-Khan (1730-1760 A. D.) the Kelun-cheh people usurped the throne and were with difficulty turned out of Skardo. The Kelun-cheh were heretics, following the doctrines of a Seyyid, who came from Kashmir in the time of Rafir-Khan (1670-1700 A. D.) and wrote a book, containing his own ideas of the faith. In common with the Shiahs he does not respect the first three Caliphs, but venerates the memory of Ayesha, the daughter of Abubekr, and Hafza, daughter of Osman, who were both wives of the prophet,

who, as such, he affirms, are worthy of honor also. The Raja, the inhabitants of Khapulu, Shigar and Purig adopted his doctrines.

What made this new creed so acceptable to new converts, who had before been Lamaists, was the fact, that it gave them a compensation for the Tārās, the two female deities, who are in such great favor with Buddhist Tibetans. It would be interesting to examine, how far this heresy is still in force in Baltistan.

Now, with regard to the question of progress, we must say that Islam is certainly making progress in Ladakh. Buddhism, although considered as one of the strongest enemies of Christian missions, does not seem to have strength enough to resist Islam. In Ladakh Islam is gaining ground continually from West towards East. Its apostles are the great merchants who believe that money is well spent, if it serves to convert an unbeliever to Islam.

But what works far better for the increase of Islam is the Mohammedan system of marriage. Most of the Arghons, the offspring of the Mohammedan traders and Ladakhi women, are Sunnites. When the Mohammedan traders from Turkestan or from Kashmir come to Leh during the trade-season, they induce the Ladakhi women to adopt their faith, after which they go through the *"nikah"* marriage ceremony with them. For prostitution is against their religion and they can only marry women of their own religion.

The Buddhist religion lies but lightly on the people of Ladakh, and the women have no objection to turning Mohammedan, and becoming the *"nikah"* brides of men, who are in a position to keep them. The offspring of these connections are, in the first instance, half-caste Tibetan-Mohammedans, called Arghons, and these again frequently marry pure Tibetan women (converted to Mohammedanism); but their children too are Arghons. It follows therefore, that the Arghon-population of Ladakh (Leh in particular) is increasing more rapidly than the Buddhist population. They go to the *masjid* to pray,

they can repeat the declaration of faith, they know the ordinary ritual, and they think themselves very good Mohammedans.

Christian missions have been established in Shigar in Baltistan by the Scandinavian Alliance, and at Leh and Khalatse, Ladakh, by the Moravians. The former mission is directed plainly against Islam, and the Moravian mission against Buddhism. Nevertheless, there have been converts from Islam again and again among the Moravian congregation, whilst in Shigar we have hardly ever heard of a convert. The reason may be that in Leh, where two religions are adverse to each other, the foundations of both are shaken, and religious bigotry cannot develop, at least to a great degree. In Shigar, on the other hand, Mohammedanism is a compact mass which does not suffer any of its members to depart from it. Our missionary Gustavson of Shigar, an honorary member of the Bible Society, has translated the Gospels of Matthew and John into the Balti language, a West Tibetan dialect. He was obliged, for this translation, to abandon the Tibetan script and to use the Arabic characters. There is a verse taken from his translation, in the " Gospel in many tongues," which I could easily understand, when I had found my way through the Arabic letters, so unusual to a Tibetan eye.

Steglitz, Berlin. A. H. FRANCKE.

THE USE OF ALMS TO WIN CONVERTS

It is of deep interest to study the motives that led some of the earliest converts to Islam to accept Mohammed's divine mission. The material is abundant and one has only to trace the steps in each individual case to reach a general conclusion. Nöldeke gives the list of earliest converts as Khadijah, Zaid, 'Ali, certain slaves, Sa'ad and Abu Bekr. These were followed by Othman and others of the Quraish. It was not the Prophet's sword but his astute beneficence that was chiefly instrumental in the days when Islam was weak. Othman, for example, loved Mohammed's fair daughter Rukayyah, and when he learned she had been betrothed to another, complained to Abu Bekr. "Abu Bekr in reply asked him whether he did not think the Meccan gods stocks and stones?—a question of doubtful appropriateness, it might seem, unless their services had been called in by the lover; but a conversation followed, whence Othman inferred that if he chose to declare the Meccan gods worthy of contempt and acknowledge that Mohammed had a mission to suppress them, Mohammed's daughter might still be his. Mohammed presently passed by. Abu Bekr whispered something into his ear and the affair was arranged. Othman became a believer and Rukayyah became his wife." [1]

The history of other cases is given by Muir, Margoliouth and Caetani and is based on reliable Arabic sources. Margoliouth generalizes perhaps too bluntly: "The skill of both Abu Bekr and the Prophet was displayed in retaining their hold on this slowly growing company. *In the case of the poor it was done by subsidies;* presently,

[1] Margoliouth's Mohammed p. 97.

when Islam was penalized, the Prophet found he had whole families on his hands; but we *need not doubt that from the first the wealth which he controlled proved useful.*"[2]

"Like most of those who have known mankind thoroughly, Mohammed held, and at times all but openly avowed, the doctrine that every man has his price, and indeed a price to be estimated in camels."[3]

In the Koran itself we have a striking passage that witnesses to this method of conversion during the early centuries and which has proved therefore a *crux* to Modernists in Islam. It occurs in the chapter on Repentance (Surah 9:60). Palmer translates it as follows: "Alms are only for the poor and needy, and those who work for them, *and those whose hearts are reconciled,* and those in captivity, and those in debt, and those who are on God's path, and for the wayfarer;—an ordinance this from God, for God is knowing, wise."

The translation given of the Arabic words *al muallafah qulubuhum,* (indicated in the passage underscored) is not altogether accurate. Lane's Arabic dictionary (Vol. I. p. 81) defines the words, with references to the standard Arabic lexicographers, as follows:—

"Those whose hearts are made to incline, or are conciliated, by beneficence and love or affection: (S,Msb:) as used in the Kur. (ix.60), it is applied to certain chief persons of the Arabs, whom the Prophet was commanded to attract, or allure, and to present with gifts, (T. K.) from the poor-rates, (TA,) in order that they might make those after them desirous of becoming Muslims, (T. K.) and lest care for things which they deemed sacred, or inviolable, together with the weakness of their intentions, should induce them to combine in hostility with the unbelievers against the Muslims; for which purpose, he gave them, on the day of Honeyn, eighty (in the TA two hundred) camels: (T:) they were certain men of

[2] Idem p. 113.
[3] Idem p. 113.

eminence, of the Arabs, to whom the Prophet used to give gifts from the poor-rates; to some of them, to prevent their acting injuriously; and to some, from a desire of their becoming Muslims (Mgh. Msb.) and their followers also (Msb); and to some, in order that they might remain steadfast as Muslims, because of their having recently become such; but when Aboo-Bekr became appointed to the government, he forbade this practice."

In the standard Arabic dictionary by Fairozabadi he gives a definition of the two words in question and adds a list of thirty-two chiefs who received presents from Mohammed "in order that they might become Moslems and so gain over their tribes." (Vol. III. page 118.)

Such a definition lands us in the center of two questions we would consider: namely, the circumstances that led to this special revelation and its result in Moslem law and practice as regards the use of religious taxes and benevolences, the *zakat* and the *sadaqa.*

The standard commentaries Beidhawi, (Vol. I. page 106) Al Khazin (Vol. II. page 253) and Tabari give a brief account of what occurred to justify this revelation. Further details are found in Ibn Hisham, the *Musnad,* the *Isabah,* in Al Jahiz, etc. We summarize the facts as given by Sir Wm. Muir (Mahomet, Vol. IV. p. 149-153) and by Professor Margoliouth (Mohammed, p. 407 ff.). There can be no question that every statement is well documented. The full references can be found also in Caetani (Annali dell' Islam Vol. II. p. 183, 184, and 427; under 8 A. H. paragraph 164 and 10 A. H. paragraph 113).

It was after the siege of Taif when Mohammed's army was returning to Jirrana toward the end of February 630 A.D., that the Prophet was mobbed on account of a quarrel regarding the distribution of the booty. He had already mounted his camel and was proceeding to his tent, when the people, fearing lest the spoil, as well as the prisoners, should slip from their grasp, crowded round him with loud cries: "Distribute to us the booty, the

camels and the flocks!" The crowd thronged him so closely and so rudely, that he was driven to seek for refuge under a tree. While thus pressed on every side, his mantle was torn from his shoulders. "Return to me my mantle, O man!" cried Mohammed, who had now secured a more free position. "Return my mantle: for I swear by the Lord that if the sheep and the camels were as many as the trees of the Tihama in number, I would divide them all amongst you. Ye have not heretofore found me niggardly or false." Then he plucked a hair from his camel's hump, and holding it aloft said: "Even to a hair like this, I shall not keep back aught but the fifth, and that, too, I give up unto you." The people were quieted and Mohammed went his way.

Shortly after he made good his promise and by princely liberality gained over the hearts of some of the leading chiefs of Mecca and of neighboring tribes. To those of the greatest influence, he presented each one hundred camels. Among them we find Abu Sofian, with his two sons, Yazid and Muawia; Hakim Ibn Hizam, Safwan, Suheil, Huweitab, 'Uyeina, and several others, who but a few weeks before were the Prophet's deadly enemies. To the lesser chiefs he gave fifty camels each (Caetani gives the names of thirty recipients). So liberal was he that, in some instances where discontent was expressed with the amount, the gift was without hesitation doubled.

Muir states that Abu Sofian and each of his sons received forty ounces of silver, and Hakim, with five others, a hundred camels each; six others received fifty camels each. This was wealth indeed for nomads! But such favors lavished on doubtful adherents gave offence to the older converts. "Thus one complained that such Bedouin chieftains as Acra and Uyeina received each one hundred camels, while a faithful believer like Jueil got nothing at all. 'And what of that?' replied the Prophet. 'I swear that Jueil is the best man that ever stepped on earth, were it filled never so full with Acras

and Uyeinas; but I wished to gain over the hearts of these men to Islam, while Jueil hath no need of any such inducement.' "

When the discontent became general and the citizens of Medina joined in it, Mohammed called the murmurers together and addressed them: "Ye men of Medina, it hath been reported to me that you are disconcerted, because I have given unto these chiefs largesses, and have given nothing to you. Now speak unto me. Did I not come unto ye whilst you were wandering, and the Lord gave you the right direction?—needy, and He enriched you?—at enmity amongst yourselves, and He hath filled your hearts with love and unity? Why are ye disturbed in mind because of the things of this life, wherewith I have sought to incline the hearts of those men unto Islam, whereas ye are already stedfast in your faith? Are ye not satisfied that others should obtain the flocks and the camels, while ye carry back the Prophet of the Lord unto your homes? No, I will not leave you ever. If all mankind went one way, and the men of Medina another way, verily I would go the way of the men of Medina. The Lord be favorable unto them, and bless them, and their sons and their sons' sons for ever!" At these words all wept, till the tears ran down their beards; and they called out with one voice,—"Yea, we are well satisfied, O Prophet, with our lot!"

So Mohammed himself made no attempt apparently to hide the motive which impelled these munificent gifts. The chiefs who received them are referred to in the Koran as *those whose hearts have been gained over;* and they retained the appellation ever after.

We have the following additional information regarding the division of the spoils in Margoliouth's "Mohammed" (p. 407): "With regard to the property of the Hawazin, about the division of which there was to be no question, the Prophet took a hint from the willingness of the Medinese to sacrifice their worldly advantages. To them he gave nothing: instead he bestowed enormous

gratuities on his former enemies, the chieftains of the Kuraish, such as Abu Sufyan and his sons, and the Banu Sulaim who had won the battle for him. While persons who had no faith were given one hundred camels apiece, others who were acknowledged to be the salt of the earth were told to find in faith its own reward (*Isabah,* i., 688). Nay, even the leader of the Hawazin, Malik, son of 'Auf, was offered one hundred camels if he would turn Moslem: and the brave warrior was persuaded and joined the fold. The Prophet confessed with naive frankness that these presents were meant to confirm the new converts in their faith; as we have often seen, he never troubled himself about the motives which produced conviction. The motives which dictated this strange policy are hard to fathom: ill-gotten gains are consumed too quickly for us to suppose that he hoped to win the permanent gratitude of his former enemies by such bribes: perhaps the sour faces with which the Qurashites met the members of the Prophet's family made him devise a plan for saving his relatives from annoyance (*Musnad,* i., 207); perhaps he thought it all important to impress the Meccans with the magnificence of his gifts, as he had impressed them before with his regal state: and this, he knew, could safely be done at the expense of the Medinese—as indeed some professed to be convinced of his divine mission by his lavish munificence, which exceeded all human performance (*Jahiz,* Misers, 170); and casual visitors to Medinah were treated so handsomely that they could promise their tribesmen independence for life if they became Moslems. (*Musnad,* iii., 108.)"

It is on the verse in the Koran that was revealed under such circumstances that the law of *zakat* and *sadaqa* is based. Arabic authors use the latter word in two senses; sometimes as synonymous with *zakat* i. e., the legal poor-rate which is compulsory and fixed, sometimes, and more properly, in the sense of voluntary alms-giving. In Bukhari the two words are used indiscriminately (Cf. article *Sadaqa,* Encyclop. of Islam by T. H. Weir). If

there were any doubt as to the identity of the two terms it would be removed by the fact that in *fiqh* the six or seven classes of persons (some say eight) who are entitled to benefit by them are the same in each case. These classes are given as follows: the poor and needy, those engaged in the work of collecting and distributing the *zakat,* Moslem captives in enemies' hands, debtors, those engaged in holy war (*jihad*), travellers and, the class now under consideration, *muallafah qulubuhum.*

Al Ghazali (Ihya, Vol. I. p. 160) enumerates eight classes who may receive the legal-alms and describes his class four, *muallafah qulubuhum* as follows: "Those whose hearts are inclined towards Islam, that is the noble families who became Moslems from among their people and by the gift of *zakat* were firmly established in Islam (*taqrirahum*) and also to inspire others like them, or their followers with a desire for Islam (*targhib*)." Beidhawi plainly states that the portion given to a *muallaf* at that time, and later, was in order to increase the Moslem community. "When God had strengthened Islam and its numbers were increased there was no need for this provision and it was abrogated" (Vol. I. p. 106).

In Charles Hamilton's translation of El Hedaya (London, 1791, Vol. I. p. 53) it is stated that the law of giving money to those whose hearts incline to Islam "has ceased to operate, since the time of the Prophet, because he used to bestow *zakat* upon them as a bribe or gratuity to prevent them from molesting *Mussulmans,* and also to secure their occasional assistance; but when God gave strength to the faith, and to its followers, and rendered the *Mussulmans* independent of such assistance, the occasion of bestowing this gratuity upon them no longer remained; and all the doctors of law unite in this opinion."

But, on the contrary, it is evident that this custom of winning over converts to Islam by gift of money or property continued for many centuries.[4] In the standard work on *fiqh* by Ibn Rushd Al Qartabi, who died 595 A. H.,

[4] Cf. The story of the entrance of Islam into Tibet given by Dr. Francke in this number of our Quarterly.

we read: "Finally the question arises whether those whose hearts are to be won over retained this right to our day or not, namely, that of receiving presents. Malik says this class no longer exists, but Al Shafi'i and Abu Hanifa, on the contrary, assert that the right of this class remains until now, if the Imam so advises and they are such men as the Imam is to try to win over to Islam."

"The reason for disagreement was on the question whether this custom was peculiar to the Prophet or a universal custom, both for him and for his people; and if it is a universal custom, whether it is permitted for the Imam to do this under all circumstances or in some circumstances only; that is, in case Islam is weak and not when Islam is strong. It is for this reason that Malik said: 'There is no need to win them over now because Islam has grown strong.' And this opinion as we have stated, was given for the general good. (Bidayet-al-Mujtahid.' Vol. I. p. 251)."

The New Islam, especially as represented by the Ahmadiya Movement, has its own rationalistic interpretation of the passage. Mohammed Ali, in his commentary on the Koran, published at Woking (page 411) gives this note in explanation of the text: *"Muallafah qulubuhum* literally means those whose hearts are made to incline or conciliated. With respect to the preaching of religion, there is always a class which is ready to listen. Expenses in connection with the arrangements to convey the truth to them are recognized here as a part of the necessary expenditure of the poor-rate. Ibn Abbas' suggestion that some Arab chiefs are meant is rejected by Razi."

The Shiah teaching on the subject is practically the same as that of the Sunnis. A. Querry (Droit Musulman, Recueil de lois concernant les musulmans schyites, Vol. I. p. 157, l'Imprimerie Nationale, Paris, 1871), in speaking of *zakat,* and after enumerating the various classes says: "Les auxiliaires infidèles qui, en cas de guerre, combattent pour la cause musulmane, *el molefét,*

composent la troisième catégorie d'ayants droit au produit de la taxe des pauvres. Tous les autres auxiliaires sont exclus de toute participation à ce produit."

Juynboll (Handbuch des Islamischen Gesetzes, p. 106) gives the eight classes of people to whom *zakat* may be paid according to the Shafi'i school and describes the fourth class as follows: "Those whose heart is inclined or whose hearts may be inclined; the Koran intends by them, as we have indicated, the important people of Mecca. In law, the words are understood to mean people who have already been converted to Islam, but whose zeal for this religion is still weak; further important people whose conversion would have great influence upon others toward Islam and who must therefore be won over by gifts."

In a foot-note, Juynboll adds that owing to the use of the word in this passage (Surah 9:60), *muallaf* in Islam has become the common word for convert.

It is so used in Egypt of Copts or Jews who have turned Moslem. Their number is considerable every year. The practice of winning over converts by presents (from the *zakat*) did not cease with Mohammed but continued in the later history of Islam.[5]

The status of the tolerated cults was such in Egypt and all the Near East that "any member of the tolerated cults could at any moment join the dominant community by pronouncing the Moslem Creed" (Margoliouth's "Early Development of Islam" p. 99). In other words, they could pass from the *tribute-paying* to the *zakat-receiving* class—at least until their faith was firm. "The Chronicles of Islam record numerous cases of men who had obtained some promotion in the service of the state by their talents, yielding to persuasion on the part of the sovereign to accept Islam in order to win their way to get higher honors" (Margoliouth's "Early Development of Islam" p. 132).

We can understand the present-day Moslem mentality better when we bear such facts in mind. Nor will we

[5] Cf. Shedd's Islam and the Oriental Churches, p. 145 and the whole chapter.

judge too harshly an enquirer who expects similar favors from Christians since he now belongs to the class of *muallafah qulubuhum* toward Christianity.

In conclusion we call attention to the context of this passage. From verse 58-64 the Prophet justifies his conduct by a direct appeal to God. Nowhere else in the Koran does Mohammed put himself on so high a level as the channel of inspiration. "They who injure the Apostle of God shall suffer grievous punishment . . . do they not know that he who opposeth *God and His Apostle* shall without doubt be punished with the fire of hell and shall remain therein forever" (vs. 62-64). The eternal torment of hell for those who found fault with such a use of the public alms as we have pointed out!

As Dr. E. M. Wherry in his commentary (Vol. II. p. 298) remarks: "A Moslem sees nothing in this passage derogatory to Mohammed's character, because he believes that he was truly a prophet of God, and therefore judges that to oppose the Prophet is to oppose God. How our Christian apologists for Mohammed can exonerate their hero here we cannot imagine. Was he a prophet? Did he originate the language of this passage in his own mind, or did he receive it, as he pretended, directly from God, so that he was merely the mouth-piece of God? We are not aware that any of these admirers of Mohammed hold opinions consistent with such a claim. But if he be the author of the Koran, and if he be not a prophet, how can he be exonerated from blasphemy and imposture in the use of such language as this?"

Cairo. S. M. ZWEMER.

THE RIVERS OF PARADISE

Paradise is repeatedly described in the Koran as a garden, or gardens beneath which rivers flow. The word *Kawthar* used in Sura CVIII, which means abundance, is usually interpreted of one of the rivers of Paradise. It is said in the traditions that I'ab explained it as meaning abundant good, and when it was said to him that people say it is a river in Paradise, he replied, "That too is of the abundant good." According to a tradition of the prophet this river, wherein his Lord promised him abundant good, is sweeter than honey, whiter than milk, cooler than snow, and smoother than cream; its banks are of chrysolites, and the vessels to drink thereout of silver; and those who drink of it shall never thirst. From *Kawthar,* conveyed by two pipes, the water flows into the pond of the prophet, and believers before entering paradise refresh themselves with its water. The rivers of Paradise are most minutely described in Sura XLVII: 11, "there are rivers of water which does not smell foul; rivers of milk the taste whereof does not change; and rivers of wine, a pleasure for those that drink, and rivers of clarified honey." As Horovitz remarks in his article in the Encyclopedia of Islam (Vol. 2. p. 834), "These rivers correspond to the rivers of oil, milk, wine, and honey, which had already been placed in Paradise by Jewish and Christian eschatology: the only difference is that Mohammed replaced oil by water; in Arabia pure water was not to be taken for granted, and besides it was necessary to mix it with the wine of Paradise."

For students of comparative religion two questions arise in connection with these rivers of Paradise. What was their origin, and what is their significance? First

as to their origin. Babylonian scholars have suggested that the river which proceeds from the throne of God (Rev. 22.1) is the milky way, and that the image was at first derived from Babylonian thought; and in the same way Zimmern (Arch. f. Rel. Wiss., 1899, 165ff: Keilinschriften, 522ff) and Jeremias (Das A. T. 200ff [Eng. Trans. 1, 215ff]; Babylonisches 73ff) compare the river of the water of life with the water of life to which there are frequent references in Babylonian thought. Sayce cites from the fragment of the Paradise story of Eridu (Cf. Expos. Times Vol. 17. p. 471) in which occurs this reference to the rivers of Paradise:

"In the holy house, which spreads its shadow like a hedge, within which none enters,
Wherein are the gods Samas and Tammur,
Between the *mouths of the rivers* on both sides,
Have the gods Ka-khegal and Si-tur-gal the (cherubs) planted this *kiskanu* tree."

It is not improbable that this legend of Babylonia has influenced Jewish thought. Less likely to have had that effect, is the fact that the river myth is found among other races. In two of these cases we have no reason to believe that there has been any contact at all, and, in the third, that of Persia, that the influence brought to bear on Israel was of a sufficiently early date.

The Hindoo legend is to the effect that in the sacred mountain Meru, which is perpetually clothed in the golden rays of the sun, and whose lofty summit reaches into heaven, no sinful man can exist; that it is guarded by dreadful dragons; that it is adorned with many celestial plants and trees, and is watered by four rivers, which thence separate, and flow to the four chief directions. (Wilford, Asiat. Res. 3,200; 6,488; Bohlen. Alt. Ind. 2,210). Again the books of the Chinese describe a garden near the gate of heaven where a perpetual zephyr breathes; it is irrigated by abundant springs, the noblest of which is the fountain of life; and abounds in delightful trees, one of which bears fruits which have the power

of preserving life. (Priaulx. Quaest. Mos. p. 73). There is a very close parallel in the Persian description of the Kingdom of Yima, for from it proceed two great rivers, from which all fruitfulness on earth is derived; there grow in it further, all manner of enchanted trees, and among them also the tree of life. Of this last parallel Clemen justly observes (Prim. Christ. and its Non-Jewish Sources. p. 167 f.); "Of course, the conception cannot come from Iran, for then it would not have been early enough to influence the (Biblical) story of the Garden of Eden." Bousset however (Religion. p. 577) thinks that Iran may well have influenced later variations of the idea.

Long before the Mohammedan period there had arisen in Jewish and Christian tradition a confusion between the garden of our first parents, and the garden of the celestial Paradise. Thus we must not be surprised to find in the heavenly, a reflection of the image of the earthly one.

The basis then of the idea in both Christian and Jewish eschatology was the description given in Genesis of the river which went out of Eden to water the garden; and from thence it was parted, and became four heads. We have here the reason that there are *four* rivers in the Koranic Paradise.

The growth of the tradition is revealed in the Jewish book of the Secrets of Enoch (Charles, Apoc. and Pseud. Vol. 2. p. 434) in which two springs come out which send forth honey and milk, and their springs send forth oil and wine, and they separate into four parts, and go into the Paradise of Eden.

Chapter 21 of the Slavonic Apocalypse of Abraham refers to the rivers of Paradise but in more general terms.

There are many references to the rivers in Christian literature. We have already referred to the river in the book of Revelation, and as an example of many such references in Patristic writings we may cite a work of un-

certain authorship containing five poetical books against Marcion (Anti-Nicene Lib. Vol. 18. p. 332).

The classical example of the heavenly rivers in Christian Apocrypha is to be found in the Apocalypse of Paul (Anti-Nicene Library, Vol. 16 p. 489) wherein Paul sees in Paradise a beautiful tree of great size, and from the root of it there come all manner of sweet smelling water, parting into four channels.

We must now pass on to consider the meaning of the rivers being composed of honey, milk, oil, and wine.

Milk and honey have been associated with heavenly merits in many nations. The presence of Dionysos on the earth manifested itself among other marvels in the spontaneous flowing of milk and honey to refresh the thirsty. "Then streams the earth with milk, yea, streams with wine and nectar of the bee." (Eur. Bac. 142). Again Philostratos relates that at the birth of Dionysos the earth herself participated by bringing forth for him wine out of water springs, and drawing milk as from the breast, sometimes out of a clod of earth, sometimes out of a rock. (Phil. Imag. 1. 14) Hermann Usener remarks that it is not to be doubted that the words of an ancient poet lie at the root of this living and unusual description. (Keilinschriften Vol. 4). The point of the above seems clear. Dionysos brings heaven to earth. They must be heavenly gifts by which he manifests his presence. There are many proofs that honey was widely believed in early times to be the food of the gods. Milk is associated with honey in a magical book in which it is ordered, "take the milk with the honey and drink of it before the rise of the sun, then something divine will be in thy heart." (Berlin. Zauberpapyrus). Wine needs little explanation since it has been used sacramentally in many cults; while oil has a sacred character from the practice of anointing kings and priests, and moreover played a great part in early medicine.

The magical efficacy of the rivers of heaven has been widely believed in, so that we need not wonder that Mos-

lems believe that those who drink of their waters need not thirst again. A late Christian example of this belief is to be found in Malory's version of the King Arthur epic. Sir Gawaine having done battle with a Saracen, the Saracen becomes a Christian, whereupon Sir Gawaine and his captive are healed of their wounds from a phial full of the four waters of Paradise, which is produced by the Saracen's page.

Though many forms of the legend of the waters attribute both healing and eternal life to result from their application or drinking we have not found that application made by the Mohammedans. Their story of the waters of life comes primarily from the Alexander legend and seems to have little if any connection with the waters of paradise.

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AL-SHAFI'I (MUHAMMAD IBN IDRIS) FOUNDER OF A LAW SCHOOL

The following was given as one of a course of lectures delivered in the Newman School of Missions, Jerusalem. It appears here as it was given but with a few minor changes. The great debt, verbal and otherwise, to Dr. Macdonald will be obvious to anyone familiar with his book on "Muslim Theology, Jurisprudence and Constitutional Theory." The anecdotes are mostly taken from the Encyclopedia of Islam and Yaqut's Dictionary of learned men, edited by Dr. Margoliouth.)

The Hashimite standard at the Battle of Badr, the first important engagement in which the Moslems fought as such, was carried by one, Sa'ib ibn Yazid. The Hashimites were, of course, fighting against Mohammed. He was made prisoner during the battle, but succeeded in ransoming himself and returned to Mecca. He later Islamised and the son, who was born to him, was named al Shafi'i, a patronymic which clung to his descendants, the most famous of whom was his great-grandson, the Imam Muhammad ibn Idris al-Shafi'i. This celebrated man, who was destined to found a school of law, that was the mediating influence between the two other previous ones, could therefore have boasted of being like the Prophet himself, of the tribe Quraish. He was even perhaps nearer akin than that, for an ancestor of his was brother to Mohammed's father; hence he has been honored in Islamic annals with the title of Al Imam al Muttalibi. The tomb of the ancestor of the whole clan, Hashim, can still be visited at Gaza, and it was, at all events, to Southern Palestine that some of the Banu Hashim went apparently with the victorious Arab armies in the days of the early Khalifas. Here it was that after a century and a half of Islam, 150 A. H., a son was born to Idris and his wife, but the boy was orphaned of his

father long before he was old enough to remember him. In contemporary history the Umayyads had established themselves at Cordova twelve years before: Baghdad was founded five years previously: and when Shafi'i was twenty, Harun al Rashid became Khalifa. In England the venerable Bede had been dead thirty years and the Danes had not yet landed in Northumberland.

Traditions differ as to whether Shafi'i was born at Gaza or at Askelon. The detail is unimportant, but it was in Gaza that his earliest years were spent, till his mother took him off to Mecca, where she brought him up in very lonely circumstances. This seems to have been in no way a handicap to a child who is said to have learned the whole Koran by heart at the age of seven, while his tenth birthday saw him with the *Muwatta* of Malik committed to memory. Whether or not he obtained the rank of *mufti* at fifteen is probably a matter for conjecture, but while still a youth he was lecturing on law and at twenty years old he removed to Medina to study under Malik ibn Anas, and with him he remained till his teacher died in 179. He next took up a post in Yemen, where he got involved with Alid intrigues, with the result that he landed in Baghdad in the reign of Harun al Rashid, a prisoner. He secured his pardon, however, and got into intimate touch with a very famous Hanafi, Muhammad ibn al Hasan al Shaibani, whose works he had previously studied. Apparently al-Shafi'i found himself in considerable disagreement with his friend over some theological and legal points, and since Shaibani wielded a big influence at court, the newcomer felt it best to avoid running a course of lectures at Baghdad just at that moment, and set off instead via Syria for Egypt. Here he was well received as a pupil of Malik and remained in Egypt till 195, when he returned to Baghdad, delivered his lectures on traditions and composed his first work, *al Usul,* at the age of forty-seven. He was quite successful here as a teacher and lecturer, but when the opportunity came for a return to Egypt

under the wing of the newly appointed governor, he was not slow to take advantage of it. Here he remained for the rest of his life, so far as can be made out, though during these declining years he managed to wedge in a pilgrimage to Mecca, performed during a period of disturbance in Egypt and wrote about one hundred and twenty-five pamphlets.[1] He passed away at Fustat in 204 A. H., being buried at the foot of the Muqattam hills, where over his tomb in later days Salah al Din had a large *madrasa* built.

The chronology of Shafi'i's life offers a great many difficulties. Very few contemporary documents have survived—in fact two or three only and these refer to domestic matters; and this may in some way account for the enormous mass of legend that has grown up around his name. Disentanglement consequently leaves us with general impressions of a very great man, rather than definite facts about him. But we have certain works by him, including his *risala,* a treatise in which he "investigates the principles and methods of jurisprudence." One or two of the traditions about him will help us to see further what manner of man he was before we definitely attempt to allot him his place in Islamic history and influence. One story says that he conscientiously divided the night into three parts, respectively for study, prayer and sleep. Another states that he never swore at all. It is further remarked that on one occasion, interrogated with regard to his opinion over a certain question, he was silent, because he did not know whether it was preferable to speak or to hold his peace with reference to the particular question, and he was just cogitating over the matter first. Despite his reticence, however, he succeeded in saying the very last word so far as canon law in Islam is concerned. There is rather a delicious commentary on this point, which comes in a story from one, Salih ibn Ahmad. Salih's father one day was honored with a visit from al-Shafi'i, who was kept answering questions for close

[1] Most of these were apparently collected into a book entitled al Umm. See article in Encyclopedia of Islam.

on an hour, after which al-Shafi'i jumped up to go and mounted his mule, his interlocutor catching hold of his stirrup and walking alongside listening still. They met an acquaintance, Yahya ibn Mu'in, who inquired what it was that induced abu Salih to march alongside beside the mule. The latter replied that if Yahya would walk along on the other side he too would benefit. Yahya, however, was a bit doubtful, with the result that the other exclaimed that if anyone was really out after *fiqh* (jurisprudence) he had merely to smell the mule's tail on which al-Shafi'i rode and that would suffice in itself!

Yaqut in his dictionary of learned men says that al Shafi'i was born on the selfsame day that Abu Hanafi, historically the founder of the first law school of Islam, died. We have already mentioned the fact that Shafi'i spent several years at Medina, studying under Malik, the founder of the second law school, and later that when he paid his first visit to Egypt, he was well received as a pupil of Malik. Once again before his visit to Egypt he had come into close contact in Baghdad with al Shaibani, the great Hanafite. And it would seem desirable in trying to estimate the position and eminent worth of Shafi'i that we should consider briefly the work and influence of both Abu Hanafi and Malik.

Abu Hanafi was a Persian by extraction and he passed away eighteen years after the Abbasids had come into power. His system of jurisprudence had a purely theoretic origin, with some fairly sound philosophy in it, but it was not the child of practical necessity or actual experience. It was not his "bread and butter," for Abu Hanafi was a well-to-do cloth-merchant as well as a scholar. He was a rather independent academic student, who preferred unofficial leadership, as he felt this gave him a more extensive influence. He lived at a time when Islam was learning through experience and scholarship to build up for herself a system of law, which would "work" despite the ramifications of human life. From of old, of course, for law and guidance there had been the

Koran, which came to be supplemented by the *Hadith* or Traditions, enshrining the *Sunna* or guidance granted by words Mohammed had said unofficially or things he had done equally unofficially. This *Sunna* came to be called *wahi ghair matlu*: but it soon became obvious that neither Koran nor *Sunna* could be reasonably expected to cater for all the varied circumstances of human life.

Thus from time to time and in different places other principles of jurisprudence lifted their heads, either to be reckoned as possibilities, as in the case of *Ijmaʿ* and *Qiyas,* or relegated to the region of forgotten antiques, as in the case of *'Urf, Ra'i* and *Istihsan.* It was during this period when Islam was thinking her way through that Abu Hanafi and the other law school founders were propounding their theories in various parts of the Moslem world. Abu Hanafi started out with a great respect for the Koran, but not such a great respect for Tradition as a whole, though he was prepared to reverence an undoubted *hadith.* Consequently he had few scruples in using his own *ra'i* or opinion, when occasion arose. He also made pretty full use of the principle of *Qiyas,* though it was often in order to find a Koranic basis by analogy for an opinion of his own. Moreover he was bold enough on other occasions to have recourse to *Istihsan.* He felt apparently that local conditions differed, and that even if Medina was through force of circumstances the city of Mohammed, yet it was a desert town and therefore you could not possibly expect a desert law to apply to city life, when it came to matters of universal import; and in given conditions Abu Hanafi "held it better" that even if from the point of view of existing law as such a certain course was desirable, yet circumstances could alter cases and override apparent law. These exceptional cases, however, were not the norm and for most practical purposes Abu Hanafi relied on his threefold cord of Koran, *Qiyas* and *Ra'i,* with occasional use for *Istihsan,* and scarcely any for *Hadith.*

A younger contemporary of Abu Hanafi, who outlived

him by nearly thirty years, was Malik ibn Anas. He was a very different kind of man; for he lived in Medina and to all his work there was a strong Medinan bias. His book the *Muwatta,* which Shafi'i committed to memory, was an attempt to " establish a system of law based on the sunna of Medina." To him Medina was the city of the prophet, and it was in consequence only a step from following the *sunna* of Mohammed, as it had been revealed in Medina, to following that of the successors of Mohammed, who had ruled from Medina, to say nothing of what the town had itself always been accustomed to do. Above this "treble" *sunna* Malik naturally placed the Koran, the larger part of which and that most useful for the promulgation of canon law had " come down " at Medina. Both Koran and *sunna* therefore vigorously helped to make the weight of the historical city felt. Again, Malik was no academic theorist, like Abu Hanafi. He lived in the town of hard fact and he lived in it from day to day. Or as Macdonald puts it, " he was in practical touch with actual life " and " he was in the direct line of the apostolic succession." What more could a lawyer possibly want? With a background of this nature it was really no wonder that on certain occasions Malik could occasionally offer an opinion of his own without giving offence. So far then his system consisted of three main elements:—

(1) A Koranic foundation.
(2) The *sunna* of the prophet, seconded by that of his successors in Medina.
(3) His own opinion or *ra'i.*

There were however two other strands which Malik wove into his scheme:—

(4) *Ijmaʿ,* which meant in his case the authority vested in the consensus of Medinan opinion. Malik seems to have felt that because Medina was what it was, there was a sort of infallibility there which could not be posited of any other single city.

Here it was that he differed widely from Abu Hanafi, while in his fifth strand he more nearly approached him.

This was:—

(5) *istislah*:—whereby if a known law was really injurious to public security it could be set aside. This was a really democratic principle—the principle of "public advantage"—the greatest good of the greatest number—and it really only differed in name from the *istihsan* of Abu Hanafi.

Malik however used this last principle as rarely as Abu Hanafi used his last. One other thing should be noted, and that is that the two schools never clashed; and as we have seen Shafi'i could study under Malik in Medina or with the Hanafite Shaibani in Baghdad with equal impunity.[2] But Shafi'i's close contact with the two men led him partially to distrust their jurisprudential theories. He was not satisfied with his teachers. Moreover they were not the only two professors who had been propounding possible bases for Islamic law. For instance up at Baalbek there was born a man, al 'Awza'i, who was brought up in Beirut and Damascus, and was working so hard in Syria, just at the time that Abu Hanafi was lecturing in Mesopotamia, that though his system did not survive more than a few centuries, he was actually known in his lifetime as Imam al Sham. Professor Wensinck describes him as "a star of the first magnitude." He represented a reaction against the rather liberal attitude of Abu Hanafi, for 'Awza'i paid great attention to the Hadith, being more versed in *Sunna* than anyone else in Syria. But his school could not last when powerful men like Abu Yusuf in Baghdad, were pupils of Abu Hanafi, so that it just got pushed on one side—although the reverence for the authority of *Hadith* for which it stood, made itself felt.

In other words there were two schools in process of formation during the latter half of the second Islamic century—the great dividing line between them being their respective attitudes to *sunnat al nabi*—when into the arena of discussion leaped al Shafi'i, who in the words of Professor Heffening, may be described as an "eclec-

[2] See Macdonald op. cit. p. 99-102.

tic who acted as an intermediary between the independent legal investigation and the traditionalism of his time."[3]

Professor Margoliouth says that the "first actual treatises on jurisprudence as a science were those of Shafi'i,"[4] while Doctor Macdonald speaks of him as:—*"without doubt one of the greatest figures in the history of law."*[5] And Shafi'i succeeded where traditionalism and academic theory alike failed. In his lifetime and after his death there were not wanting attempts to pull down the structures he raised; but the fact remains that the long view of history gives the verdict of success to Shafi'i, not because he compromised, but because he saw facts and had vision.

There was, or is, a tradition supposed to go back to the prophet that at the end of every century of Islam a reformer would appear. The first of these was 'Umar, the second, a pious man who found himself an Umayyad Khalifa by some providential mistake. Similarly at the end of the second century appeared the second reformer in the person of al Shafi'i. What is more, he did better by his people too. He was of a more methodical nature than either Abu Hanafi or Malik, and this may partly account for the fact that he was never driven to extremes either in following an idea, *ra'i,* or going bald-headed after something that claimed to be a direct trustworthy *sunna* and most probably was not. He certainly had neither the academic keenness of Abu Hanafi nor the self satisfaction that came to one born, bred and brought up in the Holy City, although, as we have seen, he could have boasted of being like Mohammed a member of the Quraish. He was probably therefore the very man to mediate and systematise. Here was an aristocrat, who did not spend his time talking about it; here was a scholar with a respect for the past, but who lived in the present, without any tendency to produce from his own mind an-

[3] Article in the Encyclopedia of Islam.
[4] Early Development of Mohammedanism p. 40.
[5] Moslem Theology, etc., p. 104.

swers to problems that required careful scrutiny and lengthy meditation. Moreover he had both a wholesome respect for the Koran and a lively veneration for Mohammed. We should not probably today either commend or agree with all his criteria or critical apparatus, but that need not keep us from recognizing the touch of genius. In fact, we should recognize this all the more clearly, as it stands out in the middle of a lot of other intellectual principles to which we could never possibly agree. Here then was Shafi'i face to face with a couple of codes to which *he* could not say amen, though he could well respect the founders of the codes, and was wise enough not to think of lecturing in Baghdad with Shaibani the Hanafite, the cynosure of the eye of the people of Iraq, already in the saddle.

Now so far as the Hanafite *ra'i* was concerned he gave it as wide a berth as possible. He simply had no use for it. Moreover he dealt in exactly the same way with Malik's doctrine of *istislah* or common welfare and Abu Hanafi's *istihsan* or preference, because it was *local* law. al Shafi'i was out to stabilize and at the same time he wanted something more far-reaching than either Abu Hanafi or Malik had given. At the same time, again, each of his predecessors had had one plank in his platform which made quite a strong appeal to Shafi'i, irrespective of course of the position naturally accorded to the Koran in their systems. Abu Hanafi had made as full use as he could of *qiyas,* which meant largely, so far as he was concerned, basing his opinion on an analogy from the Koran. For him this as often as not resulted in his getting an opinion of his own on to the market, and many of his opinions had good sense in them. But Shafi'i made the doctrine more systematic, and was further prepared to base a legal decision of analogy from the Sunna as well as the Koran, provided that he could be definitely assured of the integrity of the particular *hadith* under discussion. We shall compare his general attitude later in contradistinction to the attitude to the use of *qiyas*

adopted by the extreme literalist party. Then again there was one of the principles of Malik ibn Anas, which had in it more than a modicum of usefulness. This was the principle of *ijma'* or Agreement, i. e., the consensus of opinion of the faithful, so far as Malik was concerned, of a given place and during a prescribed period of history. For Malik had restricted the principle of *ijma'* to what had been the consensus of opinion in Medina; the consensus of opinion of the Companions of the prophet, who all had connection with Medina, which gave birth to a sort of infallibility vested in the Medinan Electoral Council. This was nowhere near good enough for Shafi'i, but the idea gave him food for furious thought, and he accordingly developed *ijma'* to the pitch that it now holds and has held practically since his day; and it is almost entirely because of him that practical meaning has been given to the tradition which runs: "My people shall never agree upon an error." *Vox populi, vox Dei.*

Here then was the innate genius of Shafi'i going to express itself. He was up against the entrenched fury of narrow, traditional orthodoxy; and he was up against the different tactics of people of opposite ideas who dubbed him in turn also a reactionary. While being a firm disciple of Mohammed, with consequently the most definite respect for *hadiths* that were really so, he had to gain confidence and make others see that the "soul of true conservatism was in the lusty heart of progress." There is probably proof enough that he succeeded in this in the fact that he numbered among his disciples Ahmad ibn Hanbal, a man far more conservatively inclined than himself. The irony, however, of the whole situation here is that certain devotees of Ibn Hanbal founded a fourth law school after his death and called it by his name. It represents and represented quite the obscurantist attitude, as well as being by its very existence contrary to the whole life of Ibn Hanbal. He was far too fond of Shafi'i ever to have founded an opposition school himself, besides being far too good a man.

Now Islam in the past has trusted Shafi'i, just as Ahmad ibn Hanbal trusted him. In other words Shafi'ism has worked. When the school of Awza'i for instance faded out of Syria in the latter half of the ninth century A. D. numbers of his adherents chose Shafi'ism in preference to Hanafism or Malikism, and, of course, the distinctions between the schools were very much more marked then than they are in our day. Similarly when the forefathers of our present Palestinian Moslems left Hanbalism in the fourteenth century they took up Shafi'ism. And perhaps still more significant is the movement mentioned by the late Sayyid Amir 'Ali in "The Spirit of Islam" in India. Amir 'Ali states that: "Shafi'ism is spreading rapidly among the educated Hanafis of India." Sir Ali himself describes Shafi'i as a "man of strong and vigorous mind, better acquainted with the world than Abu Hanafi and Malik," and he goes on to say that though perhaps less immediately adaptable to growing needs of Islam than original Hanafism, there was in Shafi'ism that which made its appeal to the *middle classes;* and that it "contained sufficient germs of improvement, which, had they not been killed by the rigid formalism of later times, would have been productive of substantial good." What was it then in Shafi'ism that gave it this potential germ of improvement? May we put it like this:—that Shafi'ism was more definitely democratic and so truer to the essentially democratic spirit, which existed in early Islam but which did not survive more than few score of years?

Let us then try and picture the world into which Shafi'i was thrust, chiefly in Mesopotamia and to a less extent in Egypt and Arabia. First of all here were countries which had Islamised with more than comparative rapidity. The inhabitants already had some sort of law on which they and their ancestors had based their common life. To a large extent there was Roman Law, much of which according to Goldziher and other Islamologists, seems to have come into Islam through the Jews, who

also naturally passed on some of their own legal ideas. The very principle of the adoption of *hadith* as a basis for law-making, though having a backing in the old Arab custom of patriarchal *sunna,* had its counterpart in the Jewish unwritten, oral tradition, which dates back to New Testament times at least. Then along with the native elements in the various big cities that Islamised, there was the Arab contingent, which in the Umayyad times let the rest of the world know that it was true Arab. Then there were the pious and genuine followers of the prophet, who were troubled some of them by the enormous growth of oral tradition; and others by the fact that there was a tendency abroad to override traditions and introduce other principles of law-making. These two groups began to crystallise and while one party bore the name of *Ashab al Hadith,* the other took that of *Ashab al Ra'i.* There were, as there always are, extremists on both wings, but the main body of each group might well have claimed that Shafi'i belonged to his group and doubtless did. Goldziher quite candidly said that the Shafi'ite school might be said to belong to either of the two groups, though opinion tended in the direction of the position adopted by *Ashab al Hadith.* But be it noted again not the extreme section of these good people—After the death of Shafi'i there were the Hanbalites and people called the Zahirites, who were literalists, but Islam found that though these people were good folk, yet they were quite impossible for ordinary individuals to live with. In fact in the end *they* even had to admit that without *qiyas* both Koran and *hadith* would suffer serious limitations.

Shafi'i, however, was determined from the first that there was no need for the eclipse either of Koran or Traditions by the introduction of further legal principles, though we must bear in mind that what he meant by tradition was a *sunna* which he could not help admitting to be true. He certainly did not admit the whole corpus of traditions. Still less did he accept their canonicity which

he came across. He would take advantage only of an authentic tradition that is to say, a *hadith* that he was convinced was authentic. For all traditions of this kind Shafi'i had the utmost reverence. All the same he had to be careful for the sake of the *ashab al hadith* not to give the impression that he discountenanced any real *hadith*. He did solve the question finally by claiming that no one teacher could possibly have the whole body of prophetical tradition at his disposal. Hence we have the following very valuable, definite statement, which, whether or not it actually comes from Shafi'i himself, at any rate clearly demonstrates what was his actual position:—

"If ever you find a tradition from the prophet saying one thing and a decision from me saying another thing, follow the tradition."

Now whether true or not in its actual wording, the sentence defines his actual position, as he looked around his world and found the proverbial doctors differing, and asked himself why they differed. He was one with them on the question of the Koran; that was the pure, unadulterated word of Allah, against which there was no gainsaying. There was therefore no difference of opinion on matters that were quite obviously catered for by the holy book; the difficulty arose when the *hadith* was called upon in support of some theory by an opponent or opponents or called in question itself by him because it was unsupported. And Shafi'i's answer was that some tradition had probably escaped them, just as he was quite sure by experience that some traditions might escape him. Now this meant nothing less than that *somewhere in the whole Moslem world there dwelt the whole body of hadith: but out of reach of everybody. No one had the whole corpus at his disposal.* This was undoubtedly true; there was no exhaustive record.[8] Hence the foundation of Shafi'i's dictum about the possible clash between a prophetical *hadith* and a ruling of his own. How could he possibly have had the infinite knowledge of details that were covered only by the deduction that somehow and somewhere the whole corpus of *ahadith* was preserved?

[8] Compare Margoliouth op. cit. 79, 80.

To western minds this may seem very like taking refuge in the doctrine of a "lost authority"; but Shafi'i was a practical man and was out for practical politics. And the result of his practical politics came to this, that when he could be definitely assured of the authenticity of a particular tradition, he was prepared to give it the status, to all intents and purposes, of a Koranic ruling. It was, so to speak, inspired not as to its nature, but as to its content. In theological language it was "unread revelation." This led on to an extension of a principle, which the prophet himself had propounded in Medina,—the principle of abrogation. In more modern parlance this might be called a sort of progressive revelation. In other words the undoubted, absolutely authentic tradition, being virtually placed in the same category as the Koran with its verbal inspiration, was treated as such. But it came to this too that the principle of the lost authority affected the other bases of Moslem jurisprudence, chiefly that of *ijmaʿ;* and it is in dealing with this principle of *ijmaʿ* that al Shafi'i's greatness chiefly lay.[1]

Contradictory traditions might exist, and this difficulty was bravely faced with the doctrine that there always was a tradition known or unknown to the same effect as the new ruling. Circumstances nevertheless crept into being for which no ruling was found. Shafi'i gave his opinion and gave it with the reservation that if a tradition appeared later suited to the special circumstances and one that really had prophetic basis, his own ruling should naturally give way. And there was the tradition which eminently expressed his point of view; "My people shall never agree on an error." This moreover was naturally unlikely when and where you had a really democratic conception.

But in establishing this principle of *ijmaʿ* he faced a stupendous problem. Lack of assuredness over a tradition was nothing to this. He had not merely to decide whether he could find sufficient ground for accepting a

[1] See Macdonald op. cit. p. 104-107.

certain tradition as undoubted and then see that the regulations it implied were carried out, but he found himself faced by the fact that people were in certain places following customs of their own rather than customs which had some sort of religious sanction behind them. In other words usages had grown up in course of time in various places, usages which were firmly rooted in the lives of the people, and this very fact in itself seemed almost to defy tradition. But Shafi'i faced the inevitable bravely and expanded the principle of Agreement more widely than ever before, making it absolutely basic. And so it has remained. This was victory indeed. This principle of *ijma'* is absolutely basic. It is this more than anything else which gives Islam its "absorptive power," for which Islam has to thank Shafi'i.

We need first to be clear as to the exact nature of *ijma'*. It is, like its sister *sunna,* (the following or working out of a tradition), threefold. It may be "the agreement of word or the declaration of opinion in words: the agreement of action or practice, as expressed in unanimity of action or practice; the agreement of silence or tacit assent or noninterference." [8]

Now the agreement of Madinat-al-nabi had been quite enough for Malik from the nature of the case. Shafi'i however went for something that was going to guarantee the unity and agreement of all Islam. It was the counterpart of the Vincentian canon that he wanted *quod semper, quod ubique, quod ab omnibus.* Or, as Dr. Macdonald has put it:—"The evident voice of the people of Mohammed was to be the voice of God." Of course there was a difficulty. What would happen suppose there was no tradition existing to support the verdict of the people? The answer was the same as it had been in the case of a possible dictum of Shafi'i's own running counter to a tradition of the prophet; namely, that there must have existed somewhere a tradition to the same effect as the agreement. Now was anything more wanted after all

[8] Klein. The Religion of Islam p. 30.

this? The Moslem world had the Koran and the *sunna,* which some good people claimed was enough and to spare, and Shafi'i had gone and put *ijma'* on the top, making local usages universal. And naturally the extreme literalists gave a very decided no to the question. Shafi'i, however, was otherminded. He found that these three principles, very excellent in themselves, were not quite sufficient for a well-rounded system. And so his answer was yes. But equally he did not want *ra'i* nor *istihsan* nor *istislah.* He had borrowed and expanded Malik's *ijma';* now he would borrow and embellish Abu Hanafi's *qiyas.*

For Shafi'i was wise enough to know from the nature of the case that neither the laws of the Koran or usage, whether of the prophet or the community were unlimited as they stood. Possible cases might arise in the expansion of Islam (and their number was legion) for which there was no ruling in any one of the existing bases of law. Hence the recourse that Shafi'i had to *qiyas,* or as he called it *ijtihad;* and as a matter of fact it has really been known by more than one name. Now in his mind this meant the effort to find in given circumstances a parallel case or parallel circumstance in the Koran, Traditions or *ijma',* which might be the basis of a new ruling. In fact Shafi'i was prepared to go even further than this and seek the reason lying behind the Koranic ruling or the *sunna,* as the case might be, and draw his analogy from that. This was naturally a bitter pill for the literalist and the ultra-orthodox. Here was Shafi'i actually probing the depths of the divine mind; and that was not his business. Man was not only created not to discuss but to obey, but also unless the meaning of a Koranic passage was very obvious, the literalist claimed that there was no need to seek to draw an analogy. If the *sunna* contained a ruling from the prophet which easily lent itself to analogy, use it; if not, abandon it. The literalists, however, said that this was not *qiyas;* they called it *mafhum.* This was merely a distinction without a difference, for they did not

see that Shafi'i equally could and did say *mafhum,* when he drew his analogy from a Koranic text that probably needed just a little more explanation than the rather obvious ones on which they were willing to venture. Of course, there was sufficient fuel for the fires of rival parties to last for centuries, but Shafi'i himself seems to have been wonderfully free on the whole from severe criticism—apparently through the way in which he went to work. The literalists argued that he was wrong in his attempt to probe the deeps of the divine mind, but more ordinary folk were less objective, for he did succeed in considering and working at the causes of divine commands without letting the ordinary people get the impression that he was at all irreverent in so doing. There is a certain amount of genius in being able to do that. He had made *qiyas* or *ijtihad* one of the four definite bases on which legal Islam has rested.

Perhaps it may be argued, as it has been argued, that after all there was not so very much difference between *qiyas* and *ra'i,* and this might be the case if *qiyas* were not hedged round with a considerable amount of restrictions. Shafi'i said that *qiyas* was used in the cases which are not directly dealt with in the Koran, *sunna* and *ijma',* and that is in itself an admission of a certain limitation. The laws of the former were limited; there was no getting away from that; the possible cases that might arise were unlimited. That which is unlimited could hardly be contained in the limited. Moreover by his use of *qiyas* Shafi'i was merely extending the boundaries of the influence of the other three basic principles, more especially perhaps the first two. It was not simply his own opinion as such that he was out to pit against the rest of the Islamic world and the already existing institutions. For he was loyal as well as wise and both alike for him prevented a too independent voyage across largely uncharted seas. But as man charted them afterwards they veered in due time to the course that Shafi'i had mapped out as the only one likely to achieve any great and lasting suc-

cess. This was not all at once nor everywhere till some long period had elapsed, as for instance in the tenth century in Spain, where the geographer, Al Muqaddisi, noted that "the Spaniards recognise only the Koran and the *'Muwatta';* if they find a follower of Abu Hanafi or Shafi'i they banish him from Spain." But in the long run, as usual, it was fundamental brain work that told, told on Islam and told on Shafi'i, dying as he did at the comparatively early age of fifty-four. Shafi'i did not survive a beating which he got at the hands of some friends of a man called Fitian, a Malikite, whom he had worsted in argument. Fitian had a beating at the hands of the Government and Shafi'i's beating was a matter of pure retaliation.

To sum up. The French scholar, Carra de Vaux, after stating that in Shafi'i we note a reaction against both Abu Hanafi and Malik, finds in him three qualities mentioned respectively by Goldziher, Brockelmann and Macdonald:—His concessions towards the previous schools; for Shafi'i spoke well of his predecessors, saying that no one who had not read Abu Hanafi and his disciples knew anything of *fiqh.*[9] His limiting the use of *qiyas* and imposing on its use methodical regulations. His wise and conciliating spirit in admitting the weight of usages, which the course of time had established in Islam. There is a weakness in the system, the one to which reference has been made, but it was not just the weakness of Shafi'i but one he shared with the age in which he lived, and not quite forgotten even yet. Because of the paucity of trustworthy traditions he took refuge in the theory or doctrine of a lost authority. When a usage made itself felt and there was no tradition at hand to uphold it, and no possible Koranic backing to obtain, the result was the claim that somewhere there must have existed a tradition suitable to the matter in question; and since this was the case, then sooner or later a tradition was found. But it was *ijma'* all the time that worked the

[9] See Sell. Faith of Islam p. 62.

oracle and not *hadith*. It is significant, however, to note here that although the tradition already referred to concerning the promise that the Moslem peoples should never agree upon an error sums up Shafi'i's point of view, the tradition itself is not mentioned by him; and the implication is that it was not one of those traditions which he could conscientiously use, since he did not think it went back to Mohammed.[10] His position with regard to *ijma'* was backed by tradition, and similarly was his position with regard to *qiyas*. There is for instance the following, which quite justifies the whole procedure that Shafi'i very rightly adopted and which has proved its soundness. It is related not by Bukhari (who incidentally was a Shafi'ite) nor by Muslim, but is given in three of the six famous collections of traditions:

"Mohammed when he sent Mu'adh ibn Jabal to the Yaman to act as Qadi, asked him, How will you decide when a question arises? He replied:—According to the book of Allah.—And if you do not find the answer in the book of Allah?—Then according to the Sunna of the Messenger of Allah.—And if you do not find the answer neither in the Sunna nor in the book?—Then I shall come to a decision according to my own opinion without hesitation."

The result was Mohammed's encomium. *Qiyas* was the last resort and as such not to be despised. Shafi'i realised this. True that the literalists said that it was like carrion and you only ate it when you really had nothing else for your palate, but that did not matter. The literalists did not understand *qiyas* as they might have. And it was not enough for Shafi'i merely to take the plain reading of a particular text or tradition; he wanted to get hold of the reason and circumstances lying behind. Shafi'i endeavored to shew that it was no easy thing to be a *mujtahid*. It entailed a minute knowledge of the Koran and *hadith* coupled with ability to use them. You had to know three thousand of the latter off by heart and have many more at your fingers' ends. The Koran, for instance, says that you are to go to Masjid al Haram. That was why Allah had it built; and if you cannot go, then you should always look to it when absent. But how

[10] Compare Gairdner, Mohammedan Tradition and Gospel Record p. 25.

can you know how to do that? The answer is that Allah has also provided the stars for guidance. The holy house is His gift and so too the heavenly bodies. The latter guide to the former. It is this knowledge, made available through *ijtihad,* that makes possible the keeping of the precept. Hence the *mujtahid* was not one who worked out academic opinions for his own sake but who made every effort to find out the answers to problems for religious purposes, as to know by study the workings of the divine mind. Shafi'i was interested not only in what was said or done but in the underlying principles that guided the particular matter in question. And in this he has the support of modern criticism. His main principles were correct and what modern criticism disagrees with is not the principles but some of the premises.

And the fact remains that in the centuries that have passed, his school and those of the men to which his was in the first instance a reaction have been drawn closer to each other, and consciously or otherwise they have absorbed his methods in jurisprudence. The biggest instance of this has happened in our time. The Turks have always been predominantly Hanafite, and Abu Hanafi himself knew very little at all about *ijma',* that which more than anything else has given to Islam its "absorptive power," and how much of the civilization of the west the Turks, to say nothing of Afghanistan, have absorbed can best be understood by reading the newspapers. And he who was responsible ultimately for this Islamic power of absorption was not the Persian Abu Hanafi but the Palestinian Shafi'i.

As a litterateur Shafi'i was second to but few. His most important works however are lost.

It is probably enough of praise to say of him that among his posthumous disciples were Al Bukhari, the great tradition collector, and Al Ghazali.

Jerusalem. ERIC E. F. BISHOP.

THE CHANGED OUTLOOK IN THE WESTERN SUDAN

The Western Sudan has been singularly isolated from the world outside until the last quarter of a century. The difficulties of the desert journey on the North, the unsettled condition of the Nile valley and the malarial coast to the south, have successfully kept this part of Africa from incursions from without. The history of the Western Sudan, in as far as it can be elicited from the mass of myth and legend that surround it, tells the story of a series of dynastic upheavals and the rising and falling of numerous Sudanic empires until the advent of European governments brought the establishment of a measure of stability.

The actual form of European control differs considerably between the French and British areas, just as the respective political traditions of the two countries are different. On the one hand you have the French political indifference to religion, with the result that, provided nationalist aims are not prejudiced, missions may receive not only toleration but even help. On the other hand, there is the British political tradition which has been wrought to an exquisite pitch of sensibility on the religious question, thanks to the character of much of our colonial empire, combined with the repercussion of the strong and vocal religious conscience of England. The English colonial administrator in a Moslem area has a thorny path to tread.

In West Africa the British Government has set, as its avowed objective the realization of indirect rule with the aim of educating the Moslem Emirates up to the western standards of progress, education and toleration. With

this aim the missionaries as a whole are in the heartiest accord. It would be tragic to see the culture of the Western Sudan superseded by the veneer of European ideas which along the West coast of Africa do justice for civilization. There is much in this indigenous Western Sudanic culture, Fulani, Hausa or Asben which is infinitely worth preserving. Missions fully realize this; and with the ideal of the Government missions are in the fullest sympathy, though there is undeniable disagreement on the rate of progress! But this perhaps is inevitable. Those who feel that "the business of the King requireth haste" cannot perhaps help becoming impatient of those who are professedly marking time in the achievement of a cultural ideal. But missions and missionaries might with advantage learn much from the policy of administrators. "God is never in a hurry, but He is always on time," and we who are His messengers may from very overeagerness anticipate His fulness of time. The Gospel was not promulgated when Scipio was the idol of Rome, nor would the reign of Antiochus Epiphanes have been a fitting cradle for the Christian faith. The world was not ready.

We may believe, may we not, that up till now God's plan for the Western Sudan has not yet been fully perfected, but some of us believe there are signs of a coming change. The Western Sudan under British and French control has been largely pacified and where the Government has confidence in the missionary the Government gives sympathy. On the question of the rate of development there may never be absolute agreement—perhaps there cannot be; but it ill becomes missionaries, whose very presence in the country finds its actual comfort and security from the rule of Britain, to flout those in authority. Cæsar has his position and far too often it is assumed that Cæsar must be at issue with God. We very easily forget that God has said "By Me Kings rule and Princes decree justice."

A missionary of many years experience and one who

has proved that loyalty to Government and loyalty to his God are not incompatible, remarked to the writer recently, "When there is so much to be done which can be done without quarrelling with Government, why quarrel with Government?" Thinking along this line, take the Western Sudan under British control. In the realm of medical service alone there is a huge field far larger than missions can yet occupy. Now sickness respects no boundaries. There are certain areas in British West Africa where for political reasons there are as yet no missions. In another province just to the south of these there is a small mission hospital. Out of the sixteen most recent in-patients twelve have come from these closed areas! Is it reasonable to expect God to give us other possessions before we have fully possessed the possessions we have now?

It is difficult to write of this country and it is proverbially easy to give false impressions by generalization. Those best able to judge say that there is an undoubted change in the outlook. We who believe in the Kingdom of Christ believe we can hear a sound of the coming of that Kingdom. It is not as yet a "rushing mighty wind," but we may liken it to "a sound of going in the mulberry tops" and with these words of the Chronicler in our minds we cannot forget that this sound was given for a sign that "God hath gone forth before thee."

RESIDENT.

ABDEL KHALEK SAROIT PASHA

It was as a statesman that the late Abdel Khalek climbed the upper rung of the ladder of fame. The world will remember him as an Egyptian patriot who served his sovereign and his country as Minister of Justice, Minister of the Interior and Prime Minister. It is not as such that I shall speak of him. I am writing for the MOSLEM WORLD. Its pages are hermetically sealed to any discussion that savours of politics. It is, therefore, of Saroit Pasha the lawyer that I shall say a few words for he is an example of a new class of Egyptians.

When I reached Cairo in the summer of 1911 he was, if I mistake not, *Procureur Général* of the Native Courts. He was the first Egyptian to hold that important post. If he had not then reached that high office he had, at all events, attained it at the moment of which I am about to speak. I refer to the winter of 1912-1913.

I was then a young man with a wealth of black hair and a world of inexperience. I had my regular Court assignment. But my colleagues took advantage of my raven locks to use me as a kind of general utility man. They told me that they did so "for my good." I was, therefore, called upon, from time to time, to replace other colleagues who had more experience, and less hair.

On one of these occasions I sat in the Second Civil Chamber. It was presided over by a Dane, an elderly and scholarly gentleman of outstanding ability, who would have been immortalised by Balzac had the latter had the good fortune to have known him. With him sat Moustafa Fathi, who subsequently became Minister of

Justice and who is now living in dignified retirement; Youssef Suleiman, a Copt who also attained Ministerial rank and who is a pillar of the Y. M. C. A.; and Raoul Houriet, a Swiss, now the President of the Cairo Mixed Tribunal. I occupied the fifth seat at the hearing to which I refer.

It is no spirit of corporate pride that causes me to refer to the attainments of these four men. They formed in many ways a remarkable group. Their Scandinavian Presidency officer had the very qualities necessary to get the best work out of this quartette. I say this because his lovable idiosyncrasies lent spice to their deliberations. On the morning which I am recalling, they were discussing a delicate question of Mohammedan law. The case involved the terms of a *Waqfieh*—the creation of a Moslem deed of trust.

The dear old President said nothing. He closed his eyes and listened. As he sat there, obviously attentive and concentrating, he was a perfect picture of Bismarck in repose. When he spoke he was the Iron Chancellor in action, for his accent had a patriotic note that smacked of the Baltic Sea. He said but little and allowed the two Egyptians to hammer out the problem. I do not recall just what were the arguments which they adduced. All that I remember is that both of them based their diverging deductions upon an opinion which Saroit Pasha had handed down as Procureur Général of the Native Courts.

In my child-like innocence I inquired: *"mais qui serait ce Pasha dont l'on invoque l'autorité?"*—who is this Pasha whose authority is thus invoked? All four of my colleagues exclaimed in unison each in his own version of Voltaire's language: *"C'est le Procureur Général indigène"*—"he is the Procureur Général of the Native Courts."

In no sense abashed, either by this unanimity or by this cacophony I observed: "I know that. But we have our own Mixed Court Jurisprudence. We are not bound by the decisions handed down by the Native Courts."

Taken back by this retort, the two Egyptian Judges and the Swiss said nothing. They allowed the Dane to bring me into line. He did so most gently. He merely said: "You are right. But Saroit Pasha is an eminent jurisconsult. His opinion carries weight not necessarily because of his official position but because of his profound learning. It is to the inherent force of his reasoning that we pay honor, not to his office." And the other three nodded in approval.

Some years later a prominent Anglo-Egyptian official gave me another example of Saroit Pasha's reputation as a jurist. I refer to Sir William Brunyate who was then the Judicial Adviser. He was, and I presume still is, an indefatigable worker. I have rarely known a man who approached him in powers of concentration, productive energy and driving power. He was not a flatterer. He was sincerity personified. Moral courage was his specialty—or, as he would have said, his speciality. He had in fact many of the virtues that go to make up a great statesman, but he was perhaps too conscious of his own merits to be known to recognize ability in any man not his subordinate.

At the time to which I refer he dominated Cairo just as much as Roosevelt did the Progressive party. Praise from him was as rare as it was precious. He was the author of the various proclamations which were the offspring of martial law. One of them got under fire. It was said to be heretical from the standpoint of Latin law.

Whether it was or was not was a mooted question. Sir William considered that it was absolutely orthodox. But when his point of view was questioned and the criticism boiled down to one point he said: "Let me submit this specific problem in substance to Saroit. He is an exceptionally able Latin lawyer. He will approach the subject from the angle of a statesman and of a jurist. He knows of the difficulties with which I have to contend. He will give me a reasoned opinion." When this lan-

guage was used Saroit Pasha was Minister of Justice and therefore not a subordinate of the Judicial Adviser.

I could multiply instances of this sort. I shall not do so. These two examples suffice. They show what foreigners thought of Saroit. One typifies the Mixed Court or International appreciation of his legal attainments. The other gives the English reaction to his standing as a jurist. In both cases the praise was bestowed by experts who knew what they were talking about and who were temperamentally disinclined to weave laurel wreaths—particularly for other brows.

Cairo. PIERRE CRABITES.

A DEFENCE OF REFORMS IN AL AZHAR

[Note of Sheikh Mohammed Moustafa al Maraghy, Rector of Al Azhar Mosque, which he had the honor of presenting to His Majesty King Fouad, and the Prime Minister, concerning reforms in Al Azhar. Translation from *Al Ahram,* Cairo, 5 and 7 Aug. 1928.]

The Moslem religion has enjoined on its adherents the setting apart of a body of its followers to study it and teach it to the people (Tradition quoted), and God caused His Apostle Mohammed to summon the faithful in the path of attaining this (inviting to the way of God with wisdom and goodly preaching and replying to their arguments with something better), and the laws of the learned all are agreed on the necessity for zeal in spreading the faith and in convincing the worshippers of its truth and of the necessity for defending it from the errors of apostates and of heretics.

In the Koran there are many verses which teach us to observe God's creation and to understand what it contains of beauty and precious workmanship, and it has directed attention to the instincts of the animal creation which urge it to fine work and purposeful actions and mentions the history of primitive man. The Koran urges us to acquire learning and puts the learned on a higher plane than the ignorant.

It mentions the deeds of a worthy past and the history of our scholars and proves that Islam expects its followers to endeavor to understand and study everything in this life.

Past teachers of the nation have discharged this task in the best and most perfect fashion and have left us a rich store of books in all branches of learning. They have studied other religions and philosophy according to the knowledge of their day. They have written articles regarding the beliefs of all divisions of mankind. With

them thought and reason were venerated and free rein was given to reason and argument. Perfection in the knowledge of the law was the aim of every student in the branch in which he specialized.

But the intellectual leaders of the last century were mentally slothful and considered it was not expected of them to exert themselves to produce anything fresh, so they forbade original effort (*ijtihad*) and rested content with traditional lore and debarred all books in which the spirit of traditional learning was not exclusively contained. They withdrew from the world and so became ignorant of events of everyday life. So the people forgot them. They remained ignorant of modern methods of thought and argument. They knew not present-day learning nor the various ideas of different divisions of mankind. So people turned from them. They cursed the people and did not fulfil that to which they had dedicated their lives (i. e. teaching). So Islam had no adequate defenders and no real preachers.

Worship in Islam is comprised of: belief, behavior, the science of the regulation of relationship in the family and in social conduct, (e. g. selling, lending) and criminal law. Islam has made contributions to other religions and has made additions to belief in other religions and has drawn attention to certain astronomical facts and to facts in the three kingdoms of inanimate nature, plant and animal life.

Islam has suffered attack more than the other religions by the followers of the preceding religions and by those who have studied the civil code and by scientists.

Therefore it was essential that the scholars should study a wide range of subjects, and seek to gain a knowledge of various religious beliefs, past and present, of what previous religions contained and new ideas. Also of methods of theoretical reasoning, and of the method of convincing others. It was essential that they should understand the true sources of Islam and also have a knowledge of the Arabic language, its science and phi-

lology, of the history of the world, of religions and beliefs, of the origin of legal systems and their classes and to study the science of social relationships.

Now the religion of the Egyptian nation is Islam. Seeing she confesses this faith, it is incumbent upon her to improve the instruction of this faith so that its defence and support be improved and that there be protectors and guides to summon the nation to obey it. There is no better way of sounding the call to reformation than through religion. The people obey religious ordinances easily. They need only a quiet well-prepared preacher, who will attract his listeners to good things by his example and use many homely illustrations to show and explain his teaching.

Preachers of morals, old and new, seek their sanction from religion and use it as a means to reform. Even advocates of political parties and captains of armies find it necessary to depend on religion and dye their claims with it. The reason is that the life of communities cannot be reformed in any direction except by an appeal to the religious motive, based on faith in God.

The Egyptian nation, indeed the nations of the East, have deteriorated in character, for the realms of truthfulness, trustworthiness, bravery, patience, perseverance, self-control against lusts have all become weakened. No longer does the individual citizen feel the griefs and afflictions of his fellow. Individual life has had its effect on community life and the position of the eastern nations is low, and they are content with it! I have shown that the Egyptian nation, seeing that it desires a higher political life, must needs remember her faith and the strengthening of it and reform its affairs. It must improve the instruction in that faith and give its teachers a fitting position. . . .

Character is the backbone of the nations. It is impossible to reform without it. The easiest way of creating good character is religion, when its teaching methods are reformed. Religious teachers have reared good charac-

ter in the nation in the past, and Al Azhar has been a source of the rays of religious sciences and Arabic learning and other things to the Moslem world. But to it has happened what happens to other institutions in the East, obscurity of station and abjectness. It is therefore incumbent on the Egyptian nation to clean this lamp (Al Azhar) from dirt-deposits, and to provide it with a stronger light apparatus from which light will stream along a path consonant with new learning and thought in the world, and everyday life in the paths of free discussion.

The nation spends a large annual sum of money on Al Azhar which she cannot divert. She cannot abolish Al Azhar and its associate Mosque-schools (Note that these are four in number and situated at Alexandria, Tanta, Damanhour and Assiut, and the instruction in them is exactly the same as that given in Al Azhar. The total enrollment in the schools, inclusive of Al Azhar is about twelve thousand). Nor can she form other types of schools. The need for reform is obvious and plain beyond argument. I am reluctantly forced to admit that all the efforts to reform these theological schools in the past twenty years have made no appreciable difference as regards reform of teaching.

I am free to confess that the results of Al Azhar and its sister Mosque-schools grieve all who love their nation and religion. Things have reached a juncture when it is essential to buttress up the faith and not the *status quo* of Al Azhar. A change in teaching methods must be made, more consideration for the faith of God, and no attention paid to groans and obstructions. All great reformations the world over have been greeted thus.

The Koran must be studied carefully as also the Traditions. They must be studied from the Arabic language point of view, of religious law (Shariat) and of philology and of the laws of science and learning. We must in commenting on it avoid everything which learn-

ing has shown to be false and avoid contradictory interpretations.

Doctrine and worship must be pruned of what is superfluous. We must beware of any innovations or errors that have crept in. Moslem customs must be pruned so as to conform to the fundamentals of Islam.

The religious law (Shariat) of Islam must be taught in a spirit of freedom from any sect-prejudices; its laws must be studied in conjunction with their ascertained origins. The aim of such study must include the preservation, inviolate, of the laws given in the letter of the Koran and Traditions and laws to which universal Moslem assent is given. There must be study of judgments on cases so as to make them available for modern times and places, consonant with modern knowledge and international law, as obtained among the doctors in past ages.

Other religions must be studied that their doctrines and methods of worship may be compared with those of Islam, and that Islam's adaptibility and holiness and superiority over other religions may appear in all countries where there is a multiplicity of religions.

The history of religions must be studied, with their sects, the reasons for divisions and their history and the causes for their origin, especially in Islam.

The origin of beliefs throughout the world, past and present must be studied, and secular matters, such as the solar system and the three systems of nature, animal, vegetable and mineral, as far as is necessary to an understanding of the Koranic verses which refer to these subjects.

The Arabic language must be studied with the meticulous care past generations lavished on it, and to this must be added the study of the history and philology of languages.

There must be books on all branches of learning, both religious and linguistic, in modern style. The teaching must unite the modern educational methods with the old style in the centuries when Islam flourished. To sum up,

we must preserve the essence of our religion and everything essential to it in the most thorough fashion, and explore all paths of knowledge and gather the results of free investigation (*Ijtihad*), so that nothing will remain but what is demonstrably true and useful to the worshippers of God.

These many reforms must be carried out by all true believers, for the call of the Prophet was to all mankind and his religion is for all. We must make adjustments so as to reconcile the varying centuries and countries. If Islam does not do so, it will lay itself open to aversion and a turning away from it as some Moslem nations have done and as has happened, in part, in the Egyptian nation. For it has abandoned the Shariat (law) because it found that the condition to which the scholars had brought it was not suitable to modern conditions—although the Egyptian nation has found among the doctors of the Shariat law those who have directed present day affairs (in the law courts) and changed public opinion and met many difficult situations. . . .

I do not forget that the study which I have outlined is a large one, which needs great energy and teachers, whom perhaps we shall not find among the professors of Al Azhar. It needs money for salaries. But the high nature of the goal constrains us to overcome every obstacle in the way and calls on our generosity and free-will offerings, for we seek the reform of what is most precious to the souls of all and we purpose by this reform to regenerate the people and re-awaken them.

It is not practicable to burden one individual teacher with all these subjects (as was the custom with the old method). We must think how best to divide them, and the teaching be apportioned in divisions and grades.

I will now outline the fundamental points I wish to incorporate in the syllabus of Al Azhar and its associate Mosque-schools.

Religious education must be subdivided. One division in which the number of pupils is limited, the

grades of instruction fixed, the expectations of the students indicated, and the purposes for which we seek to qualify graduates, and the posts available under government. This division will be carefully scrutinized and be our hope for the future. The other division will not be limited in numbers or course, nor will it lead to any government post. It will serve those who wish for instruction in their faith and a knowledge of Arabic. Bring them from ignorance to the light of learning and satisfy their hearts with the truth. The purpose of this division is the teaching of character and true doctrine, far removed from false doctrine and tending to the true spirit of religion and good character.

This would mean that instead of training thousands of young men in the theological schools, largely at public expense, as most of them have no likelihood of earning their living by their learning, the numbers will be adjusted to the needs of the country. (Very few will enter the second division, if there are absolutely no prospects.)

The first division of instruction will be divided into three parts:—(1) Five year course, primary; (2) five year course, secondary; (3) five year course, high.

Instruction in parts I and II will be general, i. e., unspecialized, as in the ordinary government schools, and in them will be taught all that is taught in the government schools, except languages. There will also be taught the fundamental Azhar subjects necessary for the higher course in its various branches. This teaching will not consist in memorizing the lessons, but the understanding of the subject with discussions and explanations, and the development of the powers of the mind.

It may be that the period set down for teaching will not be sufficient for the Azhar subjects and government school subjects, but this objection falls if it is noticed that the theological student is chosen at an older age than pupils in government schools and will probably have learned a great deal in the primary schools. The student must have memorized the Koran, so that his age and

preparation permit of his bearing this load. Moreover the conditions of entrance to the primary course (Azhar) are such as to comb out those who are unable to stand this course.

The third part (high) will be divided into three sorts or faculties. (1) Arabic language; (2) Religious law (Shariat); (3) Religious teaching and preaching. It is to be noted that when I make out this general sketch programme, it is only a general sketch. I leave details to be filled in at the proper time by a competent committee. . . .

The third faculty. In this will be taught philosophy, old and new, the history of religions and beliefs, with comparison of Islam. . . . I now turn to the object of this regulated course and find it necessary to be rather lengthy.

When the Egyptian Government decided to found the "Dar ul 'Ulum" to prepare teachers of the Arabic language for the Government schools, the Azhar doctors cared only for the teaching of religious doctrines and philosophy in a theoretical fashion, far removed from any practical application. They thought only of studying the words of a text and multiplying examples from ancient authors, without studying the meaning of the language. . . .

A proof of this is that some of the greatest professors, of whom we have ourselves seen some, did not stress the meaning of the authors, and there still remain some such. Moreover, the professors did not study any of the general humanities, such as history, mathematics, mechanics, the rise of states, etc., and were bigoted in keeping to their narrow ideas and saw no good except in their own narrow groove, so that their general knowledge and methods of instruction were not sufficient for them to undertake teaching in the government schools on modern lines. And when the government thought of founding a school for training Judges for the Religious Law (Shariat), the Azhar was very much as I have detailed. There were

doctors who forbade the valuation of a country for taxation purposes, history and mathematics and the teaching of history and mathematics, and wrote articles in the newspapers against such branches of learning.

The responsible government officials doubted whether Judges understood figures or how to inspire confidence or had sufficient general information, such as a person who becomes a responsible judge needs must have. God has changed this state of affairs, and now the regulations of Azhar include twice the number of subjects previously taught. Natural history is now taught, as also Physics, Algebra and Mechanics. Al Azhar has also allowed her students who are in the division for Religious Law, instruction in Physiology and Anatomy. The Azhar professors have accepted every new subject and have prepared themselves to teach it. Difficulties have been overcome, and there now remains reform in methods of pedagogy and the provision of trained and efficient teachers, an apportioning of the subjects in the various divisions of the course. And, if a minority resist change, their opposition must not prevent progress.

In this country, there are at present many schools for the same purpose, i. e., Dar ul 'Ulum for teaching the Arabic language, Al Azhar and the associate Mosque-schools for the sciences of the Arabic language, the Judges Training School for Religious Law and Legal Procedure and Al Azhar for the same, preparatory course for the Dar ul 'Ulum and a similar course in Al Azhar. The nation pays for the upkeep of all these. It is possible to save some of this expenditure and to combine these efforts and get better results.

There are in the nation different sorts of learned men, graduates of different colleges who hate and fight each other. This has its effect in lowering the general tone of the country. Why should we not consider how best to unite our efforts, combine disbursements, and make the language school a source of teachers of the Arabic language for all schools of the country and Al Azhar and

set apart a portion of the Shariat graduates to take the place of the Judges Training College to be a source of judges and lawyers and muftis, and do away with the preliminary years of both the Dar ul 'Ulum and the Judges Training College?

The first objection to this will be that the Dar ul 'Ulum was founded because the need for it existed, and it has justified the hopes of its founders, and has graduated teachers who have rehabilitated the Arabic language and its philology from a condition where these were hardly studied at all, and they were among the most important causes for the spread of that language and the people's loving it; whereas Al Azhar's teaching of it has decreased in efficiency and become an object of complaint of the nation and even of Al Azhar folk themselves and that therefore it is not wise to trust in hopes of Al Azhar and to destroy a school whose value has been proved. The same might be said of the Judges Training School. Yet, in spite of the strength of this argument, we can overcome it by reviewing the following:

Al Azhar was completely separated from the Government previously and the only connection was, that on the budget appeared a certain sum of money for its upkeep. Government had no right to supervise it, but now all that is changed, now the greatest part of the annual heavy expenses of Al Azhar is derived from the Finance Department, and some from the Waqfs Department. And the Prime Minister now has the right of inspection and has become responsible for it to Parliament and it now has become easy for the Nation to know how the money is spent and what the Theological schools do and in what direction they tend.

Again, the knitting together of the Dar ul 'Ulum and Judges Training College with Al Azhar, will undoubtedly involve the teachers of these two colleges into joining the staff of Al Azhar, with a welding of them with the Azhar professors. This will lead to interchange of ideas which will result in improvement in teaching.

There will be a strong supply of educators on the committee of management and on the chief committee and inspectorate of the theological schools. In short, there will be all the guarantee people need that the theological schools will not decline in standard.

All that I have said in this connection of the unifying of teaching and of budgeting and the making homogeneous of the teaching staff in the nation will be very advantageous.

The Judges Training College needs a special word about its new arrangement. I do not hope for an improvement on the present school. Its work from its inception until 1923 is better than the new plan. We do not possess a code of laws, except those books which were collected in former centuries, and these are books edited in a peculiar style, which cannot be grasped by the mere knowledge of the Arabic language but need special study and commentaries. Moreover, the legal information which a judge needs is all mixed up with other stuff, one point following another, and the religious law expert must know many branches of learning connected with religious law, and the new arrangement of the school breaks the connection or parts of it between the student of the Judges Training College and the ancient text-books. So that the pupils who pass out from the preparatory school to the Judges Training College have not the groundwork that fits them to understand such books or to digest the information which is arranged for them in the syllabus.

I do not at present make a case for the old books (but I ask God to make us independent of them by giving us better), and I merely defend the present as having served the purpose. We need apostles between the old and the new, and teach these both the old and the new, that they may produce for the Nation books new and good. We therefore need professors who are able to understand these old books and those old ways, and who are able to set forth the old learning in the new ways. It is therefore necessary in the new programme for Al

Azhar to make provision for adequate study of the old fundamental ways in discussion and understanding of the old books. Now the Judges Training College has remained unaltered from its beginning until 1923 and is deserving of all praise. I can find no fault with it. But I hope that Al Azhar and the Theological Schools may combine by supervision and good management to graduate students like those of the Judges Training College, and better ones!

A reference was made in the Report of Al Azhar reform of 1924 to a comparison between judges graduated from Al Azhar and from the Judges Training College, and it is good to turn back to it, for it is helpful in this present juncture.

The gist of what I have said is that the preliminary years for Dar ul 'Ulum, and Judges Training College, as well as these schools be fused with the Theological schools with the proviso that temporary regulations be framed for the students now studying in them. Their privileges are as follows:—

Graduates in the Arabic language will become professors in Azhar and the Theological School and all Government and Provincial Schools. Graduates in Religious Law will be professors in Al Azhar, the Theological Schools and in all Government Schools, and graduates of the legal division will be judges, lawyers, inspectors and professors. Graduates in religious teaching and preaching will be professors of Al Azhar and preachers, *imams* and instructors. The Certificate of the Primary Division will carry no rights except entrance to the Secondary Division; and that of the Secondary Division will give its bearer the right to enter the High Division and qualify for posts as clerks in the Religious Law Courts and Religious Schools.

Later on investigation will be made as to the relation between this High Division and the Egyptian University and of a student holding Al Azhar certificates wishing to enter the Egyptian University in certain of its faculties.

Perhaps it might be said, "Let us allow the Dar ul 'Ulum and Judges Training College to go on their present course and let us reform Al Azhar as has been indicated and there is no harm in a multiplicity of good schools." However, what I have referred to with regard to the Judges Training College makes us speak out about its present form, and I have referred to the unifying teaching of the great language which we use, and the welding together of its teachers—all this makes us prefer unification to multiplication.

There is a matter we must not overlook . . . we must see that good families send their sons to religious schools.

Another matter is that the surrender of the ancient privileges of professors and teachers, etc. of Al Azhar (in the matter of daily allowances of loaves of bread, amounting in some cases to a large number) would have a good effect on general opinion in Egypt and elsewhere and would restore its prestige and be a means of establishing the confidence of this nation and other nations. . . .

When these reforms of Al Azhar are carried out and she takes her rightful place, she will regain the confidence of Islamic peoples and they will seek from among her graduates, professors, teachers and judges, especially if certain languages are studied in the course.

This then is my idea of reform without details, so that the idea may be clear and be either accepted or rejected, as regards fundamentals. Then special committees can work out ways and means.

In conclusion, we can give assurance for the good conduct of the teaching by forming a committee of management and Committee of Al Azhar on the plan of the Department of Public Instruction, which latter could appoint scrutineers of the examinations.

A QUARTER CENTURY IN ARABIA[1]

On the 18th of October, 1902, I stood at the stern of the Anchor Line Steamship *Columbia* and watched the shores of America fade away. It seems only yesterday. Never once in all that quarter century that has elapsed have I felt one pang of regret at my decision to go to Arabia, nor once have I been conscious of sacrifice in so doing. Indeed, I have found everything and lost nothing. The only thing that bothers me is that, since by Jesus' own definition, discipleship must involve sacrifice, my discipleship may be lacking a vital element. I loved my country, and still always feel a lump in my throat when I see Old Glory again on each succeeding furlough. I loved my home, nor has ever a person been blessed with a better. And yet, not for anything in the world would I miss the exhilaration of the task, the broad sweep of new horizons, the fellowship of a peerless body of men and women, and the special presence of Christ, which have been my lot in this quarter century. And this is the first reflection.

The second is this: Twenty-five years ago I visualized myself as a knight of the Cross sallying forth to attack the citadel of Islam. I had bright and well-tried armour, sharp and shining weapons. It was to be a battle and a triumph. As the years went by, and I caravaned with Christ on shimmering noon-days, or sat with Him through breathless nights and learned to know and love the sons of Shem, His kinsmen; the ideas of battle and conflict, of strife and victory and vindication, have receded. I have discarded the old conception of citadels and arenas and all the imagery so foreign to Himself, and have tried to learn from Him His own method and

[1] Reprinted from "Neglected Arabia."

language, His thought and purpose, His ideas and ideals, and to measure success by what He approved. In the house of Simon the leper when the woman poured upon His head the alabaster cruse of precious ointment, the disciples murmured and said: To what purpose is this waste? In that hour Christ deprecated the measuring of success by pounds and pence, spent or saved, by figures and statistics. "She hath done what she could, she hath done a good work unto me," was the criterion He set, and a sufficient justification for her effort. Has the Arabian Mission been successful in its forty years of effort? It has in so far as it has done honor to Christ. I strike a match and blow it out. For a fleeting second it was aglow, and now in my hand remains only a charred stick. But the light it gave is speeding toward the sun and within eight minutes more will offer itself as its best tribute to its source. So no word or deed spent for Christ can be lost, for truth cannot be lost.

And this brings me to the third reflection: When I take a picture I can do several things. I can focus the camera and can place the plate or film in position and can time the shutter. But there is one thing I cannot do: I cannot impress the image on the film. Only the sun by its secret chemistry can do that. My chief function is to bring the two together, through a lens whose chief virtue is that it is perfectly clear and transparent. For the first several years of my missionary life with blunted pencil and awkward hand I tried to draw on the Arab's hearts *my* conceptions, *my* theology, *my* creed, and I wondered at *God's* failure. One day a proud and fanatical mullah came to cross swords with me in debate. I was weary in body and distressed in mind, so I took the Gospel of John and read him the story of Nicodemus without comment of my own. Then I read the parable of the prodigal son, and last the story of the crucifixion. When I raised my eyes again, tears were in the mullah's eyes. His blatant defiance was gone and he only asked me for a copy of the Gospel that he might study it. I

believe in the Atonement with all my heart, but I cannot teach it. Only Christ can do that, for only after an Arab has walked with Christ and seen His purity and his own need, can he feel the need of that Saviour. And so my message and my task have been: to get the Arab to walk with Christ, and to talk with Him, to love and trust Him. In the meantime, my chief concern is to keep the lens entirely clear and perfectly transparent.

The fourth reflection is this: That God is working today, and is this minute doing marvelous things in the Moslem world. At Stone Mountain near Atlanta is a colossal figure of General Lee. The artisan who carved that statue saw before him only square inches of rough granite, and perhaps no plan at all. But the multitude in the plain below from their point of vantage can get the whole ensemble, an ensemble planned in the first instance by the artist's mind. At the end of this quarter century I stand back a moment and look at the great granite wall of Islam and can see God's plan as He has been working it out through the years. For twelve years I labored under the Turkish régime in northern Arabia, five of these under the old Sultan Abdul Hamid. Man feared to speak with man above a whisper for fear of the ever present spies. To be a convert was treason to the state. The word liberty was anathema. The Sultan was the Caliph and almost the whole Moslem world obeyed his dictates. We missionaries walked in gloom and could only pray. Then came the war and in less than five years the Sultan was deposed, the Caliphate abrogated, the veil was torn from women's faces, education made compulsory, and Islam disestablished as the religion of the state. A student of current politics may account for these gigantic changes by the ordinary laws of cause and effect in the political world, but one who, like us, has entered to some degree into the minds and souls of the people, cannot account for these stupendous changes save by invoking some spiritual law whose workings are to us marvelous. If prayer is a creative act I account for the staggering

changes in Turkey by ascribing them to the prayer and faith and labor poured out for seventy years by the American Board. It is true the American Board directed its first effort to evangelizing non-Moslems, but an energy was thus loosed and a divine light thus diffused by whose chemistry only such changes could have been wrought. What to us seems a mere by-product may in God's economy be the main objective. The Samaritan woman was apparently not convinced by the Saviour's wonderful discourse on the water of life, but she capitulated before His passing remark that she had had five husbands. The church's sheer obedience and faith in preaching to Moslems may, and I think must, be the main ingredient in the fabric of the coming Kingdom. Today, everywhere in the Islamic world there are appearing cracks in the hitherto solid wall of Islam, cracks made by the impact of nationalism. Syria, Egypt, Iraq, Turkey, Persia, Afghanistan, Morocco are thinking and talking nationally and no longer Islamically.

The fifth reflection is the one that haunts me day and night. I see no answer to the challenge it presents, and it is this: When will the church at home be prepared to sacrifice for her Lord as much as the convert from Islam is called upon to sacrifice? Then and only then will there be no more deficits and will we all be united in the fellowship of His suffering.

Basrah. JOHN VAN ESS.

CURRENT TOPICS

The Resurrection of Armenia

Under this title, we find in *New Armenia* (New York City) a striking tribute to this undying race, by Philip Whitwell Wilson, the well-known author:—

Five hundred years before Christ, there was Armenia. Two thousands years after Christ, Armenia will continue to amaze the historian. It is the same Armenia. Pagan, Christian, Turkish, Russian, whatever be the political sovereignty, this race, the Swiss of the Near East, remains eternal as Rome, and persistent as Jewry itself.

Of a tragedy thus terrible, of a triumph thus astonishing, the secret is the same. In the onward march of civilization, some people lag behind their neighbors; others lead the way; Armenia has always been the forward amid the backward, the higher amid the lower, the reason amid the ruthless, the mind amid the immature. It would be, perhaps, speculative to say that the Armenians were Greeks before Greece and Romans before Rome. But at least they were Christians before Christendom; and in art they were Greeks, in law they were Romans, long before such art and such law had penetrated, in so far as it did penetrate, into Persia and the East. The first nation as a nation to accept the Redeemer, Armenia became the outpost of the Western world against the inroads of the East. To this day, the garrison is loyal, and, in the citadel of enlightenment, the sentinels are on guard.

About the perpetuity of Armenia, there is a mystical certitude. These people are the only people on this planet who, surrounded by foes, have had to depend only on themselves. Not one treaty, signed for their protection, has proved to be other than a mere scrap of paper. Not one promise has been fulfilled as a pledge. Not one expectation has outlasted disillusion. Deserted by France, ignored by Britain, Armenia secured neither independence nor a mandate under the United States. Yet under Russia and as a Soviet Republic, there dwells what the past leaves as a remnant, what the future claims as a nucleus. Slowly and surely, a nation is recovering its nationhood, is returning to farms, to schools, to churches, is emerging from shadow.

It is not by the accidentals but by the fundamentals that nations, Turkish or Armenian, grow to their full stature. The man with a mind in his head can wear either a fez or a hat; and the woman, treated with respect, can be trusted to choose her veils.

The survival of Armenia is thus the guaranty of her revival. If this people had been destined to perish, it would have happened long ago. It is Turkey that is crumbling. A hundred years ago, here was a territory that stretched from Khartoum to Bessarabia and from Bagdad to Belgrade. Of these realms, nothing is left save an impoverished province in Asia Minor, a second Morocco.

The Turkish community, mutilated by the monstrous expulsion of Greeks and Armenians on the part of officials who wanted to loot their property, is coveted by Italy, now fortifying Rhodes. It was the Christian in Turkey who supplied the Sultans with brains, with banks, and with bazaars. To plunder the Christian and drive him into the sea, has been to leave Turkey in a prostration of stupid pride. She is an Esau without the genius of a Jacob.

Let Armenia alone and Armenia will accumulate prosperity. It is her instinct so to do. The only question is whether, for the future, that prosperity will be secure against the aggressor. Well, the pirates of the Barbary States once dominated the Mediterranean. Like a wasps' nest, Algiers was cleared out. If the Kurd and the Turk resume their raids on Armenian homes, and immolate thriving cities with massacre, we shall again see what we shall see. But it is at least possible to say that the British mandate over Mesopotamia extends to the frontiers of the region in question. Hitherto, Armenia has been surrounded by her enemies. To-day, she is not surrounded. The ring of fire is broken. The Turk is a mere shadow of his former self and no longer does he hold a political and military monopoly.

If Armenians are wise, they will work. Their work will be an antidote to waiting. Loyalty to the faith, devotion to the home, eagerness in industry, patience with the plough, skilful and honest economics, quiet and restrained politics, a genuine and profound culture, a steady pursuance of art and literature—these pave the path to the Armenia of to-morrow.

Hindu-Moslem Tension about the Cow-Question

The Moslem press reveals from time to time, its deep resentment toward the Hindus who object to cow-sacrifice on their great feast day. In a recent number of the *Sunrise,* the editor vents his feelings in this fashion:—

"We cannot for the life of us bring us to believe how the religious susceptibilities of the Hindus centring round the cow that lie dormant for the whole year burst forth in volcanic eruption on that day of days when the Moslem world celebrates their I'd of sacrifices. What a horror of horrors!

It cannot be purely for the love of the cow that the Hindus become so obsessed with the mania of slaughtering the Moslems on that day. For every day of the year *this sacred animal* is slaughtered by the thousands under their very eyes without exciting them so much as to cause them to raise a finger in its defence. Tons of indigenous beef is daily consumed both by Europeans and Indians to say nothing of the ship-loads imported from foreign lands at frequent intervals.

The thing is that the Hindus are always on the look-out for any pretence of eliminating their neighbors, the Moslems. So this cow-ticklishness is a mere camouflage. We know for a fact many of our Hindu friends who are very partial to the beef *kababs* and cutlets but whenever any opportunity offers itself they are the loudest in the condemnation of the poor Moslems on this very head.

It is a pity that the Moslems are not yet alive to the danger from the Hindu quarter. They still think that the Hindu is a meek and weak fellow. Gone is the day when he was as such. Thanks to the

Shuddi and Sangathan Movements and the Wrestling Akharas that have brought about a complete transformation in that so-called harmless gentleman. Outwardly he feels smooth and soft like the slimy skin of the snake but in his heart of hearts he is the very embodiment of a fiend. There are only two ways of dealing with a snake, either to charm him or to crush his head. In these days—to our bitter experience—a Hindu is a synonym for a deadly snake and should, therefore, be treated as such by the Moslems."

Cross and Crescent in an Arab Mosque

North Africa, "the Land of the Vanished Church," is strewn with Punic, Roman and Byzantine remains, Tunis being particularly rich in this respect. Some of the more massive structures, such as the colossal amphitheatre at El Djem and the imposing Libyan-Punic mausoleum at Doùgga (seventy feet high), have resisted in a remarkable manner the ravages of time. But erosion and decay are not the only forces that make for disintegration: there are other and more serious factors. Carthage, Hadrumetum (Sousse), and many another city of a bygone age suffered destruction when the desolating invasion of the Vandals swept over North Africa at the beginning of the fifth century A.D. The churches whose arches once rang with the voices of Tertullian and Chrysostom, Cyprian and Augustine, shared the common fate. Such ruins have served as quarries for subsequent Arab builders, who have found in them materials ready to hand.

The outstanding feature in Roman architecture is the masterly employment of the column, the capital of which is the main decorative element, and, for us, the most interesting. Here at Kairouan, in the Grand Mosque alone there are over six hundred Roman columns; and their capitals, constituting in the aggregate a veritable museum, are wonderful in their diversity. The Arab builders of the mosques, with the architectural débris of Carthage, Hadrumetum and El Djem at their command, had no need of highly skilled masons: their only task was that of transport, and, with slave labor available, this was no difficulty either. The columns of the Grand Mosque, masterpieces in marble and porphyry, are as perfect as they were nearly two millenniums ago.

The two capitals I have photographed are of peculiar—even poignant—interest. They are to be seen at "the Mosque of the Prophet's Friend" (also called "The Barber's Mosque"). The left-hand (Roman) capital crowns a pillar just within the main doorway of the mosque, whilst the other (a quite modern capital, beautifully sculptured) is one of a series of identical capitals crowning the pillars of the colonnade upstairs.

So the "pillars of the churches" have become the pillars of the mosques: and an ancient, mutilated Cross—possibly unnoticed, but more probably ignored—is constrained to keep company with the Crescent; a crescent which gleams, too, upon the minarets and cupolas of a hundred mosques and *zaouias* in this "Holy City" of Islam.

If you will look again at this Roman capital you will observe that at either side of the Cross is the Eagle—the military standard of pagan Rome, afterwards adopted as the armorial bearing of the Holy Roman Empire. When the Cross has become a mere fetish, the might of the

Roman Eagle cannot save a decadent Church from destruction. For the Church of the Living God is built, not of marble columns, but of living stones; and the Cross itself takes its value solely from Him who hung and suffered upon it. And it is not by Crusaders of the Cross, but by ambassadors of the Christ, that any future spiritual reconquest of North Africa will be achieved.

Ultimately, inevitably, the Cross will triumph. The cross as a device may suffer destruction, but the Cross as a dynamic must prevail at last. In the very nature of things the Crescent is destined to suffer eclipse. For what is the Crescent? Physically, it is a curving rim of pale light—light reflected from a cold, dead world, the moon. As a symbol, the Crescent represents a religion which is also earth-born, lifeless, chill as death. The moon has no physical, Islam no spiritual, atmosphere. At the bottom of Islam is the great denial of the Divine Sonship and the vicarious sufferings and death of Christ: but one day, just as the pale new moon is eclipsed in a moment by the glory of the rising sun, even so will Islam be revealed by the rising of the Sun of Righteousness.

E. J. Long in *North Africa.*

Has Turkey Divorced Islam?

Under this caption, there is a long article by *Sirdar Iqbal Ali Shah* in the *Islamic Review,* December, 1928. We quote three paragraphs:—

"The only course that lay before the Angora Nationalists was to destroy that nefarious organization, which had not only impeded the progress but had actually imperilled the very existence of Turkey as a nation. The clergy were against and for the Sultans turn about, as it suited their own scheme of self-aggrandizement; they did the same with the Nationalists; but Mustafa Kamal Pasha, whose merits equalled his reputation, never fumbled in discovering in that priesthood a very real menace to the future of his country. And so the whole structure, burdened with the clerical heaviness of centuries, had to be dismantled.

"To view the whole perspective in this light is to view it correctly. There is no revolt against Islam in Turkey—rather it is a reaction against that unspeakable intrigue of the 'Ulamas that would have deprived Turkey even of the merest semblance of national existence if it were allowed to remain in the land. Culturally the purest form of Islam is to be seen everywhere in Anatolia. One needs to go only a hundred yards up the hill on which Angora is built to notice real Islam in all its glory, despite Occidentally dressed men and unveiled women. In Konia, that lies in the heart of Old Turkey, you would notice Islam writ large over the ploughboys' faces, as also over the countenance of the manager of a modern hotel there. Squalor, filth, there is none, nor quarrelling, drunkenness or dancing the *Cancan,* of which I saw plenty in Beyrout.

"That heavy tapestry of dogma which cast a gloom over the young and the old in Turkey is gone—gone, I hope, never to return. A healthy sense of Nationalism bubbles from the heart of every young Turk that you meet in the cobbled streets of Angora. After breaking the shackles of that sham religion, they feel free, even freer than when they won the war against the Greeks. Nationalism is the cry of the moment; none would throttle that deputy in the chambers today in

Angora if he speaks of religion in a liberal tone. All look to their military leader, Mustafa Kamal Pasha, their great Khan of the Great Wolf, to lead them on to Nationalism of Old Jagatai."

The Qualifications of a Moslem Missionary

These are described in *The Light* (Lahore) as follows:

"There is one very remarkable point which should never be lost sight of by any *Tabligh* (Mission) worker. It is the urgent necessity that at the altar of the work itself everything of lesser importance should be sacrificed. It is not a person nor even a community which has a claim to be dearer to the heart of a man who undertakes to propagate Islam than the mission whose standard he bears. And this feeling should be impressed in the mind of those who are under training as missionaries. No man who does not think in this way and does not admit in his heart of hearts as well as in his conduct of life the primary importance of the work deserves to be called a *Tabligh* worker. When a man can really love the work, then alone it becomes his duty to do it and unless he feels it his duty to do the work he cannot do it properly. It must, however, be remembered that love is not the only thing which qualifies a man as a missionary of Islam. 'Love is the greatest thing in life. . . .' writes a well known British author and journalist. 'But love is not all. It may even be dangerous if misguided. Thought is necessary too. The head is wanted as well as the heart.' It is not only the feeling that a Moslem should take up the work but the thought, added to it, that he is going to preach Islam that can bring us success. A mere sentimental feeling may appeal to the softer corner of the heart; such an appeal may seemingly prove effective in the beginning but it can do little more than leaving a faint and momentary impression which can be effaced by the very elementary force of another appeal in opposition to the former. And to take undue advantage of the sentiment is never honest as conversion consequent on an emotional feeling is not as good as the one resulting from honest and genuine belief. Sentiment is a good thing so long as it serves as an impetus to action but it must never precede belief and not be allowed to rush into passing judgment. A preacher of Islam lives in a stronghold when he directs his appeal to the intellect of man for Islam wants him to utilize his faculty of reasoning and power of judgment."

A Reading Room in Constantinople

The Reading Room on Divan Yolu, Constantinople, is developing into a real institution. It is practically the only people's reading room in the city except as the many cafés are so used. In these latter, however, newspapers only are available, and conditions are far from favorable for quiet reading and study. Our Turkish director reports increasing daily attendance, now over five hundred, and a frequently voiced demand for a department for women and girls.

In addition to a generous quota of important Turkish dailies, weeklies and monthlies, a number of English and American periodicals are available. The feature which is coming to be most prized is the selected library which is being assembled; it has now seven hundred and eight volumes, fifty-seven of which are in English or European

languages; the rest are Turkish books of philosophy, history, natural sciences, law, literature, education, medicine, fiction and travel. It has not seemed feasible to allow books to be taken away from the building, but a comfortable, quiet place is provided for prolonged reading at the Reading Room.

The best literature available is thus put at the disposal of many who would not otherwise have access to it. Expressions of appreciation for the great service rendered in this way are often heard. Students, teachers, government officials, laborers, merchants, men from all walks and conditions of life are frequenters of the Reading Room. It is an institution of demonstrated value as a center of adult education, and the need in Turkey today for that sort of thing is very great.

The Reading Room is a place where friendly intercourse under wholesome conditions is possible. The director and his assistant create an atmosphere of friendliness and welcome to all. Barriers of all sorts are being broken down and germinal ideas of liberty, democracy, the spirit of service are being planted in the minds of young and old.

The missionary in charge is enabled to come into personal contact with many individuals. He does not conceive of his task as propaganda for Christianity or for Western civilization in the narrower sense, but as an opportunity to stimulate thinking and living along lines which will inevitably lead to character building in home and society. New foundations of moral and religious life must be laid in Turkey as the country swings away from its old moorings and seeks the secret of national strength.

—*The Missionary Herald.*

New Books for Young Turks

At Constantinople we have been publishing each month during 1928 a booklet in a series on American Education and have sent copies to over a hundred officials in the Government Educational Service throughout the country; the great number of grateful and expectant replies received has made us feel that this series has been unusually effective in carrying an interpretation both of modern methods and educational ideals.

In order to make the Turkish of our translations as perfect as possible, we not only have in general only Turkish translators, but have had their work corrected by a Turkish writer of accepted standing. The writer who has done most of this correction is Ahmed Jevad Bey, under whose editorial direction has been commenced a series called the Genjlik Library. The first of this series, already printed, is a Turkish adaptation of Basil Mathew's "Spirit of the Game." It contains an introduction by Selim Sirri Bey, Director of Physical Education in the Department of Education, and contains also a historical treatment of sport in Turkey by a Turkish writer. The book bears the imprint of the Hilmi Library, which has in charge its distribution on a forty per cent commission basis. It is prepared with every effort to make its character as indigenous as possible. It is really a case where by our financial help and our counsel we have made possible a volume prepared by Turks and presented by Turks to the Turkish public. Other volumes in this series now being prepared are translations of Kipling's "Captains Courageous," Jean Webster's "Dear

Enemy," Victor Hugo's "Les Miserables," and a Book of Games for use in school playground and home; this last has been in preparation for some months by a special committee. We also have in preparation a book of poems collected from Turkish literature, using as a model David Porter's "Poems of Action."

—*The Missionary Herald.*

Moslem Religious Art

Sir Thomas Arnold gave the concluding lecture last year before the British Academy on "The Old and New Testament in Moslem Religious Art." He put forward the evidence for deriving the beginning of Moslem religious art, which made its first appearance at the beginning of the fourteenth century, from the art of the Oriental Churches—particularly the Jacobite and Nestorian Churches. He laid emphasis on the destiny of the Christian population living under Moslem rule in Mesopotamia and Persia, and on the intimate relations of the Nestorians with their Moslem neighbors; and gave examples to show that similar artistic conventions are found in Christian and Moslem manuscripts of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. As the Moslem theologians were hostile to all forms of representational art, and consequently no school of religious painting could spring up spontaneously in an Islamic society, such Moslems as cared to disregard the teaching of their religious guides and wished to possess religious pictures had to employ Christians or other painters who carried on the tradition of Christian art. Examples were given of such transference of Christian forms of representation of sacred subjects, such as the Annunciation, and so forth, to Moslem religious pictures. In succeeding centuries Moslem artists became more independent and devised methods of their own for the representation of their religious history, and illustrations were given of Persian and Indian pictures of the Prophets of the Old Testament and of the life of Jesus and of the Virgin Mary.

Professor Margoliouth on the Koran

The Near East and India reports an address delivered before the Near and Middle East Association (London) last year which contains matter of new interest to the student of Islam.

"Professor Margoliouth began his brilliant address with an anecdote of the Bishop who set at rest the fears of one of his flock concerning the possible popularity of the Koran among English people. That the Koran was widely read, however, was proved by the translation of Sale, done in the eighteenth century, which was a national classic, and by the translations of Rodwell and of Palmer, both of which were standard works. Rodwell had already been reprinted, and Palmer was now in process of reprinting. The lecturer then gave (in order that he might not be thought unduly to underestimate the knowledge on the part of his audience of the Koran), three examples of ignorance of the Koran taken from the history of Moslems themselves. The first was at the time of Abu Bakr, the second at that of the second Abbasid Caliph, and the third example of ignorance was displayed by the Ottoman authorities in 1807. In all these instances reference was made to the Koran which had no justification in fact whatever.

"Professor Margoliouth proceeded to make a striking examination of

the Koran and of the Old Testament. Between these two Holy Books, he said, there were both resemblances and differences. Among the resemblances were a sublimity of language, a similar presentation (e. g., the introduction of a revealed passage with a phrase such as 'Thus saith the Lord'), and a general classification of the respective contents into historical, legislative, devotional, and homiletic matter. Among the dissimilarities were the comparative lack of redundancy in the Old Testament (such repetitions as might be found in Isaiah and Kings II were rare), whereas if all redundancies were expurged from the Koran, it would be reduced possibly to one third of its present size; the fact that, whereas the Koran was accepted practically *in toto* as genuine, most of the Old Testament had at some time or other been disputed; and the unchronological basis of the Koran as compared with the more readily understandable order of the Old Testament.

"The lecturer devoted some time to an explanation of how the Koran came into being, emphasising the fact that the Arabs made a habit of keeping the memory of sublime things 'within their breasts,' as well as, or in contradistinction to, committing such things to parchment. It was, incidentally, upon this examination of the drawing up and publishing of the Koran that Professor Margoliouth was, after his address, questioned by certain Moslems, who claimed that not only the whole of the Koran but also the order of the *Suras* were known to Moslems before the death of the Prophet; to which questioning the lecturer gave the exceedingly adroit answer that the order in which the Angel Gabriel recited the Koran was undoubtedly the correct order! He also examined the problem of the 'abrogation' of certain verses and the inconsistencies of the Koran, as exemplified in the twin injunction of both tolerance and intolerance towards unbelievers.

"In concluding, Professor Margoliouth referred to the influence upon Islam of the Koran. On this, apart from mentioning his belief that a religion was to be judged by its interpretation at the hands of the choicest spirits of any particular age, he did not expatiate. He did, however, refer to the tremendous influence of the Koran upon the Arabic language. Alike in linguistic and philological matters the Koran held a unique place in Arabic literature, and to the loftiness of its language (he had previously described the fascinating rhythm of the Book) the lecturer paid a remarkable tribute."

Moslems In Finland

Mr. W. J. Wiseman, of the British and Foreign Bible Society, sends us the following information regarding the Moslems in Finland.

"During the World War the number of Moslems increased, particularly owing to influx from Russia to Helsingfors, and reached a total of seven hundred people before the revolution in Russia of 1917.

"After the revolution, and mostly due to the civil war in Finland, the majority of these went back to Russia. Only about sixty people remained.

"Since the establishment of the present régime in Russia many Moslems have left that country, some have gone to Esthonia where the Moslems now number two hundred and fifty to three hundred, but more have come to Finland where there are now about nine hundred and fifty Moslems. Hodja Hakim was able to count from his records covering Finland and Esthonia about twelve hundred people."

Islam In Madagascar

Islam, in Madagascar, is found almost exclusively on the North West Coast, and is represented by the Indians (Hindus) and the people from the adjacent islands, Comoro, Anjouan, etc.

Indian Moslems. All natives from the Indian coast, particularly of the district between Baroda and Goa. Government statistics show 10,000 of them, but I think this figure too small. In our opinion 12,000 to 12,500 would be more correct. They are divided between:—

(1) Bohrahs
(2) Khojas, Agaca
(3) Sunni
(4) Bagnan (These last are Buddhists)

Each sect has its mosque in important towns such as Majunga, Marovoay, Tulear, Antaohihi, etc., and it is not a rare thing to see three, four, or even five mosques in a town. The language of all is Gujarati, but they understand Hindustani, the official language of India.

To these must be added the natives of the Comoro group, who may also be considered as Sunni, and are all Moslems. Government statistics give the number 125,000 for these. Among these latter Islam preponderates everywhere, the few Hindus remaining quite separate, marrying only amongst themselves. In the interior some are evidently living with native wives, though the children arising from these marriages cause no such complicated problem as the half-castes.

Thus we must have a total of some 135,000 to 140,000 Moslems here.

What have we done for them? For the Hindus we have obtained from India copies of the Gospels in Gujarati, and of these we have distributed more than two thousand. They like us and try to help us; some secretly attend our services and procure our religious books in the vernacular.

The islanders of Comoro and Anjouan, less isolated than the former, are much more open to the activities of our native workers. Some, though very few, have been converted.

What ought to be done? In my opinion the synod or synods of the Christian Churches of the Indian Coast provinces ought to send an evangelist here. There should be created a special mission field for these Churches. This man, or these men (two could find together mutual encouragement) would work together with us, under our direction, but especially among their compatriots.

Here they would have, right at the commencement, an itinerating work, travelling from community to community, and eventually would discover the best centre for work, a series of conferences.

Majunga, Madagascar. A. BEAULIEU.

BOOK REVIEWS

Rabi'a the Mystic and her Fellow-Saints in Islam: Being the Life and Teachings of Rabi'a al-'Adawiyya Al-Qaysiyya of Basra, together with some account of the place of the women saints in Islam. By Margaret Smith, M.A., Ph.D. Cambridge, University Press, 1928. pp. 220.

This book is a delight to the eye, a satisfaction to the mind and a joy to the heart; well printed, well written and on a theme that finds response among all lovers of truth and of God.

The author compiled the biography for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the University of London, and has, therefore, had the best of help in its preparation. It is the first complete biography of the famous Moslem saint in the eighth century, whose life and writings are so frequently referred to in the literature of Islamic Mysticism.

The book consists of three parts, of which the first gives an account of the life of Rabi'a; the second of her teaching on repentance, hope, fear, poverty and love; the third part deals with the place in Islam of women in general, and of women saints in particular. This third section is especially interesting, as it covers new ground, and gives a list of women saints who have attained high honor, and whose shrines are places of pilgrimage. The value of the monograph is increased by a carefully annotated bibliography, a list of authors quoted, and a good index. One can read between the lines how great are the values of the mystic pathway in Islam, and yet how inadequate it is for the true seeker after God. So near and yet so far is Islam in its highest teachings of repentance and communion with God from that of the New Testament.

Miss Smith sums it up admirably at the conclusion of her story:

"Mysticism, together with the worship of the Saints, living and dead, is still a real part, indeed the most real part, of religious life, to the men and women of present-day Islam and in so far as it leads the Moslem to seek for a direct experience of God, to shake off the formalism and traditionalism of orthodox Islam, and to strive instead after the deepening of the spiritual life, and to seek to do the will of God in love to Him and service to His creatures, so far its influence must be an inspiring and uplifting force. In so far, too, as the worship of the saints leads modern Moslems to look up to those who, like Rabi'a of Basra, were true saints of God, as their ideal and to seek to follow in their steps, this must mean progress in the religious life.

"The women saints, a great host, out of whom it has been possible to mention only a few of the most outstanding in the foregoing pages, certainly represent the greatest height to which Moslem womanhood has attained, and in the reverence accorded them by Moslem men and the example which they offer to Moslem women, lies a real hope for the attainment of a higher standard, religious and social, for Moslem women of today.

"The Path of the saint, whether Christian or Moslem, lies through renunciation of self and communion with the Unseen, and the saint is impelled along the Way by the consuming flame of his love to God. He holds the faith that:

> That which thou lovest, O man, that too become thou must,
> God if thou lovest God, dust if thou lovest dust.

"The modern Moslem, woman even more than man, is outgrowing orthodox Islam. The tendency is, on the one hand, towards religious indifference, on the other towards mysticism, which offers a living religion. It may be that the real grounds of hope for the future, for those who are of the House of Islam, lie in this latter tendency."

Z.

The Faith that Rebels. By D. S. Cairns, D.D. Published by the Student Christian Movement. London. 8/6 net.

This book is a re-examination of the miracles of Jesus, and its substance was given as the Lyman Coleman Lectures in Auburn Seminary. It would be worth much in translated form to educated Moslems led captive by the spirit of unbelief and agnosticism.

After treating the rival theories of miracle, traditional and modernist, the author presents the Old Testament background and the Gospel miracles. He then refers in a brilliant manner to the conflict between Science and Religion. "The whole conception", he writes, "of physical nature as a closed system, if it be taken as an ultimate account, is indeed fatal to any really religious interpretation of life. The failure to understand this is the gravest error of the Modernist compromise." "We all know . . . that all our knowledge of all the relevant sciences cannot enable us definitely to predict what any waking and rational human individual will be thinking, saying, or doing in an hour, still less a month, and still less a year from now . . . You can tell with absolute certainty what a planet will do, but what transit instrument will reveal the journey of a man? . . . The reason of this is, as I have said, that in the very nature of the case no abstract scientific description can ever give you the individuality of the man, and without knowing that, you cannot predict what he will do." "Finally we have seen that the real nature we know is to a great extent plastic to the influences exerted upon it by the free human spirit. Man can be a providence to his children within that realm of nature, he can hear and answer their prayers; and if Lord Kelvin was right, he can produce effects in nature, which from the point of view of science are miracles. We press the question—If these things are possible to man, are they impossible to God? If He be the Almighty Father of Humanity, are they even unlikely?"

In the chapter entitled "Nature and Morality" he refers forcibly to the fact that Modernist religious thought under the influence of science and philosophical idealism, has moved away from the fundamental Biblical idea of the deep and vital connection between man's sins and the outward evils of this life. He writes: "Whereas the modern mind is perfectly willing to admit and enforce the connection between ignorance and death, it is wholly scornful of there being any relation whatever between sin and death. Hence that which gave their chief meaning and glory to the 'signs' of Jesus and to His resurrection has been

well-nigh lost by the men of today." Our Lord's resurrection is the crowning manifestation of that victory over all the mortal and tragic powers of the world." "It can be shewn also, quite conclusively, that the whole structure of Hebrew and Jewish thought compelled men to hold that Christ's premature death upon the Cross demanded a full and complete resurrection and an empty tomb, if His disciples were to recover their faith in Him as the victorious Messiah and the 'prince of life' they believed Him to be."

Principal Cairns is at his best in showing how futile is the Modernist attempt to maintain that the first Christians did not believe in anything but a spiritual resurrection of Jesus. He sums up his masterly argument with the words: "It is quite clear from the whole context of his (Paul's) thought as well as from his own words, that at the centre of his faith lay the full Easter message, and that in this he was at one with the whole New Testament community. This full resurrection faith is the very root of the New Testament optimism."

In the next chapter Dr. Cairns deals with some practical difficulties. In the chapter entitled "The Faith of Jesus," the writer makes it very clear that Jesus is the author and perfection of faith. We wish that he had made it equally clear that He is the object of faith. We feel that a sentence like the following is not quite adequate: "The difference between His achievements and the greatest of other men's achievements is a measure of the spiritual difference between Him and them. It is like the difference between Shakespeare and some modern playwright." Surely the difference between Him and His disciples is not merely one of degree, but also of kind.

In the last chapter the reader is brought face to face with the Problem of Evil and Dr. Cairns closes his most helpful book with the forceful words: "The malady of our time lies in its contracted thoughts of God. We think too narrowly and meanly of His Power, His Love, and His Freedom to help men. That is what the 'miracles' of Jesus and His teaching about Faith mean. That God is more near, more real and mighty, more full of love, and more ready to help every one of us than any one of us realises, that is their undying message."

At the close of the book are three appendices and four indices, which make the excellent material in the book easily available.

ROBERT P. WILDER.

The Egyptian Enigma. By J. E. Marshall, late Judge in the Egyptian Court of Appeal. pp. 342. Price 10/6. John Murray, London, 1928.

Here is a book that is bound to arouse bitter discussion because, like "Mother India," it presents a one-sided and close-up picture of a difficult problem. Judge Marshall has had a long and intimate official acquaintance with the country and its legal institutions but he has evidently not penetrated to the heart of the Egyptian people. He uses a scalpel in dissecting their psychology and every stroke reveals the inner anatomy, but the subject of his investigations has first been chloroformed. The book bristles with facts and is lively with reminiscences, but the total result is an attempt at historical portraiture which is neither judicial nor judicious. The colors are true and the outlines correspond with nature but they are put in a wrong light and there is no background. The Egyptian character has grown to what it is through twelve centuries of Islam. To ignore this fact is fatal.

On the question of the occupation, the author writes with insight and good judgment:

"No grant to Egypt of a greater or less measure of 'self-government,' even if it went the length of what is known as 'Dominion Home Rule,' would meet the case, because Egyptians do not regard their country as a British Dominion or themselves as British subjects. This wholly differentiates the problem of constitutional development in Egypt from the same problem in countries which have for years indubitably formed part of the British Empire, as, for instance, British India. We talk of such countries gradually attaining the status of nationhood. The Egyptians claim that they already have this status. No settlement of the future of Egypt which does not recognize this claim is ever likely to be accepted by the Egyptian people; it can only be imposed on them."

Should it be? *That* is the enigma of Egypt: "The Canal turned Egypt into a corridor country. She became the highway between East and West and the neck of the British Empire. Out of a population of 400,000,000 of His Majesty's subjects, 300,000,000 are east of Suez, and over 1,000,000 troops from Australia, India and New Zealand had to pass through Egypt during the war. Most people recognize that we must hold the Canal, but some think that we can evacuate Egypt provided we keep it open. But it would be quite impossible to garrison or maintain the Suez Canal for forty-eight hours unless we were in control of the Nile at Cairo. Neither Suez nor Port Said can exist unless the water diverted from the Nile in the neighborhood of Cairo enters the fresh-water canal that runs alongside the salt-water Suez Canal. And those who suggest that all you have to do is to hold the Suez Canal as the highway of the nations of the world, and then retire from Egypt, are ignorant of the fundamental fact that the Suez Canal cannot be detached from Egypt, and can only be controlled by whoever is master of that country. The question of Egypt, the question of the Sudan, and the question of the Canal form an organic and indissoluble whole. They cannot be separated so long as there is a British Empire, to the maintenance of which they are a cardinal necessity."

Z.

The Indian Moslems. By An Indian Moslem. Ardenne Publishers, Victoria St., London. pp. 268, 7/6.

The writer of this able, although not always impartial, book is an Indian Nawab holding a responsible official position. A former work by the same author on "British India from Queen Elizabeth to Lord Reading" met with very favorable reception by the press. It is an exposition of the case for the Moslem "minority"—in India and opens with a protest against this very term. History shows that peoples are to be weighed as well as counted, that the Mogul invasion first produced a united India under Islamic rule. The Brahmins are actually the minority of India. "The political side of this age-long problem must come henceforth more prominently into view, and if a prophecy might be indulged in, it seems not improbable that the day may come when the Moslems, joining hands with the untouchables, will discover that they constitute, not minorities, but a clear majority of the Indian nation. Moreover, it is among the untouchables that Islam should find the most promising field of propagandism." And so again and

again the wish becomes father to the thought and the author is convinced that "The future of states and their races is always wrapped up in the folds of the robe of the Prophet, and those who could escape their destiny either do not know the means or will not use them." Islam is not in danger, he thinks, of following Soviet teaching as are the (Bengali) Hindus. The Moslems were and are loyal to British rule. In the Gandhi period they were temporarily deceived by circumstances. Today the Moslem faces the Hindu and appeals to the British Raj for protection against the latter. "This deep racial and religious incompatibility between themselves is something quite apart from their different or their common views about the British Raj. It would still exist if there had been no British Raj in the past, or if by some unforeseen cataclysm it were brought to an end tomorrow. The European way is to patch up a difference temporarily and to call it a solution; the Asiatic is to let it burn to the socket."

The case for the Moslems is summed up in a final chapter, after an account of the Statutory Commission and its work. Moslems demand: a distinct political status, more official positions, better education, and protection of their religious rights and liberties, all of which are in danger of infringement. One would like to see what is the Hindu rejoinder to this appeal for justice and fair play.

Z.

L'Execution Testamentaire en Droit Musulman. Rite Hanafite. Preface by Edouard Lambert. Librairie Orientaliste Paul Geuthner, 13 Rue Jacob, Paris. pp. 157. Price 25 francs.

This carefully prepared dissertation on a special branch of Mohammedan law interests the student of comparative law—or a practitioner before a Mekhemeh Shar'iah—more than it does the general public or even the Orientalist. The point of view of the author is clearly set forth, his treatment of the subject is sober, orderly and conscientious. Like all students of law who have been framed in a Latin mould he prefers analysis to adjudged cases. This makes of his work more of a thesis than a text book, as the term is understood in common law circles. But this observation is not an adverse criticism. It shows, on the contrary, that the author has carefully followed a precedent which has much to be said in its favor.

Pierre Crabites.

Both Sides of the Jordan. A Woman's Adventures in the Near East. By Norah Rowan-Hamilton. Herbert Jenkins, London. pp. 320. Price 12/6.

This volume reads like a novel, is true to its title and introduces the reader to sights and scenes on the highways and byways of the Near East. Its thirty-seven short chapters are divided into four parts. First we have sketches of Jerusalem and its environs; then of "the land of the Ammonites" beyond the Jordan, of Petra the deserted city and the castles of the old Crusaders; finally of Syria during war-time, of Palmyra and Baalbek with a glimpse of the plains of Esdraelon and Capernaum. The writer shows enterprise, insight and sympathy but her knowledge of the history and of the religions of Palestine is not profound. The twenty-four illustrations are excellent.

Persian Days. By Copley Amory. Methuen & Co., London. pp. 230, 10/6.

An account of a four weeks trip by one in the American diplomatic service for some years at Teheran. The travel sketches are vivid but neither the route nor the description of Isfahan, Shiraz and Kerman are unusual. The preface, which deals with present political and economic conditions, is the weightiest part of the book. The numerous illustrations are of excellent quality and represent a wide range of subjects.

What a Convert from Islam misses in the Church. (As at present in the Punjab.) Published by F. M. Najam-ud-Din, Sandha Road, Lahore. August 1928.

This is a little pamphlet of sixty-four pages written by an Indian Moslem convert and published "for private circulation only." Its value is altogether out of proportion to its size, and it deserves to be read and studied, not only by missionaries, but by all pastors and evangelists working in Moslem lands.

Most of the little book is taken up with the statement of a complaint of the way in which Moslem converts are regarded by native Christians, but this is not done in a spirit of bitterness but rather in the spirit of a true love. Whilst some of the complaints may apply specially to the Punjab Church it would appear that many apply to the native Christian Church in every Moslem land. The strange thing is that whilst the bulk of the members of the church in the Punjab are themselves converts from heathendom they regard the Moslem convert with much of the suspicion with which the members of ancient Christian churches regard them after having suffered many persecutions for centuries at the hands of their Moslem fellow-countrymen. Why? Here is a list of the charges made against the Christian Church:—

Spiritual coldness and deadness. No evangelistic zeal; little knowledge of other religions.

No real fellowship or brotherhood, but jealousies, misunderstandings. Christians do not welcome Moslem converts with liberality and enthusiasm, but charge them with sensuality, quarrelsomeness, racial pride, unreliability, lack of intellectual power, and readiness to revert back to the old faith.

The tremendous inequality that exists in the church.

Worldliness and love of money.

Indifference, coldness, and want of hospitality.

Lack of openness and simplicity.

The writer then goes on to speak of the sacrifices and persecutions a Moslem convert has to undergo, enumerates some of the distinguished services rendered by Moslem converts to the church, and makes an appeal to Christians to show towards the converts a more Christian spirit and to welcome them, and give them a home in the name of Christ. He ends by showing the importance of work among Mohammedans.

Whether all the charges made will bear investigation or not, enough is said to make it incumbent upon all to take this appeal seriously to heart and to work and pray for the removal of these disabilities.

W. T. FAIRMAN.

Turkey Today. By Grace Ellison. Hutchinson & Co., London. Price 18/-. pp. 244.

A truly fascinating book. The author has paid five prolonged visits to Turkey and seems to speak with a full knowledge of the people,

places and events that go to make up her thrilling narrative. She has lived in the *hareema* and worn the veil in order to know at first hand the truth about the social life of Turkish women. She has seen the depths of their humiliation and bondage under the fanatical rule of Abd ul Hamid. She has now been privileged to see their emancipation and entrance into a new life of freedom.

The history of the great struggle, political, religious, social during the past twenty years, the personality of the deliverer of Modern Turkey, his method and the success of his programme up to the present time, all backed by first hand experience and authoritative interviews with Turkish statesmen and other leaders of thought, all told in the writer's lucid style, goes to make up a story of gripping interest. Miss Ellison seems to be informed on every subject she touches from the science of government to the latest rules in the art of dancing, and the reader is left at the end of each of her ten chapters with the impression that the author could easily have produced a whole book on the particular subject being discussed.

The book is not written from the missionary point of view and one may not always share the writer's optimism concerning Turkey's future nor agree with all the conclusions reached, yet there is much that is of interest and encouragement to the thoughtful student of Missions to Mohammedans.

H. E. PHILIPS.

Angola. Zweite Auflage von H. Marquardsen "Angola" Neubearbeitet durch A. Stahl. mit 7 textskizzen, 16 tafeln und 2 karten. Dietrich Reimer (Ernst Vohsen) Berlin. pp. 172. Price M.12.

An admirable and scientific monograph on this Portuguese dependency in West Africa. It includes chapters on history, agriculture, hydrography, climate, flora and fauna. A long chapter on the native races, both the ancient Bantus and later migrations of other tribes. Apparently Islam has not yet entered Angola for we find no reference in this book, nor in Massignon's statistics. With the introduction, however, of western civilization and trade it is not probable that this condition will continue. The last chapter is on politics and trade. The illustrations are excellent and the map represents the best work of German cartography.

Z.

Deutsch-Ostafrika einst und jetzt. Eine weltwirtschaftliche Monographie. Von Dr. Hans Blocker. pp. 91. Price 2,50 RM. Kolonialverlag Sachers & Kuschel, Berlin, 1928.

This is the seventh number of a series of popular books entitled "Koloniale Volksschriften," and is of interest to our readers because it gives in compact form an excellent account of the Tanganyika Territory before and after the War. The booklet deals with the geography, ethnology, history, trade, products and agriculture. It contains valuable statistics and a full bibliography.

Politik und Religion in Indien von Prof. D. S. W. Schomerus. pp. 100. Price M.4,50. Leipzig, 1928.

The author, professor at the University of Halle, attempts in brief compass to answer the important question of the historic relations between the Hindu religion and politics in India. He takes up the ques-

tion in four chapters which deal respectively with: the political divisions of ancient India and its causes; the juridical position of Hinduism as regards kingship and priesthood; the character of the Indian religion in its reaction on politics, and lastly, the religious background of the nationalist movement in India.

It is astonishing that the author, while treating so thoroughly the relations of Hinduism to politics, scarcely mentions Islam, either in its historical impact or its present-day influence. He dismisses the whole question in two pages, 41 and 42. Nevertheless, the student of the present situation in India will find here an invaluable discussion of the subject with abundant references to the literature.

Z.

Asia Reborn. By Marguerite Harrison. pp. 389. Harper Brothers, New York. Price, $4.00.

This is a very clever and exceedingly well written book. Whether you agree with the conclusions of the writer or not your interest is gripped and held all through its pages.

The purpose of the book is made clear in the introduction, which is entitled, "By Way of Explanation." "Shall we ever see a United States of Asia? Will an Asiatic League of Nations be the final crystallization of the revolt of the East against the West? Is European civilization doomed to go down before that of Asia? Are the Yellow Races to dominate the world instead of the White? What is the ferment that is stirring Asia to its foundations, and has it succeeded in putting the fear of God and of the Future into the peoples of the West?"

These questions cannot be answered empirically. The actual conditions of the peoples in the various countries of the East must not only be known, but studied, and understood. Of these conditions, as Miss Harrison admits, the majority of us "have only a fragmentary knowledge." She certainly goes over the whole ground. From the Near East to the Far, every country is dealt with, and an attempt is made to give a description and to make an evaluation of the rise and progress of the new spirit of national determination, ending with a discussion of the sources of the whole movement. This is all cleverly done. But the question arises is the writer a fully qualified guide in these matters? Is she to be trusted in her statement of fact? Are we justified in accepting her conclusions? One remarkable thing about this book on this vast and intricate, not to say abstruse subject is that no authorities are quoted or references given. Indeed she admits that the conclusions drawn are "based on my own observations in various Asiatic countries, where I have spent much time since 1919." Personal observations may possibly be vivid, but they are naturally and inevitably circumscribed, and are to that extent so much the less trustworthy. Especially so when such a vast territory has been covered in so short a time, at the most seven years, and the languages of most of the peoples unknown.

There is another drawback to the book. The writer has a "blind spot" for missions; their influence ethically, socially, and spiritually are ignored almost entirely. The chief references to missions are made in chapter 14 which is entitled "The Springs of the Asiatic Renascence," in the section entitled "Christ". These are not by any means all com-

plimentary. This chapter, however, is well worth reading for it betrays the bias of the writer.

The book therefore is not "Yellow" or "Jingoistic" and is well worth reading for the large amount of valuable information it gives concerning present conditions in all countries of the East.

W. T. FAIRMAN.

Le Nationalisme Egyptien. By Mme. B. G. Gaulis. Berger-Levravet, 1928. Nancy—Paris—Strasbourg. pp. 204.

A violent diatribe against the British in Egypt, based on incorrect facts. Apparently written by a Turkish princess born in Egypt and educated in England. The book appears largely to aim at stirring up ill-feeling between France and England. She praises everything French —even their methods of administration. This fact—with the example of Syria before her eyes—indicates what little political sense she has. She has not reasoned out her position and in consequence the book is full of inconsistencies. She compares the patience of the East with the impatience of the West and yet says that England always knows how to wait. How can she reconcile this with her constant demand for complete and immediate independence for Egypt?

On page eleven she writes of the unspeakable chaos that marks the arrival of the ships at Alexandria. This dates from the time when European control was relaxed and the Egyptians themselves took over the police control and administration of Alexandria harbour. The writer is particularly ill-informed of the situation in the Sudan (page 140) especially, where her ignorance is so great as to vitiate any conclusions that she may wish to know. Since the evacuation of the Egyptian Army and certain disloyal Egyptian officials from the Sudan in 1924-5, not a single member of the Egyptian Army nor any Egyptian official has been re-employed there.

Her knowledge of the Oriental world is so limited that she can envisage an alliance between the Egyptians and Ibn Saoud as affording a solution of all Egyptian difficulties!

Historically valueless, as propaganda it will convince not even those who are already anglophobe.

OLD RESIDENT.

Beknopt Handboek der Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indie. By B. Alkema and T. J. Bezemer, with 131 illustrations. pp. 582. F. 9.50. Haarlem—H. D. Tjeenk Willink & Zoon—1927.

This book is scarcely true to its modest title. Instead of being a compact hand-book on the ethnology of the Dutch East Indies, it is a weighty volume, both in form and matter, by two professors of the University of Utrecht, and covers a whole range of important subjects over an immense area of fifty millions of people. From the analytical Table of Contents we give the main subjects. (Alas, the book has neither index nor bibliography, two omissions which are unaccountable). There are chapters on: Races, Languages, Family and Social Life, Primitive Religion in its four-fold form of dynamism and animism, the worship of the dead and the worship of spirits; Hindu religions and colonization: Islam; its entrance, development, character and influence; Christianity and the native; Native chronologies; Food and Food products; Dwellings and Villages; Games, Dancing, Music and the Theatre; Customs in regard to birth, marriage and death; and finally on Industries, especially weaving and *batik* work.

The chapter on primitive religion owes much to the work of Professor A. M. Brouwer, is thoroughly Christian in its outlook, and contends that the revolutionary hypothesis is no longer the true explanation of primitive religion. We have to deal with degenerated forms of primitive monotheism and not with the development theory. The chapter on Islam, although brief, (seventy pages) is exceedingly interesting, especially the section on religious education. The book has many beautiful illustrations and is in every way an attractive, scientific production. Z.

Across the World of Islam. By Samuel M. Zwemer. pp. 382. Fleming H. Revell Company, New York City. $4.00.

Dr. Zwemer has gathered in this new volume the results of his journeys through Moslem lands and among Moslem peoples during the last few years. Back of these recent experiences, however, are the thirty years and more of his constant, intimate contact with Islam and his sympathetic, affectionate friendship with individual Moslems. It is a widely informed, hopeful and vivifying account of the present situation throughout the Moslem world, with no underestimate of the difficulties in the way of Christian evangelization or of the vital forces which make Islam still a virile and aggressive power, but with confidence, on the one hand, that great disintegrating influences are at work upon and within Mohammedanism, and on the other, that the might of love and purity and truth and patience in Christianity must ultimately prevail.

The book opens with an account of present-day changes in Islam, followed by a survey of the relation of the British Empire and the Empire of Islam. Then the author treats of the question of Mohammed's literacy, gives an account of the "Holy Traditions," and discusses the place of women in the Koran and the Traditions and in the actual social organization of the religion. Two chapters follow on the Mosque as a place of worship and Mecca as the centre of worship, and then Dr. Zwemer reviews the present conditions of the Faith in Africa, the Dutch East Indies, Persia, Russia, India and South Eastern Europe, his travels having extended in recent years over all these lands. No one else has had such opportunities for worldwide observation of Islam as Dr. Zwemer has had, and no one has studied it with more true missionary interest and sympathy. His concern is vital. It is not merely to entertain. It is to arouse the Christian conscience to set about the evangelization of Islam with new zeal and pure love in the spirit of Raymond Lull and Thomas Valpey French and Keith Falconer. He paints harvest fields white for the harvest and pleads in behalf of human need for the light and life which Mohammed could not give.

In any new edition of the book there are some proof reading revisions which should be made (pp. 43, 61, 114, 139, 149, 167, 193, 283, 297). Some statements are repeated (pp. 283, 296). There are some inconsistencies in spelling and in statistics ("Chad," p. 187 and "Tchad," p. 195; "Sinnusia," p. 192, and "Sinnusi," p. 196; Musulman and Mussulman, on p. 321. It would be well if some of the unidentified quotations were fully documented. These are minor items.

The important thing is the glow of zeal and love for the cause of Christ and for the urgent task of making Him known across the whole world of Islam. ROBERT E. SPEER.

SURVEY OF PERIODICALS

By Miss Hollis W. Hering
Missionary Research Library, New York

I. GENERAL.

The Afghan Front from the Air. Battlegrounds of Imperialism viewed on a Flight toward Russian Turkistan. Jackson Fleming. (In *Asia,* New York. February, 1929. pp. 91–96, 152.)

An intimate account of a journey by a recently opened and decidedly dangerous route through a country much of which is forbidden to all foreigners.

Un Voyage dans le Rif. Notes Géographiques de la Mission Russo, 1928. P. Russo. (In *L'Afrique Française,* Paris. November, 1928. Renseignements Coloniaux. pp. 683–688.)

A descriptive interpretation showing the significance of some of the geographical facts ascertained during an exploratory trip. Full scientific data are to be published in book form.

II. ISLAM IN ARABIA.

The Arab Complex. Sirdar Ikbal Ali Shah. (In *The Islamic Review,* Woking. February, 1929. pp. 52–56.)

A bird's-eye view of politics in the Arabian peninsula during the last quarter of a century, leading to the conclusion that the unity of Arabia can be real, although it cannot be a union under one king, but rather a confederacy of independent kingdoms all working for the greatness and solidarity of the Arab race.

III. HISTORY OF ISLAM.

A Few Aspects of Rationalism in Islam. S. M. Rahman. (In *The Islamic Review,* Woking. February, 1929. pp. 68–72.)

Enlarges on the "Dark Ages" of Christian Europe when Islamic lands were seething with intellectual activity, and the Rationalists of Islam, standing for free thought and free will, maintained that Reason, Knowledge, and Understanding were the basic principles of Islam.

IV. KORAN, TRADITIONS, THEOLOGY.

Rabb and Abb. Khwaja Kamal-ud-Din. (In *The Islamic Review,* Woking. February, 1929. pp. 64–68.)

A reply to W. Wilson Cash, arguing that the Arabic word for God as used in Islam has a far higher and nobler connotation than that of the "Father" in Christianity.

V. RELIGIOUS AND SOCIAL LIFE.

Islam's Attitude Towards Women and Orphans. C. A. Soorma. (In *The Islamic Review,* Woking. December,

1928. pp. 453–462; January, 1929. pp. 23–33; February, 1929. pp. 72–75.)

The December issue discusses the duties of guardians, the treatment of women, and marriage in Islam; while the January and February numbers treat of the necessity of consent to marriage, of the question of polygamy, and, in particular, of divorce.

PERSIANS AT WORK FOR PERSIA. H. A. Lichtwardt. (In *World Dominion*, London. January, 1929. pp. 29–32.)

Points out the commendable work which the Persians have undertaken, in coöperation with Western medical missionary effort, in an endeavor to solve their portion of the world's leper problem.

VI. POLITICAL RELATIONSHIPS.

A CONSTITUTION FOR INDIA. "Nomad." (In *The Fortnightly Review*, London. January, 1929. pp. 84–92.)

A plea for an intelligent appreciation of the response by all types of East Indians to a smaller, more personal unit of Government (e. g. the Indian State) rather than to the present enormous political division cluttered up with Western machinery and red-tape.

THE NEW TURKEY. A. A. Pallis. (In *The Nineteenth Century*, London. November, 1928. pp. 618–628.)

A study of some of the main tendencies in the program followed by the Nationalists for the last nine years, with a brief review of the results achieved to date.

PRESENT TENDENCIES OF TURKISH FOREIGN POLICY. Taraknath Das. (In *The Calcutta Review*, Calcutta. October, 1928. pp. 41–47.)

Gives a brief summary of the spirit of the revolutionary movement in Turkey before and during the régime of Abdul Hamid, tracing the evolution of the spirit of nationalism down to the present time, when Turkish statesmen are endeavoring to establish cordial relations with all Powers interested in her program of Turkish independence and peace.

VII. MISSIONS TO MOHAMMEDANS.

CANON W. H. T. GAIRDNER OF CAIRO: a many-talented missionary to Moslems. Samuel M. Zwemer. (In *The Missionary Review of the World*, New York. February, 1929. pp. 91–96.)

Appreciative reminiscences of an outstanding personality.

AN EASTERN CHALLENGE. WILL WESTERN SCHOOLS ADAPT MODERN EDUCATION TO THE NEEDS OF THE LEVANT? Bayard Dodge. (In *Asia*, New York. December, 1928. pp. 1000–1006, 1010–1018.)

A vivid apologia for the work which the American University of Beirut is doing for the Near East.

PALESTINE TODAY. Morris Sigel. (In *World Dominion*, London. January, 1929. pp. 34–38.)

An analysis of the various degrees of accessibility to Christian missionary effort which are to be found among the different classes of Jews in Palestine.

FACSIMILE OF FRONTISPIECE OF A JAVANESE KORAN

Published at Bombay

We reproduce this facsimile because Javanese is one of the leading languages in the world of Islam. On the cut in the centre are the familiar words: "None shall touch it but the purified." Around the oval are the words of the celebrated verse of "The Throne." In the four outer corners: "Praise be to him who possesses the kingdom and the dominion, Praise be to the Abiding King. Praise be to the Worshipful King, Praise be to the King Appointed." In the four inner corners, the words: "God knows all that ye do. Verily God is almighty. God is rich and ye are poor. Verily God is the High and Mighty One." The upper central disc contains the opening words of Surah II and the lower disc the name of the publisher. In the volume itself, after an introduction on *tajwid* there follows the Koran text in Arabic and in Javanese.

الٓمٓ ذٰلِكَ الْكِتٰبُ لَا رَيْبَ فِيهِ

إِنَّهُ لَقُرْآنٌ كَرِيمٌ تَكْلُونَ فِي كِتَابٍ

لَا يَمَسُّهُ إِلَّا الْمُطَهَّرُونَ

تَنْزِيلٌ مِنْ رَبِّ الْعَالَمِينَ

طبعة
في المطبعة
المحمدية الاستاذية
بمصر