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CHRISTIANS AT MECCA

Forbidden cities have always exercised a fascination over a certain type of mind both in ancient and in modern times, and for both the cities which are forbidden in our day, namely, Lhassa and Mecca, there is a considerable list of works of travellers who in one disguise or another have penetrated to their sanctuaries, though, as Dr. Margoliouth somewhere remarks, the number of those who have been and survived to tell the tale is but a small percentage of those who have tried and perished in the attempt. Reliable authorities have told us in regard to Mecca, that hardly a pilgrimage season passes without somebody being done to death on the suspicion of being a Christian in disguise.

The latest story of a Christian pilgrim to Mecca is contained in two handsome volumes, "The Holy Cities of Arabia,"¹ which give in simple, readable form the adventures of a young Englishman from Malaysia, Mr. C. E. Rutter, who was in Cairo in 1925 studying Arabic, and who spent the best part of a year in Mecca and Medina, in the disguise of a Syrian Moslem, during the time when Ibn Sa'ud and his Wahhabi forces were in control of the Holy Cities. D. G. Hogarth, writing of the famous European pilgrims who had made the journey up to the time of his writing his "Penetration of Arabia," remarks that those of them who had gone of their own choice had always some wider aim in view than the mere feat of visiting the forbidden cities, but Mr. Rutter, like his immediate predecessor, Major Wavell, seems to have had no other object than the adventure of making the visitation.

¹ G. P. Putnam's Sons, London and New York. \$15.00 net.

The roll of these Christian pilgrims is an interesting one, and their record has a fascination of its own, quite as much from the varied characters of the pilgrims as from the adventurous nature of their journey. First among them comes the Italian gentleman Ludivico di Varthema, who was in Mecca and Medina in 1503, and whose account of his travels has had an extraordinary vogue in Europe, being published in Italian at Rome in 1510, translated into Latin that same year, and into German, French, Spanish, Dutch and English before the close of the century; and edited by G. P. Badger for the Hakluyt Society in 1863. Varthema is famous among geographers for his description of Yemen, which he reached after leaving the Holy Cities, and he confesses that it was love of knowledge that led him to set out on his travels. The decision to visit Mecca was made early in 1503, when he was in Damascus and met a captain of Mamelukes who was on his way to the Holy City. Disguising himself as a Mameluke, he joined the band, travelling the forty days' journey with the caravan, and stopping at Medina en route. Varthema, it is interesting to note, was the first European to dispel the popular myth that the coffin of Mohammed at Medina hangs in the air suspended between two lodestones.

His account of the ceremonies at Mecca and his description of the city are not very full, for he was more anxious to describe his own adventures than to describe the city. Moreover he was inclined to exaggerate, for he tells us quite casually that he saw two unicorns in the court of the great Mosque, and even gives the length of their horns, so that one is inclined to minimize somewhat his accounts of the profuseness of the gold and silver decoration about the sacred precincts. Varthema has little good to say of Islam. He describes the Medina Library as filled with the "filthy traditions and life of Mohammed and his fellows," and tells us that they left the city "wearied with the filthiness and loathsomeness of the trumperies, deceits, trifles and hypocrisies of the re-

ligion of Mohammed." His disguise was penetrated at Mecca by another Mameluke, who had been in Genoa and Venice, and openly charged him with being a Christian. He was forced to admit his nationality, but maintained that he was a convert. When recognized a second time, however, in Aden, and required by the Sultan to make the profession of faith in Islam, he refused, admitting that he never could bring himself to pronounce that creed. He was then imprisoned for many months, and only escaped by pretending madness, in which he contrived to convert a great fat sheep to Mohammedanism, and to kill a jackass for refusing to become a proselyte, thereby bringing the religion of Islam into contempt. Finally he managed to escape to Persia.

The second venturer known to us was Vincent Leblanc, a French sailor from Marseilles, who claims to have made the journey in 1568. The account of his journey is printed in Bergeron's "Voyage Fameux," but is dismissed by most authorities as entirely mythical. He says that life in that French port had kindled in him a desire to see the strange Eastern countries, so that he ran away to sea, and after being shipwrecked off Candia, he fell in with a merchant named Cassis, who was going with his brother Morat to Mecca to sell merchandise. They joined the caravan from Damascus and visited both Mecca and Medina. The object of the journey was trafficking, and he has little to tell us save of the tremendous amount of merchandising done during the pilgrim season.

In 1607 an Austrian youth, Johann Wild, visited the forbidden cities, but he visited them as a captive. He was taken prisoner by the Hungarians while a youth in the Imperial army, and sold to the Turks. After passing from one master to another, he at last came into the possession of a miserly Persian, who took Wild as his personal servant with him on the pilgrimage with the Egyptian caravan of 1607. They started from Cairo, and went by Suez across the Sinaitic peninsula. His

account is of importance because of his description of the dreadful sufferings and privations endured by the pilgrims who travelled by this route. He says that before they reached the half-way stage they had lost fifteen hundred men and nine hundred camels. He was impressed at Mecca by the flagrant immorality of the place more than by anything else.

It was also as a prisoner that the next visitor, Joseph Pitts, an Englishman, made the journey in 1680. He was an Exeter boy who went to sea at the age of fifteen, and on a return journey from Newfoundland in 1678, was sold as a slave, when his ship was captured by Barbary corsairs off the coast of Spain. He was forced by the bastinado to make an outward profession of Islam, but hated the religion, and tells us that he "ate heartily in private of hog." In 1680 his third master, an ancient and corpulent man of kindly nature, took him on pilgrimage to Mecca. Like Wild he started from Cairo, but at Suez they took ship for Jiddah. The glory of Mecca must have dimmed since Varthema's day, for Pitts found little admirable in it. He describes it as a dismal barren place in the midst of many little hills, the buildings being mean and ordinary, with nothing of beauty, and the inhabitants a poor sort, very thin and lean. He was in Mecca four months, and entered the Ka'ba twice, but saw in it nothing worth mentioning. In Mecca Pitts met an Irishman, who had been for thirty years a slave in the galleys, and had then become a Moslem, and came to end his days in peace at Mecca, which was probably the last place in the world where they would be wanting men for galley service.

The next Christian pilgrim we meet is one of the most famous of them all, the Spaniard Domingo Badia y Leblich, who took the name of Ali Bey al-Abbasi, and made the pilgrimage in 1807 in a most princely fashion, giving out that he was a descendant of the Abbassid Caliphs of the West, and travelling in state with a great retinue of servants and attendants, and scattering largesse

in all directions as he journeyed. There is much mystery about Ali Bey. Bankes, writing in 1830, roundly asserted that he was a Jew, and many later writers have thought that he was a genuine Moslem of Moroccan origin, but of Spanish education. The fact, however, that when he died in Arabia on his second journey, in 1818, a cross was found under his vest and that he was denied burial by the Arabs on that account, is conclusive proof that he was a Christian, and there is sufficient evidence to more than suspect that he was an emissary of Napoleon, furthering some of the Eastern schemes of that subtle brain. In fact, French writers have asserted that it was information supplied from English sources that brought about his sudden death among the Arabs.

Badia was received in state by Mohammed Ali Pasha in Cairo, and joined the caravan for Mecca in December, 1806, travelling by Suez and Jiddah. At Mecca he lived in a special mansion adjoining that of the Sherif, and he had the unusual honor of assisting the Sherif in the official cleansing of the Ka'ba. The great importance of his visit, however, lies in the fact that he was in the Holy City at the time when the Wahhabis from Najd captured it, and in his pages we have the account of an eyewitness of the atrocities committed by those wild fanatic Puritans from the desert, as they put down with a strong hand what they considered the idolatrous practices of the inhabitants of the city. Badia tried to visit Medina, but was prevented by the Wahhabis.

While the Wahhabis were still in possession, or at least in control of Mecca, in 1809, it was visited by a Russian subject of Teutonic origin, Ulrich Jaspas Seetzen, a man who had had twenty years of training in Germany for Eastern exploration. He was a competent Arabist, and a botanist of European reputation, and, as a Councillor in the Russian Embassy, not unsuspected of having some political motives for his journey. In any case his pilgrimage to Mecca was only part of the preparation for a much wider project of Eastern travel,

particularly in the Khanates of Turkestan and Central Asia, which were of peculiar interest to the Russian Chancellery. After spending some time in Constantinople, Aleppo and Damascus, he made an exploration of the Dead Sea on foot, in the guise of a beggar, and published the first scientific account and map of that area. Thence he travelled across Sinai to Cairo. It was his intention to proceed from Suez to Yambu and thence to Medina before going to Mecca, but the ship captain was afraid of Wahhabi troubles emanating from Medina, and sailed straight to Jiddah. Seetzen remained some time in Jiddah, and then travelled on foot to Mecca to make his first reconnaissance. Returning to Jiddah he journeyed from there to Medina, getting back to Jiddah in time to join the annual pilgrimage group of 1810. The crowd, he says, was so great that his caravan could hardly enter the city.

Seetzen's thirst for acquiring scientific information brought him into suspicion both at Medina and at Mecca. At Medina he was summoned before the Amir and questioned as to who and whence he was, why he carried so many books, and what he was doing poking around in all the odd corners of the city. At Mecca also he was cross-questioned, and on his further journeyings in South Arabia his collection of snakes preserved in spirits, his botanical and geological specimens were considered as magic, he was accused of having caused a serious drought in that area, and assassinated as he set out for Mascat.

Five years later there appeared at Mecca the Swiss explorer John Lewis Burckhardt, who shares with Doughty pride of place among all travellers and explorers in Arabia. Burckhardt was educated at Leipzig and Göttingen, and later studied in London and Cambridge. He was a born Orientalist, whose Oriental character fits him like a glove, and gives us no sense of incongruity such as is so apparent in the accounts of travellers of recent years. After travelling for some years in

Syria, Nubia and Egypt, he left for Jiddah in 1814 in the disguise of a beggar. Mohammed Ali Pasha was at Ta'if at the time, and Burckhardt having been recognized by some people who had known him in Cairo, was summoned to the Pasha's presence. There were considerable suspicions as to his Moslem orthodoxy, but when the Pasha summoned two of the ablest Professors of Islamic Law then resident in Arabia to examine him in the Koran, they concluded that not only was he a Moslem, but a most learned one. He still, however, did not escape the suspicion of being a spy of the English, who had now conquered Napoleon, and who the Pasha feared would turn their attention to Eastern conquest, so that Burckhardt had to walk warily the rest of his stay in both Mecca and Medina.

Burckhardt had had quite unusual scholarly preparation for his task of describing the Holy Cities and the rites of the pilgrimage. Thus he was able after only a limited sojourn in the cities to describe them with a minuteness and accuracy that leave nothing to be desired. In fact when Sir Richard Burton, who took some pride in improving on everyone else, came to write his account of Mecca and the pilgrimage, he found nothing to add to or to improve on Burckhardt and simply quotes his great predecessor's account. No other writer has painted so vividly the life of the Meccan community which lives on the blood it can suck from the pilgrims, and he has no high opinion of this parasitic community. The guides he describes as the idlest, most impudent and vilest individuals in the city, and the whole community, he says, squanders its gains in dress, feasting and sensual gratification. No wealthy Meccan, he avers, prefers domestic peace to the gratification of his passions. He found little learning and much hypocrisy there, and both Mecca and Medina he characterizes as the Paradise of beggars, to whose importunities there is no end.

While Burckhardt was still in Mecca in 1814, another European adventurer entered the Holy City. This was

the Italian Giovanni Finati. During Napoleon's occupation of Italy Finati, who was studying for the priesthood, was conscripted and attached to the army in the Tyrol. He deserted, but was recaptured and sent to Dalmatia, where he deserted again, and was captured by the Turks, among whom he became pipe-bearer to a Turkish officer. His life was comfortable enough in his new position, but he was caught in an intrigue with one of his master's *harim* and had to flee hurriedly to Cairo, where he enlisted as an Albanian in the army of Mohammed Ali Pasha. He served in the expedition against the Mamelukes, and then was sent in the army of Toussoun Pasha, which proceeded to Arabia to put down the Wahhabis. There he took part in the capture of Yambu, and was one of the few survivors from the débacle a few days later. Returning to Cairo he joined the next expedition of Mohammed Ali against the Wahhabis, but when once in Arabia, fearing the destruction of that army at the hands of the Wahhabi fanatics, he deserted and made his way to Mecca. He was in Mecca during the time of the annual pilgrimage, and there met Mohammed Ali, who enrolled him again in the army, where he took part in the final defeat of the Wahhabis, and twice more visited Mecca before returning to Cairo. It was in Cairo that he met an English traveller named Banks, for whom he acted as interpreter, and through whom his narrative was published in 1830.

Almost thirty years elapse before we read of our next Christian pilgrim, a French officer Leon Roches. Roches's father was a pioneer farmer in Algeria, and one of the many pioneers who failed to make a living. He himself joined the army in Algeria, and for several years, in the guise of a convert to Islam, lived as a secret service agent in the camp of the renowned religious maniac and warrior Abd al-Qadir. It was after his escape from the camp of Abd al-Qadir that he became convinced, after long conversations with some of the native chieftains, that the only basis of a lasting peace would be a

fatwa, signed by the learned Doctors of Islam, to the effect that armed resistance to the French occupation of Algeria was not a religious duty incumbent on all the Moslem tribes. Such a *fatwa* was secured in Algeria, and with it Roches proceeded to Cairo to procure the approval and signatures of the great doctors of Al-Azhar. These were obtained with some difficulty, but it was intimated to Roches that to make the *fatwa* really complete and authoritative he should obtain the signatures of the great doctors of Medina, Damascus and Baghdad, who would be assembled at Mecca for the annual pilgrimage. Accordingly in November, 1841, he set off in disguise with the pilgrim caravan, landing at Yambu and proceeding first to Medina and then on to Mecca. Like Burckhardt he comments strongly on the extortions of the Mec-cans, and on the tawdriness of the city and the hypocrisy and blatant immorality of its inhabitants. He secured his *fatwa*, however, and made his way to Arafat for the concluding rites of the pilgrimage. Here unfortunately he came across two Algerian rascals whom he had been instrumental in having condemned to imprisonment while an interpreter to the army in Algiers. Also, having to perform the greater ablution in public, in spite of his precautions he was recognized as uncircumcized, and the cry of "Seize the Christian" was raised. The negro bodyguard of the friendly Sherif, however, under pretence of arresting him, rescued him and packed him off on swift camels to Jiddah, where he could take ship for Egypt.

The Finnish traveller and Orientalist Wallin is the next on our list. After studying Arabic, Persian and Turkish at St. Petersburg, he came to Cairo in the summer of 1843, and two years later in Moslem disguise set off on his travels through North Arabia, reaching Hail, and intending to cross the Najd desert to the Persian Gulf. Funds ran short, however, so he picked up the Persian and Mesopotamian caravan and travelled with them to Medina and Mecca. If for no other reason, his

account of his journey is of importance for the picture it gives us of the tribulations endured by the Shi'a pilgrims on their way to and at the Sunni shrines.

His successor is the most famous and popular of all the Christian pilgrims—Sir Richard Burton, one of the most romantic figures of his generation, whose volumes on the pilgrimage to Al-Madinah and Meccah have become classics, and have been published in numerous *de luxe*, library and popular editions. Burton was a rebel from the beginning, and the mere fact that a city was a forbidden one was sufficient to induce him to visit it. After having been sent down from Oxford for deliberate violation of a stupid and annoying regulation, he finally broke with his family's determination that he should enter the Church, and secured a commission in the army in India. He had already acquired fluency in a number of European tongues, and in India immediately commenced breaking all army records in the acquirement of Oriental languages. In 1853 he got leave for exploration, and came to Cairo disguised as a Persian to make preparations for the pilgrimage. Realizing, however, that the dangers of discovery would be much greater if he went as a Persian, he changed his disguise to that of an Afghan doctor from India. Burton's story is too well known to need recapitulation. From Yambu they travelled to Medina and thence to Mecca, by the caravan.

Burton has described his journey and adventures in great detail, and though in his description of Mecca he found little that he could add to that of Burckhardt, his personal impressions of the place and the pilgrimage have permanent value. He expatiates on the extravagance with which the Meccans expend their easily won gains of the pilgrimage season, and on their pride, immorality and irreligiousness, though he has words of praise for their courage, intelligence and good manners.

On Burton's return to Cairo, he met at Shepherd's Hotel a young German named von Maltzan, who was

already planning a trip to Mecca. It was seven years later, however, before he actually started on his journey, in the character of a Moor. In this one respect his pilgrimage is unique, for he borrowed another man's passport and personality for the journey. In Algiers he met and became friends with a Moor who was fatally addicted to hashish. In return for a sufficient sum to enable him to indulge for six months, he handed over his passport and papers to von Maltzan, who in his new character sailed to Malta and then to Alexandria, where he joined some Moslems proceeding to the Hijaz. From Suez they sailed to Yambu, and then coasted to Jiddah. His description of the ceremonies of the pilgrimage at Mecca is that it was a sight to be expected nowhere outside a lunatic asylum—thousands of semi-naked people, half crazed from the heat of the sun on their shaven heads, frantic with religious excitement, covered with dust and perspiration, panting, sweating, yelling, sobbing, sometimes screaming in delirium, as, tired to death with all the ceremonies, they still plodded on with the performance of the rites. On the return from Arafat, von Maltzan was suspected of being a Christian, and had to make a hurried exit from Mecca to Jiddah, and give up the hope of seeing Medina.

In 1877 another Englishman, John Fryer Keane reached Mecca. He had run away to sea as a boy, and lived for seven years among Mohammedans before he ventured into the forbidden territory. Keane was no scholar of any kind, and the sole interest of his two fascinating volumes is the personal interest, for he has the faculty of making his readers live the journey with him. At Jiddah he attached himself to the suite of an Indian prince who was doing the pilgrimage in style, and thus escaped many of the minor tribulations of pilgrims who travelled alone. Keane's visit is famous to the world at large because of his discovery of a white woman at Mecca. Her name was Mackintosh, and she was a girl of the lower classes who had been taken prisoner at the siege of Lucknow and added to the *harim* of one of the

rebels. When the rebels were defeated, and the English had set a price on this man's head, he sought refuge at Mecca, and brought her with him. She had been living there for a considerable number of years when Keane found her, and had almost forgotten the English tongue. Keane had several narrow escapes of recognition as a Christian, but managed to accompany his Indian patron to Medina and ultimately to Bombay.

Our standard scientific work on Mecca and the pilgrimage we owe to the next Christian pilgrim on our roll, Prof. C. Snouck Hurgronje, the Dutch Orientalist, who still lives at Leiden, though retired from his Professorship. His treatise on the origin and nature of the pilgrimage was written in 1880, and in 1885, after having spent five months in the Dutch Consulate at Jiddah, he journeyed to Mecca, where for six months he lived as a student of the Koran, and gathered the material for his monumental work on that city. As Burckhardt had been mainly interested in the topography of the city, and the pilgrimage ceremony, Snouck Hurgronje interested himself particularly in a social study of the Meccan community, and so complete is his work that he has left nothing to later writers save to note the changes made by passing years.

His sojourn in Mecca was cut short as a result of international jealousy over the possession of the famous Taima stone. Doughty had heard of this famous inscribed stone at Taima, but the first European to see it was the French Alsatian traveller Charles Huber, who was at Taima in 1879. Huber found the stone built into an old well, but he was no epigraphist and could make nothing of the inscription. In 1883 he returned to Taima, taking with him Julius Euting, the renowned epigraphist from Strasburg, who made a copy of the inscription. Between them they bargained for the purchase of the stone and sent it with their baggage to Hail. At El-Ala they separated, Euting going to Jerusalem, and Huber back to Hail, on the road to which he was

assassinated. The French Consul at Jiddah, who was commissioned to recover Huber's effects, got it into his head that Hurgronje was working to get the stone for the Germans, and so gave information to the Moslem authorities that the latter was in Mecca in disguise. Naturally further stay in the city was impossible, so he had to leave without witnessing the pilgrimage.

Hurgronje seems to have enjoyed the freest intercourse with all strata of society in Mecca, and with an adequate scholarly preparation for his task has been able to make Meccan social life a thing of living interest to us. No other writer has so clearly pictured the condition of a society which is welded from an unusually varied conglomeration of nationalities, and which has been affected by the superstitions and prejudices of them all. His picture of the blatant immorality of the city is blacker even than Burckhardt's, and is the evidence of a witness who certainly cannot be accused of prejudice against Islam.

Almost ten years later the French Algerian, Gervais Courtellemont, a photographer of some note, visited Mecca on some secret commission from the French Government. He had several years of apprenticeship to living among Moslems before setting out on his journey, but even from his own account he was almost unbelievably tactless and awkward, and his companion Akli was in constant terror of his being discovered and getting into trouble. On more than one occasion, indeed, he was haled before the authorities, and it needed all Akli's Arab eloquence to straighten things out. Courtellemont's personal account of his adventures is interesting and diverting, but his only addition to our knowledge of the Holy City is that he managed to take a number of excellent photographs, which make a welcome addition to those contained in Hurgronje's *Bilderatlas*.

Another Englishman, Major A. J. B. Wavell, made the pilgrimage in 1908. He had fought in the South African War in 1900, and in the succeeding years had

travelled much with native companions in Swaziland, Tongaland and parts of Zululand, and later in East Africa in the hinterland of Mombasa. By the time he came to set out on his pilgrimage he was thoroughly conversant with Arabic and Swahili and with Moslem customs. Wavell journeyed with two companions, a Mombasa Swahili and an Arab from Aleppo who had lived for some time in Berlin. He joined the pilgrimage group in Damascus, and went to Medina by the Hijaz Railway, the first Christian pilgrim to travel in such luxury.

Lastly comes the pilgrim with whom we started, and whose account in these two sumptuous volumes, while of no particular value to scholarship, has three special claims on our interest. Firstly, Rutter entered Mecca from the south, crossing the Red Sea very much further south than is usually the practice, and coming up by land by way of Al-Gahm, Al-Lith and Yalamlam; whereas all the other travellers we know of entered the city from the other direction. His description of the journey up is therefore something quite new in the records of travellers to Mecca. Secondly, he was in Mecca and Medina at the time of the second Wahhabi occupation, and even had an interview with Ibn Sa'ud himself, so that it is of no little interest to compare his account with that of Ali Bey, who visited the cities during the first Wahhabi occupation over a hundred years earlier. Wahhabi iconoclasm seems not to have lost any of its intensity during the interval. Thirdly, he has gone into some detail in his description of both cities, and thus enables us to note the many changes that time has wrought since Burckhardt's day. The main interest of the book, however, is in his personal narrative, which is written in a pleasing fashion and occasionally with no little humor. It was curious to note that though Rutter was recognized and had to confess his nationality quite early in his sojourn in Mecca, he was yet able to continue there, and in fact spend a longer period in the forbidden city than any other European.

These are by no means all the Christian pilgrims who have visited Mecca and Medina, nor indeed all whom we know of, but are all who have left us any published account of their journey. The positive result is that we have a very complete and accurate account of the cities and of the rites of the pilgrimage, such as until recent years it was impossible to get from Oriental sources. And, more important than this, these travellers of Christian faith, not being hypnotized by the glamour of these being holy cities, have been able to reveal to us very fully the psychological significance of the pilgrimage to the crowds who annually visit the shrines, and also let us see the inevitable reaction of pilgrim psychology on the inhabitants of the cities themselves.

Cairo.

ARTHUR JEFFERY.

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SIX YEARS PIONEERING IN JAVA ¹

Dr. H. Kraemer has made a profound study of general present day conditions in the Dutch Archipelago and of the religion of Islam in particular. As a result, he has become convinced of the inadequacy of missionary work as at present carried on, and of the urgent necessity for a broadening of its vision. The world of Java in particular is no longer static. Everywhere the nationalistic, cultural, political, and racial consciousness is awakening to life, reacting to the spiritual and material penetration of the West. A new generation is growing up, with a new outlook on life, and heading for new goals. The result is that the missionary is faced with new fields of activity, with complicated but interesting problems.

During his stay at Cairo, where he met with many different types of Moslems, Dr. Kraemer came to the conclusion that controversy, however inevitable it may sometimes be, is useless as a means of arriving at results where Moslems are concerned. It merely appeals to their fighting instinct, and does not produce a receptive attitude. What is needed is a spirit of sympathy, devotion to missionary work, and a consciousness of the fact that Islam, though antiquated, is yet altogether different from animism, and presents a well-thought-out system based on theological principles. This fact is too often overlooked in the Javanese mission field by the indiscriminating missionary, a mistake which nowadays constitutes a real danger. Underneath the Mohammedan exterior the missionary always tried to discover the simple animist. But international contacts in the Mohammedan

¹ This article has been prepared by Mrs. W. A. Visser 't Hooft on the basis of Dr. Kraemer's report to the Dutch Bible Society. It contains interesting reflections on the literary policy of missionary societies, and other important topics of missionary interest. It comes to us through the courtesy of the Research Department of the World's Committee of the Y. M. C. A.

world are growing more frequent every day, and the most heterogeneous convictions and opinions are vying with each other for attention and acceptance in the intellectual market of the East. The traditions, rituals and ceremonies of animism, while undoubtedly possessing their own underlying principle, do not constitute a conscious and thought-out system of philosophy. Islam, on the other hand, seeks to interpret the empirical by intellectual reflection and synthesis. A constructive intellectual exposition of Christianity is therefore certainly a necessity. It is, however, not an infallible means of securing a receptive attitude on the part of Islam towards Christian truth. Two factors would appear to militate against such an attitude. First, the nature of the political and economic contacts of the all-powerful Christian nations with the weaker Eastern peoples. Those aspects of the life of Christian peoples which are a denial of Christianity are thought by the East to reveal its true essence; Christianity is identified with the actions of those who profess it.

It was more and more borne in upon Dr. Kraemer in the course of his stay in Cairo that the missionary enterprise must proclaim a Christianity which shall be universal in character; that it must cope with all the complicated machinery of life, and not merely with the individual soul. The second factor is the still unshaken sense of superiority on the part of Islam. Various forces are slowly undermining the moral and religious foundations of the Mohammedan stronghold, but strictly speaking these movements come from without rather than from within. Islam is not yet face to face with a true moral or religious crisis. The crisis is, however, being prepared, and as soon as it comes a new appeal for truth among Mohammedans as well as Christians will become possible.

Dr. Kraemer's work began in Middle Java. This is a country of *desas* (villages) with a peasant population. In characteristics, language, and history, Java is remark-

ably unified in character. Powerful cultural influences, active since the beginning of our era, and a constant succession of vast empires with the dominating influence of a princely court, have endowed the Javanese people with a cultural and historical consciousness seldom found in the Indies among peoples of the same race. All the influences brought to bear on them during the course of many centuries have been absorbed into their national fibre and given a peculiar national color. The culture thus built up was crystallized in a national tradition, partly historical, partly mythological, and in a voluminous literature. Even in those parts of the country where this tradition is scarcely known, it is nevertheless cherished as an inalienable possession. The court has always been the creator and preserver of this national tradition, and Middle Java was the last historical centre of the independent political power and traditional culture of the country. It is therefore here that the language, people, and civilization of Java as a whole may best be studied. Even now Middle Java, in view of its geographical situation and the greater percentage of civilized inhabitants, is a spiritually creative centre.

It was here that Dr. Kraemer began what he calls his "incubation" period. He had at first some difficulty in deciding on the town which he should choose for his residence: an important matter, since many different points of his programme had to be considered in making the decision. Finally, he settled down in Djokja, as the most suitable spot for getting into contact with leaders of the Native Movement, and for making a practical and theoretical study of the general thought and life of the people, past as well as present. While perfectly frank and open as to his connection with the missionary enterprise, he confined himself to the task of listening and learning. Even this attitude, however, did not make his work altogether easy; he was confronted with the extreme difficulty of winning the confidence of the native race. Beneath an amiability which is often sincere the Java-

nese hides a deeply rooted fear of the European. This fear is intensified when the European has something to gain from him; it is even stronger in the case of the missionary, and strongest of all when missionary and interested European are combined in one personality. Dr. Kraemer soon became sensible of this attitude, in spite of the generosity and courtesy with which he was everywhere received. It was not, however, till the ice finally melted that he realized to the full the chill barrier of suspicion with which he had everywhere been confronted. After a series of lectures on the old Javanese language which he gave by request to the people of Solo, his audience expressed their amazement at the disinterested character of his address, and its freedom from propaganda.

Dr. Kraemer had many valuable contacts with Islam, especially at Djokja, where he got into touch with the important Mohammadiya Movement. This seeks to influence Islam throughout Java by modern methods such as religious propaganda, teaching, the care of the poor and sick, the publication of literature, etc. As regards its spiritual outlook, Dr. Kraemer found it rather narrow-minded and hostile to Christianity and missionary work. The Movement and some of its leaders, however, appealed to him in virtue of the healthy spirit of energy which characterized it, and its general effect was to strengthen his faith in the Javanese. The founder and first leader of the Movement, Hadji Dahlan, now dead, had his real sympathy as a moral and religious personality of a superior type and a revelation of the possibilities of the Javanese race.

After a year spent in getting his bearings, Dr. Kraemer decided to start a monthly survey of the native papers for the *Opwekker*, the principal missionary organ. He hoped that this might contribute to the realization of one of his chief aims, that of giving missionaries a true insight into the native world, and so stimulate them to a more vigorous proclamation of the Gospel message as a response to the new and ever-changing problems of the

moment. This work became of increasing importance as the reviews increasingly attracted the attention of the press, Government officials, and many of those interested. As a result of these articles, too, comments of a varying type were made on Dr. Kraemer's personality; he, therefore, thought it better to state briefly the principles underlying his efforts.

"The native press," wrote Dr. Kraemer, "which is the expression of a new phase of native life, desires and is entitled to be judged by us with a true attempt at understanding, and with a disinterested satisfaction at the evidence which it affords of new life and of promise for the future. In this respect, however, the treatment accorded by Europeans to the native race has been scandalous. An attitude of disdain and contempt is that generally prevailing. Serious interest, when found, is often merely inspired by fear and self-regard. An attempt to judge from the standpoint of the moral and material welfare of native society is rare. But the missionary, whose duty it is to be guided in all things by the spirit of Christ, should endeavor to achieve such an attitude of simple and self-evident justice. One cause and one only should command his services; the spiritual and moral welfare of the people amongst whom he works. And it is in this spirit that criticism of the native press and native life should be made. There is no lack of abuse; what is needed is criticism that is restrained, strong, and helpful."

"The expression of the cultural, and especially the religious, life of the people," writes Dr. Kraemer, "occupied a large share of my attention. It is quite impossible nowadays to write articles dealing with the life and outlook of Oriental society without continually touching on problems of Nationalism and the relation between Europeans and Orientals. I have never felt, however, any tendency to indulge in speculation as to the independence of the Indies, and the epoch at which this may be granted, a question which occupies so many minds and

robs many people of their normal judgment. According to my reading of history, this event will come about in an unexpected manner, for in an ordered society, the coming of age of a people, unlike that of an individual, cannot be arbitrarily fixed by law."

"To my thinking every broad-minded man who is guided by moral principles, and to whom the world's history has a profound and divine significance, must look forward to a community of free and strong peoples as the ultimate goal of human life. The world of today, with the preponderance of the West and the undeveloped East, is a sad denial of this ideal. The words 'strong' and 'free' cannot as yet be applied to many peoples. Strength comes from within as well as from without. We should not, therefore, allow ourselves to be soothed into careless content by the superiority of the West. Neither should this superiority induce in us a spirit of self-glorification. Rather should we see in it an imperious call to action, a demand on us for discipline and self-sacrifice. And as a Christian I would go still further. The deepest desire of Christians must be that God shall be glorified and served by as many human beings as possible, and by people and nations who are personalities, to the fullest possible extent. Everything, therefore, that strengthens the spiritual and moral life and power of expression of men and nations must be a cause of rejoicing to the missionary. He is everywhere the champion and upholder of spiritual values. Though to my mind a missionary should not feel at home in the political sphere, he must, nevertheless, long for the time when the people amongst whom he works shall have a political independence which will enable them to be truly and worthily themselves. It therefore seems to me that one can write concerning questions which are not specifically religious in character, and still serve the cause of Christ."

In the course of his study, Dr. Kraemer's attitude towards the missionaries was at first much the same as that

before noted in describing his relations with the natives; he asked questions, listened to what was said, showed an interest in their work, sought to form intimate relationships as a necessary preliminary to acting as advisor. At the conferences which Dr. Kraemer attended, it became the custom to set apart one day for a talk by him on some Moslem subject. Dr. Zwemer's visit also served as a stimulus in this direction; his enthusiasm aroused a deeper interest in Islam and even in the study of the Arabic language. This last, however, was not of long duration. Dr. Zwemer's visit made clear to Dr. Kraemer the small amount of interest that had hitherto been felt in Islam. This attitude, which could originally be maintained with comparative impunity, had become unpardonable since Islam had begun to equip itself with the weapons of apologetics, polemics, and a strong organization. A broader and deeper insight into the mentality of the people, won through closer contact, struck Dr. Kraemer as the supreme need and task for missionary work. The situation seemed to him to be becoming more difficult, and to require a broader vision and more resolute action.

The missions in Northern, Western, Middle, and Eastern Java have very different types of territory. In the Soenda Isles, North Java, and some other parts, Islam in its orthodox-popular form creates a very difficult atmosphere (loyalty to the *kitab*s, adoration of tombs and saints, and the strong position of the *kjais* or religious instructors). The work of the missionary here requires unshaken faith and absolute devotion, but also strategic ability, especially for the work among Mohammedans. In this respect there has always been a lack, both at home and in Java itself. The conviction has gradually grown up that while work amongst Mohammedans might be a duty, to believe in its results was the mark of a Utopian dreamer. In 1905 missionaries were advised to concentrate all their forces on the work amongst the Animists in order to prevent their falling under the domination of Islam. This advice was probably sound enough as far

as it affected the Animists, but its counterpart, the steady undermining of faith in the possibilities of missionary work among Mohammedans, was most deplorable. It is true that Islam is the most uncongenial atmosphere in which the missionary has to work. But to abandon the spiritual struggle with Islam is tantamount to a denial of the essence of Christianity.

Expressions like "Javanese Christianity" and "National Church" are much used in missionary work. They may, however, easily be misinterpreted if they are taken to signify a unity of method. This is far from being the case, missions in Java, as already pointed out, being to a large extent independent one of another, a different group working in each territory. There can be no objection to this. The diversity of the home base in Holland is, in one sense, a great source of strength to the mission field. Absolute unity would by no means increase the force of impact and influence of the missions. Dr. Kraemer realized this thoroughly, and when he came to face the problem of the Christianization of Java he never pleaded for the absolute organizational unity of the various groups. Two conditions, however, he regarded as essential. First, that the different groups should consider themselves as members of one body in the great effort to bring an alien people under the sway of Christ, and that consequently each group should look on the others' work at least in a spiritual sense as his own. Secondly, that new converts should be urged to the formation of one homogeneous Javanese Christian community. For a long time these two conditions have been demanding fulfillment. In 1924 Dr. Kraemer proposed the setting up of a Javanese Missionary Council which should serve as a centre of study and advice. Important decisions and determinations regarding organization and practical work should be studied by it, and ratified only after consideration in common. It should have a stimulating and enriching influence in the direction of the formation of one Javanese Church. The plan did not at once meet

with general approval; the ground had not yet been fully prepared for loyal cooperation, and the interest of the various groups was still limited to their own sphere of work and influence. Gradually, however, greater enthusiasm was aroused for the scheme, and a resolution in its favor was finally adopted by the Conference of Javanese-speaking missionaries held in August, 1927.

For a just estimation of the strategical position of Christianity in the Indies, the Batak lands, Java, the Minnahassa and the Moluccas are of chief importance. What chiefly struck Dr. Kraemer on his arrival was the lack of cooperation between the missions and the indigenous Church. This latter seemed not to be taken quite seriously—a great mistake, considering the important group of native Christians contained in it; the large numbers of Batak, Minnahassa and Molucca Christians dispersed all over the Archipelago, largely representing the native intelligentsia; and, more generally, the emancipation, political reformation, education, and more extensive traffic, which all contribute to the growth of a new spirit in the country. The missions were, generally speaking, found to be lagging behind these movements and reacting more or less reluctantly to them. Dr. Mott's criticism that after so many years of work there were so few leading personalities among the natives, is entirely justified; the fact is due to this subordinate position of the native church, which should be given an opportunity of expressing its moral significance for the present time by cooperation with the new Indies of today.

These considerations led Dr. Kraemer to seek for closer contact with the Indian Church, and to advocate the foundation of a Malay weekly paper, the *Zaman Baroe*, with the aim of creating a wider outlook, providing an organ for the whole of the Christian Indies, and pleading for a more independent position for the indigenous Christian communities. The periodical is not yet all that it should be, but everywhere people are at work and cultured native Christians are endeavoring to make

their point of view felt as it affects the Christian view of life. It is clear that Europeans will be needed to play a subordinate part and fill secondary positions in connection with the enterprise. While it is impossible that a sufficient number of competent native journalists could immediately be found, it is a great step in advance that one of the best known and ablest representatives of the Popular Assembly is now acting as editor-in-chief.

As chairman of the Literature Commission, Dr. Kraemer had an opportunity, whilst enquiring into the need for Malayan literature in the Minnahassa and other districts, of coming into close contact with the authorities (the Board) of the indigenous church in those countries, and of advocating its emancipation from western control. Here his first impressions were again confirmed; the undeveloped state of the native church and the denial of the true character of the people had brought church life to a dead-lock. The result was a strong demonstration in favor of the absolute autonomy of the native church, and the setting-up of a commission with a majority of Minnahassans, to draft a plan for church organization. This plan was afterwards presented to the Board and accepted by it.

Dr. Kraemer also made some useful observations in other parts of the Indies. A true understanding and appreciation of each other's work is indispensable alike to Government, Missions and population in those sections where the Missions occupy a strong position. Generally speaking, however, the average Government official has little idea of the careful moral and pedagogical work done by the missionaries. He judges its effects through the glasses with which he happens to have been equipped in Holland for the estimation of spiritual matters; he pays less attention to Christianity in Christian areas than to Islam in Mohammedan areas. Even as judged from the standpoint of colonial policy in dealing with an ignorant people this is a serious mistake.

All these points were stressed by Dr. Kraemer in his report to the Government.

One of the reasons for Dr. Kraemer's visit to Java was the wish that had been expressed for a revised Javanese Bible. As a member of the Revision Committee he pleaded strongly for a thorough revision from the point of view of style, and also in view of the great development of Biblical research. The greatest missionary to Mohammedans whom the modern World has seen, Henry Martyn, who was also a great linguist, wrote concerning his translation of the New Testament into Hindustani, "Perspicuity is not the only requisite; a certain portion of grace is desirable, and dignity is indispensable. The Mohammedans are more affected by sound than even the Greeks."

A similar task would seem to be reserved for the Literature Commission set up by the Dutch East Indies Missionary Association, of which Dr. Kraemer became chairman.

The Javanese possess a rich literature, certain parts of which are greatly loved by the people. But there is no growth or development in literary expression; there is no prospect of a literary renaissance for a long period to come. Its advent can only be prepared for by the production of translations of good European books; translations which shall be true re-creations in native form. Here is to be found a fine and worthy task for the Literature Commission. It should direct its energies chiefly to the issuing of small books or booklets in which the Christian faith and life is expressed in its full power and significance for the benefit of non-Christians. And such literature, which is popular in character, should be prepared in a form beloved by and familiar to the people. During the last four or five years the Literature Commission has issued various booklets of Javanese poetry in the style of Javanese mystical literature. They proved a great success, appealing to the popular taste for the

poetic form, with its combination of music and rhythm and the mystical note.

This free style of translation, the re-creation of religious works in a new form, can only be achieved by cooperation between the understanding European and the sensitive native. Another great advance is that the Literature Commission now embraces in its intellectual horizon the whole Archipelago. As to the Literature Commission, it will have to be strengthened financially and placed on a broader and more systematic basis if it is to meet the demands made upon it. Last year an initial effort was made in this direction by the appointment of a full-time Malay assistant. This young man collaborated with Dr. Kraemer (up to the time of his departure from Java) in the translation of "Paul the Dauntless" (by Basil Mathews, one of the Secretaries of the World's Committee at Geneva) from English into Malay. This cooperation made clear to Dr. Kraemer how much even an intelligent and enthusiastic native has still to learn concerning the art of good translation. Again and again it was necessary to point out to him that a beautiful passage, if merely translated into good grammatical Malay, loses all its meaning, and that complete re-writing is necessary. The work proved pleasant, but demanded much time. After his return to Java Dr. Kraemer hopes to consecrate more time to this important occupation, and he is now looking for an additional Javanese assistant.

The many complicated problems which mark the Javanese world today, and the more conspicuous position now occupied by the missionary movement, demand men of a wider intellectual equipment than the present missionary training can provide. It is, therefore, no exaggeration to state that Java needs men of a spiritual and intellectual type and of first-class university education. This goal can of course only be attained by stages. As a first step the present missionary training might be revised and extended. A great and frequent mistake in this connection is to neglect the study of the Javanese

character. The Javanese are Mohammedans; at the same time they are a people with a strong consciousness of their own culture, which has its roots outside Islam. Consequently, while emphasis has been laid on the thin Mohammedan veneer, neither it, nor the underlying Hindu-Javanese culture, has been taken seriously.

The need for a strong Javanese pastorate has led to the foundation of Balé Wyata College at Malang. Its aim is to train Javanese who know how to find their way to the heart of the people through their familiarity with the accent and rhythm of the language; who can discover the "*logos spermatikos*" in the spiritual heritage of their people; and who have attained, at the same time, to a deeper Christianity through their struggle with the inner conflict of the Javanese soul. The leading language, therefore, however important a knowledge of Dutch may be, should be Javanese. The Gospel should be interpreted to the native people not in a foreign language but in their own tongue, and along familiar lines of thought. The contents of the Gospel must be thought through with reference to a background of Javanese life and Javanese ways of thinking and feeling. This is a difficult task, calling for long and patient research and hard work. The men at the head of this institute must be free to give to it their whole time and effort in order that it may become a centre of force and inspiration. Dr. Kraemer was one of the founders of this new School, and it is one of the central interests of his work in the Indies.

Geneva.

MRS. W. A. VISSER 'T HOOFT.

HOW ISLAM ENTERED CHINA

(This paper, read before the North China Branch of The Royal Asiatic Society, Jan. 17th, 1929, appears here in abbreviated form.)

When and how Moslems first entered China are matters on which differing views have been held. The traditions of the Moslems are interesting, but mostly rest on very slender foundations. We do not know of any Chinese-Moslem book now extant which was written as long as three hundred years ago. A bibliography of over three hundred and thirty titles¹ is known to exist, of which I have collected about two hundred and fifty—many being small tracts or leaflets, but quite a number are books of considerable size. Some of these books profess to be historical, and tell of Moslems reaching China over thirteen hundred years ago; but no satisfactory proofs are given for such claims, and the silence which covers one thousand years from the supposed entry down to the seventeenth century, must be regarded as unfavorable to the claim. There exist a few monuments which are said to support the early-entry claim; the most famous of these is a stone tablet in a mosque at Sianfu, and it is dated 742 A. D. This will be referred to later.

It will be interesting to first give some attention to Chinese Mohammedan traditions before entering upon the consideration of historical documents. Among Moslems themselves there are two lines of tradition; one is that the introduction of Islam to China was overland by the northwest route; the other says it was introduced by way of the sea to Canton. Both stories refer to the same individual as being the pioneer sent by Mohammed, so they may be variations of a common tradition.

¹ See "Notes on Chinese Mohammedan Literature" by I. Mason in North China Branch Royal Asiatic Society Journal, Vol. lvi.

There is at Canton a famous mosque known as the Hwai Shêng Szü, "Prophet-Remembrance" mosque, the original of which is said to have been built by the envoy Sa'd Wakkas; and nearby is an ancient tomb, which is said to be the resting place of this pioneer. The Moslem traditions gather round the coming of Sa'd Wakkas, about whom we must set forth all that has been ascertained.

The most famous Chinese-Moslem writer was Liu Chia-lien, whose standard "Life of Mohammed" was completed in 1724, and was published later. A translation of this into English has been made by the present writer, under the title "The Arabian Prophet." In that work, Liu Chih (as he is also called) by a chronological error, sets the time of Mohammed's birth at 546 A. D., which is twenty-four years earlier than the correct year, 570 A. D. This will be referred to later, but meanwhile should be borne in mind as we consider the traditions. Liu Chih says respecting the first entry of Moslems into China:

"In the sixth year of K'ai Hwang, of the Sui dynasty, (586 A. D.) which was the first year of the prophetship of Mohammed, there was seen in the sky a strange star; the Chinese Emperor Wên Ti, commanded the Chief Astronomer to divine its meaning, and he said that there would be an extraordinary person appearing in the West. The Emperor sent an envoy to investigate if this really was so, and after about a year he arrived at Mecca. He desired the Prophet to accompany him back to the East, but he declined. The envoy secretly had a portrait of the prophet made to take back with him. The Prophet sent Sa'd Wakkas (his maternal uncle), and three others, to go with the envoy to China. (Moslems first entered China in the seventh year of K'ai Hwang of the Sui dynasty.)

"The Emperor Wên Ti hung up the portrait of the Prophet and worshipped it, and when he arose, the scroll was there but the picture had vanished. The emperor

in alarm said, 'It must surely be that he is the Pure Emperor and the True Prince.' He thereupon had built the 'Prophet-Remembrance' mosque at Canton, for the accommodation of the embassy. Wakkas subsequently returned to the West."

It is to be noted that the "maternal uncle" in the above is a gloss on the text. It may not have been in Liu Chih's original manuscript, as on other occasions he describes Wakkas otherwise than by family relationship, as will be seen below.

Our next extract from Liu Chih's "Life of Mohammed" says:

"In the second year of Mohammed's commission as Prophet, the Emperor of China had sent an envoy, and the Prophet sent Sa'd Wakkas back with him. The Emperor had a mosque built, and Wakkas returned to Arabia. After more than twenty years, another envoy was sent to the West; this was in the time of the Emperor Yang Ti (605 A. D.). Mohammed again sent Wakkas to China, saying that as some who had gone before had not returned, they must now be increasing in numbers, and it was fitting that they should be taught the Koran, and instructed in the rites and ceremonies."

Further on Liu Chih says this story is proved by records in certain books, but it may be said here that neither the Sui nor the T'ang official histories have any mention of Sa'd Wakkas, nor of any entry of Islam at that period.

The tradition referred to was not invented by Liu Chih, but is evidently of much earlier origin. It is found in several Chinese-Moslem books.

The story of the entry by land is recorded in another Chinese work entitled Hui Hui Yuan Lai, of which there are various editions, differing in details. M. Devéria had a copy bearing the date 1712, and Wylie mentions one of date 1754. My own copy is much more recent. The book is supposed to have been given to one of his Mohammedan generals but the Emperor K'ang Hsi

(1662-1722). A partial translation is given in Broomhall's "Islam in China." This work goes over much the same ground as the Hsi Lai Tsung P'u, translated above, so need not be given in translation here. It is obviously a work of Moslem propoganda, giving imaginary dialogues between the T'ang Emperor and the "turbaned man," these being a vehicle for conveying Moslem teaching. It is of very little value as history, and may be regarded as entirely apocryphal.

As there is no reference to the arrival of Sa'd Wakkas at that early date in Chinese history, nor in Arabic records, but only in Moslem writings of much later date, we are bound to regard the whole story as untrustworthy. The legend is rejected by such authorities as M. Devéria, E. H. Parker, A. Wylie, J. Dyer Ball, and Marshall Broomhall.

Of the stone monuments relating to Moslems in China there is only one which need be dealt with in the limits of this paper, and that is the Sianfu tablet, which claims to be the oldest, and which is probably responsible for perpetuating the legend about the very early entry of Islam to China. This remarkable monument is dated 742 A. D., thus claiming to be older than the famous Nestorian monument. I have translated the inscription in full elsewhere, but here give only the extracts specially bearing upon our subject. It is said—

"Although the teaching of Mohammed was similar to that of other sages, it prevailed at first only in the West, and China had not heard of it until the time of the Emperor K'ai Hwang of the Sui dynasty, (581-601 A. D.) when it entered China, and gradually spread throughout the empire.

His Imperial Majesty T'ien Pao, of our present dynasty . . . commanded the Superintendent of Public Works to build this mosque for the accommodation of the followers of this religion. . . .

This work was begun on a lucky day of the third month of the first year of T'ien Pao, and was completed on the twentieth day of the eighth month of the same year. Lest this incident might be forgotten, as time goes on, this tablet is set up as a remembrance, and the circumstances inscribed thereon; the tablet being erected on a lucky day of the eighth month of the first year of the Emperor T'ien Pao (742 A. D.)"

The inscription on this stone makes an impossible claim

when it says that Islam entered China in the Sui dynasty, prior to 601 A. D., after having already prevailed for some time in the West. The date of the inscription is given as 742 A. D.; yet terms are used which are not found in history until much later. "T'ien Fang" is used for Arabia, though this name is not found in histories earlier than 1258 A. D. At the period of the inscription, Sianfu was known as Ch'ang-an; but the name Wannen-hsien is used, which was not its name until more than two centuries later.

The evidences against the genuineness of this monument are so strong that its claim cannot be accepted. It must be regarded as a forgery. It is quite possible that a mosque was built at Sianfu in the year mentioned, as there had been visits of Moslems earlier than that. But an Arab traveller, in 878 A. D., more than one hundred and thirty years later than the date of this monument, says nothing about either mosque or monument, nor of meeting co-religionists there.

Presuming that the monument is a forgery, it is still a question of interest how the forgers made such an anachronism as to state that Islam entered China before 601 A. D. I cannot do better than follow M. Broomhall's lucid summing up of the investigations of himself and others, showing that there has been an error in calculation between Chinese and Arabian years.

"The calendar in China is based upon a luni-solar year, the interjection of an extra month every two or three years rectifying the lunar with solar time. A similar arrangement had prevailed in Arabia for some two centuries before Mohammed, but the prophet, for some reason or other, altogether prohibited intercalation; so a simple lunar month was reintroduced in Arabia. As the Mohammedan calendar stands today, it consists of twelve lunar months of twenty-nine or thirty days alternately, with an intercalary day added to the twelfth month at intervals of two or three years, making eleven intercalary days every thirty years. This gives a difference of al-

most exactly eleven days a year between the Arab lunar and the Chinese luni-solar year, or roughly three years in a century.

“M. Devéria has suggested that at some date, perhaps 1351 A. D. when the mosque at Canton was restored, the Chinese Moslems transmuted their Arabic chronology into Chinese, and being ignorant of the variations between the lunar and solar years of the two systems, simply counted back the Arab years since the Hegira as so many Chinese years, thus ante-dating by twenty-three to twenty-four years the date they had in mind. That some such process was adopted is proved by the fact that Liu Chih has, in his standard life of Mohammed, placed Mohammed’s birth at 546 A. D., the beginning of his prophetic mission at 586 A. D., and the Hegira at 599 A. D. Only by such a conjecture is it possible also to explain the extraordinary claim that Islam entered China prior to 601 A. D. The same conjecture leads us to believe that the monument, though dated 742 A. D., was not erected before 1300 A. D.; otherwise there would not be sufficient lapse of time to allow for the necessary variations in chronology.”

We may now leave traditions and erring monuments, and come to the safer ground of history. It is probable that commercial intercourse between China and Arabia dates back to very early in the Christian era; there are records of junks from China being found up the Euphrates in the fifth century A. D. Details of the course taken by junks are given in the History of the T’ang dynasty. Travellers by the sea route arrived at Canton or at Kanfu (Canfu)—the ancient port of the famous city of Hangchow. It is very probable that soon after the Hegira, when Islam spread throughout Arabia, some of the traders to the East had become converts, and these would observe their religion at the places where they visited, or resided, in China. It has been shown in the foregoing that the Chinese-Moslem claim for the arrival of their faith in 586 A. D. is untenable, and that there

has been an error in chronology. Even when this error of twenty-four years is corrected, and the date made 601 A. D. it is still too early. The Hegira was in 622 A. D., and it is not probable that any follower of the prophet came earlier than that.

It was during the illustrious T'ang dynasty, (618-907) that Mohammedans first came to China. In the New T'ang History, the name Ta-shih (Persian, Tazi) for Mohammedan Arabs is first met with, in connection with the Persian king Yezdegerd, who was slain by them, in 652 A. D. His son Firuz had previously fled to Tokharestan, and from there he sent a messenger to the Chinese Court to tell of his troubles and appeal for aid. This was at the time when the Emperor Kao Tsung had succeeded his father, in 650 A. D. Kao Tsung made excuse that the distance was too great for him to send troops to Persia; but he sent to the Moslems to plead the cause of the fallen power. In response to this, the Caliph Othman sent an envoy, with presents, who arrived in 651 A. D. It is not stated by which route he came, but as he would start from Medina, the sea route may have been quicker, and possibly was the one chosen. The brief account in the T'ang history is as follows: "In the second year of Yung Hui (651 A. D.) the Ta-shih king 'Amiral-mumenin' (Prince of the Believers), first sent an envoy to Court with tribute, who said that the kings of Ta-shih had possessed the country for thirty-four years, through two successive generations."

The History follows immediately with a leap of sixty years to the next envoy, and says: "In the beginning of K'ai Yuan (713-742 A. D.) an envoy was again sent, with a present of horses and a magnificent girdle. At the audience the envoy stood, without doing obeisance. The civil officials were about to impeach him, but the Grand Secretary said it was a difference of custom, and to desire to observe one's own rites was not to be counted a crime; so the Emperor forgave him. When the envoy came to take leave he said that in his country they only

worship God, and do not do obeisance (worship) when seeing the king. The civil officials reproved him, and then he did obeisance. In the fourteenth year (726 A. D.) another envoy was sent, named Soleiman, with presents of local products, who did obeisance and was given a red robe and girdle."

Other embassies are mentioned in the T'ang history, but there is nothing said about the introduction of Islam as a religion. Abu Jafar, the builder of Bagdad, and the second Caliph of the Abbasids, sent an envoy in 756 A. D. Shortly before that time a great rebellion had broken out in China, led by An Lu-shan, a man of Tartar descent, who held high office and had been much trusted by Hsüan Tsung. The Emperor fled to Ch'engtu, and the rebels took possession of the two capitals, Sianfu and Honanfu. The heir-apparent was proclaimed Emperor in Kansu, with the title Su Tsung; and in order to put down the rebellion he secured the help of mercenaries, under promise of great rewards. From the regions west of China, a miscellaneous army was gathered, including Uigurs, T'u Fan, Nan Man, and Ta-shih, who helped to regain the capitals and put down the rebellion, which was not fully accomplished until 763 A. D. Ta-shih is the term used at that period to denote Moslems of Arabian origin; it is found in the T'ang history, but not in other Chinese histories I have consulted.

It is not clear how many Moslems were included among those who first responded to Su Tsung's call for aid, but the total of Uigurs and others from the West is given at over four thousand. It is still uncertain from whence they came, or who sent them, as it is not until the final struggle, after Su Tsung's death, and when Tai Tsung had succeeded (763 A. D.), that we see the mention of Moslem troops sent by the Caliph Abu Jafar. It seems very unlikely that troops would be sent from Bagdad or Arabia on the long and perilous journey to China. Probably they came from some frontier garrison in Turkestan.

It is said they did not return, but remained in China, and married Chinese wives, and became the nucleus of the Chinese Moslems of today. The Moslem traditions claim that three thousand soldiers came, at a much earlier date than that just mentioned, and that they were the progenitors of the present Moslems. It is probable that such infiltrations occurred more than once or twice, and that they account for the large Moslem populations of Western China.

There has been some confusion between the terms Uigurs or Hui-ho, and Hui-hui (Moslems). It has been suggested that by the name Uigurs, Moslems were meant; and Liu Chih says that they were the same. From the T'ang history we see that the two names are used to refer to different peoples, and in the description of out-lying nations they are dealt with quite separately. Very much more is said about the Uigurs than about the Ta-shih (later Hui-hui), and as used at the T'ang period, Hui-ho referred to people quite distinct from Mohammedans. At a later period, i. e. during the Sung and Yuan dynasties, Moslems were known as Hui-ho, and Liu Chih says that ultimately Moslem scholars saw that the two characters used were meaningless, so they changed to Hui-hui, the sound being approximately the same, but the characters having a meaning, which, however, is explained in various ways, none of them very satisfactory.

The T'ang history was written in part by writers contemporary with the events recorded, and was revised in the eleventh century. The Sianfu monument claims to have been erected in 742 A. D., and a mosque also built at what was then the capital, where the historiographers would be; yet they do not mention this tablet, nor do they give the time of the coming of Mohammedans at before 601 A. D. as the stone does. The name T'ien Fang for Arabia, which is used on the stone, is unknown to the T'ang history, while Ta-shih, the name of the period for that country, is not found on the stone. These considera-

tions strengthen the conclusion that the monument was erected later than the eleventh century, and is a forgery.

It is not proposed to give here more about the various embassies and other entrants mentioned; but before leaving the T'ang history it will be useful to translate what is said about Mohammedans, under the heading of Ta-shih, as follows:

"Ta-shih was originally part of Persia. The men have high noses, are black, and bearded. The women are very fair (white), and when they go out they veil the face. Five times daily they worship God. They wear silver girdles, with silver knives suspended. They do not drink wine, nor use music. Their place of worship will accommodate several hundreds of people. Every seventh day the king (Caliph) sits on high, and speaks to those below saying, 'Those who are killed by the enemy will be born in heaven above; those who slay the enemy will receive happiness.' Therefore they are usually valiant fighters. Their land is sandy and stony, not fit for cultivation; so they hunt and eat flesh. . . .

"At the middle of the Ta Yêh period of the Sui dynasty (610 A. D.) there was a Persian shepherding on the hills of Medina, and a beast spake to him saying, 'On the western side of the hill there are three caves (holes), in one of which there are sharp swords and a black stone, with an inscription in white saying that whoever possesses it will become king.' The man went and found everything as stated. The inscription on the stone said that he should rebel; so he gathered followers together at the stream Hen Ho. They robbed merchants, and fortified the western parts, and the man made himself king. He removed the black stone, and regarded it as precious. The people went to punish and suppress him; but they were all badly defeated. From this he became still stronger, and destroyed Persia and Fu-lin, and invaded India and other countries."

It will be seen that fact and fiction are very much mixed in the above account. The time mentioned is about the time that Mohammed received his first revelation, in a cave at mount Hira—at Mecca, not Medina. The finding of swords may be an echo of the tradition of Mohammed's grandfather, Abd ul-Muttalib, rediscovering the Zem Zem well, and finding some armor and other things there. The Black Stone mentioned was not found by Mohammed, but was built in the Kaaba long before his time, and again at the rebuilding before he received his revelations. There are no white characters of the kind mentioned on it. The story of the rebellion and very sudden rise to power does not indicate the twelve

years of hardship and quiet propaganda between his first revelation and the Hegira in 622 A. D., after which his career at Medina began. It is not made clear that Mohammed died, and the days of extensive conquest were those of his successors.

It is evident that, even in the eleventh century, when the T'ang history was revised, the historians actually knew very little about Arabia and Mohammedanism.

We come now to a later date, and to the important witness of the first Western travellers to China, who have left accounts of what they saw. Two Arab travellers who reached this country over a thousand years ago left records in Arabic, which have been translated, and are available for use. Eusebius Renaudot, who translated from the Arabic in 1673, states that there is good proof for accepting the date of the manuscript he used as 1173 A. D. The English translation is dated 1733.

The first of these travellers was in China in the year 851 A. D. His name does not appear, and there is a page missing in the account when he begins to tell of China. Speaking of Canfu—which was probably the old port of Hangchow—he says: “Canfu is the port for all the ships and goods of the Arabs who trade in China. Soliman the merchant relates that at Canfu, there is a Mohammedan appointed Judge over those of his religion, by the authority of the Emperor of China; and that he is judge of all the Mohammedans who resort to these parts. Upon Festival days he performs the public service with the Mohammedans, and pronounces the Sermon, which he concludes in the usual form, with prayers for the Sultan of the Moslems.” One other extract is of interest to our present investigation; “I know not that there is any one that has embraced Mohammedanism or speaks Arabic.” That was two hundred years after the authentic account in the T'ang history of Moslems being officially received in China, and allowed to propagate their faith. There may have been converts from among the Chinese at various places, but at the

large port of Canfu, with a considerable Mohammedan population, our traveller implies that he did not meet any, but only Moslems of foreign extraction.

The second traveller was Abu Zeid al Hasan, of Siraf. He was in China in 878 A. D. He tells of a revolution, during which the city of Canfu was besieged by a rebel leader, the year being 877 A. D. He says: "At last he became master of the city, and put all the inhabitants to the sword. There are persons fully acquainted with the affairs of China who assure us that besides the Chinese who were massacred upon this occasion, there perished one hundred and twenty thousand Mohammedans, Jews, Christians and Parsees, who were there on account of traffic."

This writer tells a remarkable story of an Arab who went to China and had an interview with the Emperor at Sianfu.

A lengthy conversation between the Emperor and Ibn Wahab is then recorded, which we must omit here.

The Arab traveller says he asked many questions of Ibn Wahab about the city of Cundam (Sianfu) where the Emperor kept his Court, and a detailed description is given of what was seen there. It is remarkable that in the account thus given, Ibn Wahab makes no mention of any mosque or Moslem population at Sianfu. There was an interpreter who could speak Arabic, but it is not clear whether he accompanied Ibn Wahab from Canfu, or was already at Sianfu. A stone monument, commemorating the building of a mosque at Sianfu is dated 742 A. D.—that is one hundred and thirty-six years earlier than the time when Ibn Wahab was telling of his visit—and yet he makes no mention of meeting with co-religionists, or uniting with them in worship during his long stay there, nor of seeing or hearing anything about the tablet. This strengthens our conviction, already expressed, that the tablet was not there until long after the period claimed for it.

I now venture to suggest that there is probably some

more or less close connection between Ibn Wahab (Wahb) and the ancient tomb at Canton. The myth of Sa'd Wakkas and the sixth century entry having to be discarded, the ancient tomb still remains to be accounted for. Ibn Wahab was probably the most notable Mohammedan of the early days, and although the Arab traveller Abu Zeid met him at Canfu, there is no reason why he should not also have been identified with Canton, and he may have died there. The subject is worth investigation.

The Mohammedan legend uses the name Sa'd Wakkas, and says that he was related to Mohammed. The Arabic records say that Sa'd ibn (son of) Abu Wakkas was also called Sa'd ibn Malik ibn Wahb (as Zuhri). The early visitor to China was called Ibn Wahb, descended of Heber, the son of Al Asud; and he was of the Koreish tribe, and claimed relationship with Mohammed. He came by ship, as Wakkas was said to have done, and also went to see the Emperor at Sianfu. The Emperor made him presents, and he returned to Irak. Apparently he came back again, as he was a man well advanced in years when the Arab Abu Zeid al Hafan conversed with him in 878 A. D. There is considerable agreement thus far with the legend about Sa'd Wakkas.

The time would be more than two centuries later than that claimed for Wakkas; but, as we have seen, that story is quite untenable. Moslems came to China earlier than Ibn Wahb, but none that we know of claimed to be related to the Prophet, nor to have been so venerated and so highly honored. So it is possible that the tomb of the saint at Canton is the resting place of Ibn Wahb, who may have died near the close of the ninth century; in which case it would still be over one thousand years old, and sacred enough to account for the pilgrimages and the legends.

It is significant that neither Ibn Wahb, nor the Arab travellers, nor any other ancient and authentic authority, mentions Sa'd Wakkas and the tomb, which, on the theory

of the earlier entry, should have been well known in the ninth century. Absence of mention is not absolute proof, but it is a strong presumption that the tomb was not there, nor the seventh century apostle known anything about in the ninth century. The legend probably arose subsequent to the death of Ibn Wahb, who might very well be the historic figure about whom the fables and miracles have gathered.

The results of our investigations may now be summed up briefly. We conclude that the earliest authentic accounts show that Mohammedans were first known officially in China in 651 A. D. when the embassy from Caliph Othman was received. It is not recorded whether the messenger came by land or sea. As the sea route had been used for a long time by traders, it is very probable that some of the merchants from Arabia, who had become Moslems, brought their religion with them to Canton and other coast cities at about the same period, or a few years earlier; but apparently they were not concerned with propagating their faith among the Chinese.

The progress of Moslem conquests in Central Asia brought Mohammedans to the frontiers of China on the landward side, and it seems certain that the larger numbers entered China from that side. In the eighth century several embassies of Moslems were received. It is also said that some Moslem Zaidis, fleeing from the Omayyads, probably came to China.

It was about the middle of the eighth century that Moslem soldiers came in numbers, and subsequently settled down to family life in China. One story says that some of these soldiers reached Canton. It is probable that more than one contingent of soldiers came at different times, which might account for the various stories.

Mosques would be required, and were probably very simple places, not deserving mention in the official histories of the period. The Moslem traditions are so confused and uncertain that they cannot be relied upon as giving the correct period of entry, nor of the erection of

the first mosques. We know from Arab travellers that in the middle of the ninth century there were Moslem places of worship, at which services were held. The famous pagoda, or minaret, at Canton, according to Dr. Kerr's *Canton Guide*, was built about 900 A. D. This may have been about the time of the death of Ibn Wahab, a noted Moslem, for whom the famous tomb may have been made at the same time.

It will be seen that there is much uncertainty, and some conjecture, when we leave the safer ground of history; and one of the purposes of this study has been to show that it is not wise for anyone to unreservedly accept traditions as facts concerning when and how Moham-medans first came to China.

Shanghai, China.

ISAAC MASON.

MOHAMMED ABDUH, THE REFORMER

A poem which appeared in the Arabic daily newspaper, *Al Ahram*, in the issue of January 12, 1929, revives the memory of one of the greatest and most significant figures in modern Islam, the noted scholar and reformer, Sheikh Mohammed Abduh.¹

The poet, Mohammed Effendi Al-Harawi, recently visited the house in Ain Shems, near Cairo, which was the residence of Mohammed Abduh until the time of his death. This house, which once attracted scholars from many Moslem lands, to which students gathered in eager groups, and to which the poor and needy of all classes resorted for aid in such numbers that it came to be known as "The Refuge of the Unfortunate," the poet found empty and neglected and rapidly falling into a dilapidated condition. The grief and indignation which he felt at the sight are admirably expressed in his ode, which is both a lament and an appeal. In the poem he first addresses the house, calling to mind its former glories: "At no far distant date thou wast a house of royalty though without crown or throne." He then contrasts its present empty and deserted appearance; recalls the greatness of character and self-denying services of its former occupant; and appeals to the nation to preserve the house in some form which will constitute a fitting memorial to the genius that brought to it lustre and fame, and which will serve as an inspiration to future generations.¹

It was entirely appropriate that such an appeal for the preservation of the memory of Mohammed Abduh should be published in the pages of *Al Ahram*. When *Al Ahram* first appeared as a weekly newspaper, later to

¹ An English translation of the poem appeared in the *Egyptian Gazette* for January 17, 1929.

become a daily, its first issue, dated September 3, 1876, contained an article from the pen of a young Azhar sheikh named Mohammed Abduh, welcoming its appearance as the handmaid of the new civilization which, it was to be expected, would achieve greater attainments than those of the days of the pyramids (Al-Ahram) of old. To the pages of this newspaper this same Mohammed Abduh was a frequent contributor.

A few days after the publication of the poem just referred to, the daily papers reported a proposal that had been made by Sheikh Mohammed Mustafa Maraghi, Rector of the Azhar University, whose present efforts to reform the Azhar are attracting wide attention. The proposal contemplated setting aside the library of Mohammed Abduh and the furnishings of his study room, to be kept as an integral part of the library of the Azhar, thus serving as a memorial to Mohammed Abduh. Again, it is entirely appropriate that some such public recognition, however belated, should be made of the valuable services which Mohammed Abduh rendered to this ancient institution, which held so large a place in his purposes and to the reform of which he devoted so large a share of his energies.

The foregoing incidents may be taken as passing indications of the fact that the name of Mohammed Abduh still holds a place in Egypt a quarter of a century after his death. Other more substantial evidence exists to show that his influence is still potent, not only in Egypt but also in many other Moslem lands. It is not the object of the present article, however, to trace the extent of his influence, but rather to give in brief outline a sketch of his life.

Mohammed Abduh was born of pure Egyptian stock of the peasant class, in one of the villages of the Gharbiyyah Province in the Egyptian Delta. The exact place in which he was born is unknown. The date of his birth is also unknown. The date most commonly accepted is 1266 A. H., which corresponds to the year 1849, A. D.

His father, who was in moderate circumstances, wished him to be educated, and so sent him to the village school, and in 1862, to the Ahmadi Mosque school in Tanta. Abduh, however, was at this time little interested in study, and this fact, combined with the inefficient methods of education employed, led him to run away from school. He returned to his village and, at the age of sixteen, was married, with the expectation of remaining in the village. His father, however, insisted upon his returning to school. In 1866, he entered the Azhar University. At this time the movement of reform in the Azhar, which had been introduced under the Khedive Ismail Pasha, was on the wane, although some lectures on logic and philosophy were still being given. For a number of years Abduh continued to attend lectures and at the same time to search diligently through the books of the library. He was consumed with a desire for knowledge which he was not receiving, and was impatient with the methods of instruction followed in the Azhar. Some of the doors of learning at which he knocked in his eager pursuit of truth he found to be locked by reason of the traditional spirit of the Azhar instruction.

During this early period of study he was much given to the practice of Sufism. He had been introduced to it by a paternal uncle of his father, named Sheikh Darwish, a member of the Shadhili brotherhood, on the occasion of Abduh's escape from the school at Tanta. This had proved the turning point in his religious life and had created in him a love for knowledge. The mystic practices and habits of thought grew upon him. He spent his days fasting, while continuing his studies, and his nights were given to prayers, recitation of the Koran, and performance of *zikrs*. He wore rough garments next to his body, and indulged in other ascetic practices. He finally became so entirely absorbed in these matters that he acquired a distaste for the common intercourse of life. His first work, which was published in 1874, re-

flects his mystical tendencies in its sufistic and pantheistic trend of thought.

While thus engaged, there arrived in Egypt, in March, 1876, the noted Afghan savant, Jamal Al-Din Al-Afghani. This remarkable man, in the course of his career, visited practically all the lands of Islam, and many of the European countries, the governments of which had interests in Moslem lands, and upon all these countries he left the impress of his vivid and energetic character. He was a man deeply versed in Moslem lore, of magnetic personality, restless energy, and unusual ability as orator and writer. He possessed peculiar gifts for political agitation, particularly by secret methods. And to this field he devoted his life, for he was essentially a revolutionist. His object was to arouse Moslem nations to free themselves from foreign aggression; he conceived that all Moslem nations should be united under one supreme Moslem government. At the same time he desired a thorough reformation of Islam and its adaptation to the demands of modern life.

Upon his arrival in Egypt he at once gathered around him groups of young students, among whom was Mohammed Abduh. To these he expounded some of the most advanced textbooks on theology, philosophy, jurisprudence and mysticism, dealing with all these subjects in a free and liberal spirit much different from the traditional methods of the Azhar. He also introduced his pupils to western science and gave them training in journalism and public speaking. At the same time he continually held before them his political ideals. It was through his influence that the Nationalist Party (Al-Hizb Al-Watani) came into being. His general ideals of reform were also emphasized. Mohammed Abduh soon became his devoted friend and pupil, and followed him about like his shadow.

In September, 1879, Jamal was expelled from Egypt by the Khedive Tawfik Pasha. By this time Abduh had become well indoctrinated in Jamal's principles, and was

prepared to carry on the work of reform which Jamal had begun. In 1877 he received his diploma from the Azhar University and entered at once on the work of teaching. He gave lectures in the Azhar, employing the methods of reasoning and logical proof which he had learned from Jamal. He also gave lectures in his home to the students who gathered about him. In 1878 he was appointed teacher of history in Dār al-'Ulūm, a school which had been founded in 1873 by those who despaired of the reform of the Azhar, for the training of the 'Ulama in modern sciences as well as Moslem theology. He was also appointed teacher of Arabic in the Khedivial School of Language. In his teaching he kept before him as his motive the raising up of a new generation who should become concerned with the revival of the Arabic language and the Islamic sciences, and trained in self-government.

In the following year, however, he was removed from these positions by the Khedive Tawfik, who at the same time expelled Jamal from the country. In September, 1880, through the influence of Riad Pasha, then Prime Minister, he was appointed one of the three editors of *Al-Waqā'i' Al-Misriyyah*, the official organ of the government (*Journal Officiel*). Later he was made editor-in-chief, and was permitted to associate with himself a number of others who had been trained by Jamal or by himself. Among these was Saad Zaghlul, who was afterward to become the beloved Nationalist leader, then a young sheikh in the Azhar University. Abduh continued as editor for a period of eighteen months, until May, 1882. As editor of the official mouthpiece of the government he exerted his full influence, which was considerable, for the improvement of the character of official reports and also of the work of all departments of the government. As censor also of all newspapers of the country he insisted on higher standards of languages and of honesty in reporting news. In order to enlarge the influence of the official journal, he added a literary

department in which he discussed matters of public interest and questions of reform. He emphasized the need of education, and warned against the superficial acquirement of European customs. Questions of political life and self-government were also discussed.

Meanwhile, the movement which has become associated with the name of Arabi Pasha had been gaining momentum. It was inevitable that Abduh, with his advanced views, should have some part in a movement which Lord Cromer has declared to be in some part a national movement. He seems to have believed that he could give direction to the movement. He therefore threw himself earnestly into aiding the military leaders, both by lavish advice and by the influence of his pen. But he soon found himself to be fundamentally at variance with many of their ideals, more particularly with their appeal to force. He advocated, rather, a policy of education and gradual acquirement of the privileges and duties of self-government. When it became necessary, however, for him to finally throw in his lot with the nationalists, he did so. When the movement collapsed, he was arrested and tried in September, 1882, and banished from the country for a period of three years and three months and went to Beirut, Syria.

In 1884 he joined Jamal Al-Din in Paris, and together they launched a secret organization known as "Al-'Urwah Al-Wuthqah," with the object of uniting Moslem nations against western domination. They published a journal of the same name, in which appeared articles of a radical and aggressive nature. Abduh was literary editor, but the political tone of the publication was determined by Jamal. After eighteen issues, however, the paper was suppressed because of its radical character; but in spite of its brief history, it exerted a very great influence throughout the Moslem world.²

² The re-issue, in 1928, of the principal articles which appeared in *Al-Urwah al-Wuthqah*, under the same title, with brief biographical sketches of Jamal al-Din and Mohammed Abduh by Sheikh Mustafa Abd al-Razik, Professor of Philosophy in the Egyptian University, and a former pupil of Abduh, furnishes testimony to an abiding interest in this publication.

Following this the two friends separated, Jamal going to Russia, while Abduh, after traveling for a time in the interests of secret agitation, returned to Beirut in 1885, where he engaged in teaching and literary work.

In 1888 the way was open for his return to Egypt, since his pardon had been secured from the Khedive Tawfik. During the interval of his exile he had traveled extensively in Europe, where he had learned much at first hand concerning that western civilization in which he had for long been greatly interested; he had traveled also in Moslem lands, where he had learned the sources of Moslem weakness. He returned to his own country in honor and esteem, and in the course of the ensuing years was entrusted with many responsible and influential positions. The period which followed his return to Egypt was the most productive of his career, during which he made his most important contributions to Egypt and Islam.

He was first appointed a Qadi in the Native Tribunals, serving successively in Benha, Zagazig, and Cairo. Two years later he was appointed Counsellor to the Court of Appeal. In 1899, on the recommendation of the Khedive Abbas Hilmi II, he was made Grand Mufti of Egypt, thus becoming the official interpreter for Egypt of the canon law of Islam. His *fatwas*, or legal decisions, were therefore authoritative and final. During his incumbency of this office he enlarged its scope by giving decisions on personal and individual questions as well as on all official matters. By reason of his decisions his renown spread through the Moslem world, and his opinions were sought for in many quarters. His legal decisions manifested a spirit of liberality and of freedom from bondage to tradition, and a genuine desire to render Islam adaptable to the requirements of modern civilization. Two of these *fatwas* are best known—one declaring it permissible for Moslems to eat the flesh of animals slaughtered by Christians or Jews, the other declaring it permissible for Moslems to deposit money in

the Postal Savings Banks of the government where it might draw interest.

His position as Mufti gave him official oversight of the *Mehkemehs*, or Courts of Personal Statute, which are administered on the basis of the *Shariah*. He did much to rescue these courts from the inefficiency into which they had fallen, and to improve the methods of judicial procedure. In June, 1899, he was appointed a member of the Legislative Council, which at that time exercised only advisory powers, and in numerous ways showed its lack of experience in the field of representative government. Abduh soon became its leading member and rendered valuable services, not only to the Council and to the government, but also to the country at large.

During all this period he maintained his interest in and concern for the Azhar University. He greatly desired its reform, not only for its own sake, as the leading educational institution of the Moslem world, but also as a center for reform of Islam itself. He hoped that by reform of the methods of administration and teaching, by the widening of its curriculum so as to include some modern subjects, and still more by the reform and modernization of all Islam within its precincts, these much needed reforms might be carried far and wide by reason of the prestige of this honored institution. He accordingly secured, in January, 1895, the appointment of an Administrative Committee of which he was the head. Through his continued efforts many changes for the better were effected in administrative details, in methods of teaching and in the living conditions of the students, in spite of much opposition from the Azhar itself. So long as the Khedive actually supported his efforts these reforms went forward; but when this support was weakened or withdrawn he found himself unable to accomplish anything. Finally, in despair of attaining his ends, he resigned his connection with the Azhar on March 19, 1905, a short time before his death.

His activities also embraced the founding and development of the Moslem Benevolent Society in 1892, in order to encourage cooperation in good works and the service of the public and to promote organized charity. He founded, too, in 1900, the Society for the Revival of Arabic Sciences, with the purpose of bringing about a literary revival. He found time also for the delivery of lectures in the Azhar University on theology and on Koran interpretation, and for numerous contributions to the public press. He died in the midst of these varied activities on July 11, 1905, at a comparatively early age, leaving many plans and projects uncompleted.

His writings are considerable in number, and embrace a variety of subjects. Chief among these, for an understanding of his views on the interpretation of Islam and a knowledge of his principles and ideas of reform, are "Risalat Al-Tawhid" which consists of lectures on theology, delivered first in Beirut, Syria, and later in the Azhar University; and his lectures in exegesis of the Koran, which were carried as far as Sura 7, verse 125. These lectures, first published in the magazine *Al-Manar*, consist of notes of the lectures taken by Mohammed Rashid Rida his chief pupil, and later developed and enlarged by him with the approval of Abduh. Shortly after Abduh's death these lectures were published separately as the Commentary of *Al-Manar*. (It is being carried on to completion by Rashid Rida.) Abduh's writings also include other literary and philosophical works.

Mohammed Abduh undoubtedly possessed many of the qualities of leadership. His greatness of character impressed all who knew him; magnanimous, generous, truthful, independent in thought, energetic in action, courageous and determined in carrying out a course once decided upon, zealous and devoted in the service of his religion and of his country. His attainments in learning placed him in the forefront of Moslem scholars of his day, and won him wide recognition throughout the Mos-

lem world. He was deeply versed in all the fields of Moslem learning. His acquaintance with works of European scholars was also not inconsiderable. Of his modernizing tendencies and attempts to reconcile Islam with the attainments of modern science and adapt it to the requirements of modern civilization, it is not here the place to speak. While his liberal ideas and the advanced measures of reform which he advocated gained the sympathy of many of the educated people of Egypt and other Moslem lands, they aroused the determined opposition of all the people of conservative tendencies, who suspected his orthodoxy and openly accused him of being an unbeliever. Yet the reform impulses which he set in motion still persist, and his ideas have made their influence felt even where their source has not been acknowledged. In the sphere of political progress, of intellectual advance, of social reform, the movement and ferment characteristic of present day Egypt are in no small degree traceable to his influence. Mohammed Rashid Rida, his leading disciple and nominal successor, has continued persistently to promulgate Abduh's ideas through the agency of the monthly publication, *Al-Manar*, which he founded in 1898 and of which he has since been the editor. Others of Abduh's disciples have been influential in public life as well as in literary and educational circles. At the same time his principles and ideas have had a much wider and more influential reach, extending to almost all Moslem countries. M. Michel, who collaborated in 1925 with Sheikh Mustafa Abd al-Razik in translating into French Abduh's principal work on theology, "Risalat Al-Tawhid," speaks of Abduh as "one of the creators of modern Egypt." He also calls him, with no less justice, "one of the founders of modern Islam;"³ for his efforts to reconcile the fundamental ideas of Islam with the scientific ideas of the West have significance for Islam the world over.

Cairo, Egypt.

C. C. ADAMS.

³ B. Michel et le Cheikh Moustafa Abdel Razik: "Cheikh Mohammed Abdou: Rissalat al Tawhid," Paris, 1925, Introd. p. xiii.

THE URDU LANGUAGE AND THE URDU BIBLE.¹

“There was given him dominion and a kingdom that all languages should serve him.” Daniel 7:14.

The latest “History of Urdu Literature,” by Mr. Ram Babu Saksena, M. A., LL. B., is interesting and significant in more ways than one. It shows that a civil officer of Indian race, in the midst of heavy professional work, can produce a timely and scholarly contribution to the history of Indian literature. It also illustrates the active part taken in the formation of the great Mohammedan language of India by Hindus. Mr. Saksena is a congener of the Kayasth officials who gave themselves to the shaping of Urdu in the time of the Moghal régime. It may well be that this linguistic fusion of Hindi and Persian speech, representing Hindu and Moslem life and thought, will prove a real force towards welding into one national life the factors that seem now so antagonistic. Mr. Saksena makes a cursory and rather inaccurate reference to the “labours of Christian missionaries in the field of Urdu literature.” The development of these labours is marked by the fact that the year 1928 saw the completion of the revision of the Old Testament in Urdu, the first portions of which Henry Martyn had translated before he finished the New Testament in 1811, and that this revision was carried through by a company consisting chiefly of Indian Christian scholars led by an Indian chairman.

The translation of the New Testament into Urdu was made during the rise of Urdu prose literature, for before 1800 almost all Urdu writers were poets, or at least versi-

¹ See a *History of Urdu Literature* by Ram Babu Saksena, M. A., LL. B., etc., (Allahabad, 1927); also *The Bible of Every Land* (Bagsters); the biographies of Henry Martyn by Sargent, G. Smith and C. Padwick; *Henry Martyn and his Bible Translations* by Canon Edmonds; *the Urdu New Testament* (Bible House Papers No. III).

fiers. Now Urdu prose quite overshadows Urdu poetry. In the early days of that prose development the New Testament was a factor, and throughout the century Christian books, periodicals and tracts have been a substantial element, tending to run from translation to original works, till latterly the critical task of shaping the expression of biblical ideas has been entrusted to the leadership of Indians. Commentaries on the books of the Bible have been produced during these hundred years chiefly by foreign scholars. May we not now reasonably look for the time when Indian writers will produce an Indian commentary, based on international scholarship, which will be the fruit of united labour on the part of all churches, and a help towards their union as based on the oneness of the divine life revealed in Scripture?

THE URDU LANGUAGE

The growth of the Urdu language marks one of the most fateful stages in the history of the great Asiatic race which comprises Turk, Mongol (or Moghal) and Tatar, particularly in connection with the spread of Islam. It was the western Turks, first Seljuk and then Osmanli, who overthrew the Byzantine power and established the Turkish empire with its centre in Constantinople. It was other Turks of the Moghal race who repeatedly invaded India and set up one dynasty after another, till at length the sixteenth century saw Baber the Turk victorious at Panipat (1526) and his son Akbar the ruler of all India north of the Nerbudda (1556-1605). Akbar was not only a great general but also an administrative genius who sought to unify by goodwill what he had gained by the strong arm. He allied himself in marriage with Hindu royalty, and freely admitted Hindu officials to the highest posts. Chief of these was the famous finance minister Todar Mal, who worked out the system of land revenue which is still the backbone of Indian state finance. These Moghals or Turks brought with them Persian as the language of administration and literature. What French

was in Europe during the eighteenth century that Persian was in half Asia for six centuries, and it still largely remains so; in countries of the most varied speech a polite education must include some facility in Persian speech, and a knowledge of Sa'di and Hafiz. So these Hindu revenue officers (principally of the Kayasth caste) had to learn Persian, and did it very well, and of course Moghal officials had to learn something of the current speech of Braj, the region about Agra and Delhi where the great military and civil centres of Moghal rule were established. This variety of the Hindi language was known as Braj Bhasha, i. e., the Speech of Braj. The intercourse between conquerors and conquered centred in the great military cantonments, especially in Delhi. These garrison quarters were known by the Turkish name Urdu, meaning army or camp, from which comes our word "horde," originally applied to the "Golden Horde" or army of the emperor Changez Khan (1154-1227). The mixed language gradually formed in the *Urdu e Mu'alla* or "Chief Cantonment" at Delhi came to be known simply as Urdu, and so it is called by those who speak it throughout India; but inasmuch as it is based on a dialect of the speech of Hindustan proper it is also widely known as Hindustani. The Persian, which came into India through Moghal rule, was mingled with much Arabic and a little Turkish, and these combined elements were grafted on the basis of Braj Hindi in such a way that the vocabulary of a sentence may be almost entirely either Persian or Hindi, but the grammar remains purely Hindi. In modern Urdu, especially colloquial, one might almost substitute English for Persian.¹ The analogy between the history of English and Urdu is striking; to both we may apply the words of Cowper:

"Thy language at this distant moment shows
How much thy country to the conqueror owes;
Expressive, energetic and refined,
It sparkles with the gems he left behind."

¹ I have heard a man say: "Wuh to *poor man* hai; apne *debts pay* nahin kar sakta." For the italicized words he might equally well have used *garib admi* and *qarz ada*.

POETRY AND PROSE

For nearly two centuries after Akbar, this new language on the literary side was used for poetry only. The Persian element predominated both in prosody and in diction, and the subject matter was either erotic or religious. Mr. Saksena gives copious details of the various authors and schools of poetry, fostered by the Musha'ira or poets' competition rally, and he traces its development in polish, clarity and expressiveness despite its limitations. But while the literary style was being developed under conditions of artificiality and professionalism, and to please patrons, sometimes of debased tastes, the language itself was growing in the intercourse of the people in bazar, court-house and cantonment, and now a new rule had come into the land, which was destined mightily to affect its sphere and influence. Since 1757 Bengal, the most populous and wealthiest province of the Moghal empire, and with the largest proportion of Moslems, had come under the sway of the British East India Company. The work of administration demanded more and more urgently a careful study of the language of the people by British officials, for the official Persian court language required an interpreter, and there was need of a language spoken by the people in and outside Bengal. Here Urdu (*alias* Hindustani) came in. It had been used for a few prose productions of a limited and pedantic sort, and it was widely spoken, especially among Musalmans, both in North and South India. In 1800 the East India Company established a college at Fort William in Calcutta for the study of the vernaculars by their recruits, both civil and military, and at the head of it was placed Dr. J. B. Gilchrist, a scholar who had already made himself familiar with the regions where Urdu was spoken in its greatest purity, and it was he who selected Urdu to be the *lingua franca* of British India, side by side at first with the official Persian. But there was no suitable prose literature from which to teach the students, and the first task of the best writers whom

Dr. Gilchrist had been able to attract was to compose in good workable language stories and moral dissertations for the instruction of the learner, and so Urdu prose was shaped. One remembers as a student some of these productions, not always edifying, which had retained their position as text-books by the fame of their early days, though they had already been really superseded by less artificial products. Dr. Gilchrist led the way in linguistic study of Urdu with grammar, dictionary and monographs; the Baptist Mission Press at Serampore and other presses were rapidly increasing their output and as British rule extended north-westwards the use of Persian was increasingly felt to be a clog on the wheels of administration, till in 1832 Urdu was substituted for it as the official language of North India beyond Bengal; in 1838 the press was made free, and two years later the first Urdu journal "Urdu Akhbar" was started at Delhi, then the seat of the nominal Moghal empire. Now the number of Urdu newspapers is 157, out of 222 Moslem journals in the whole of India.

Urdu poetry has been greatly deepened and enriched, and works such as the Quatrains of Hali can be read by any lover of poetry with enjoyment and profit. Prose has developed genuine fiction, history, philosophy, politics, science, and a respectable educational literature. A great deal of this is translation, but the educational work is mainly original, and the fiction largely so.

SCRIPT

Mr. Saksena refers to efforts that are being made to "regularize and simplify the script, and to adapt it to Urdu." This, of course, refers to the Persian character (adapted from the Arabic). But no reference is made to actual use of other characters. A few Urdu publications are produced in the Devanagari or the Gurmukhi character, but a great many in Latin script, and the use of "Roman Urdu" is a definite factor to be considered in education and literature, especially since ability to read

and write Urdu in the Roman character has been made a compulsory subject of military education in the Indian army. As regards Christian production, about half the number of theological works are in the Roman script; in other branches much less, and very few books for non-Christians are printed in "Roman." In 1926 the Bible circulation of the Panjab Auxiliary in Persian and Roman characters numbered: whole Bibles 1217 and 207; New Testaments 2587 and 204. For the United Provinces exact figures are not available, but to judge by former years, the proportion of Roman script would be much larger there. In the Christian community the popularity of "Roman" in the United Provinces and its unpopularity in the Panjab is very marked. In view of the enforcement of the Latin script in Turkey, it is likely that Indian opinion in this matter may be modified. The average child or adult learning to read Urdu can get as far in one month with the Roman character as in twelve months with the Persian. The possible saving of expense in primary education is enormous, and children, getting much further in their time at school, would be less likely to lapse so often as they do now into illiteracy.

HENRY MARTYN'S TRANSLATIONS

When Henry Martyn arrived in India in 1806 Urdu prose was coming to the birth. The language grown up under the sway of one foreign rule was being reshaped under another in a form which made it eventually the instrument of intercourse, administration and education over a great triangle with points at Patna, Karachi and Peshawar. Henry Martyn could not come to Bengal as a missionary, for missionaries were then excluded from the territories of the East India Company. As chaplain he ministered most faithfully to the English community, but, as his journals clearly show, he was set upon bringing the Moslem world to the knowledge of the real Christ whom they ignorantly revered. For he had chosen the chief province of the greatest Moslem em-

pire containing the largest Moslem population of any, and he realized that in the age-long controversy between Moslem and Christian the time had now come to emerge from disputes of abstract metaphysic and dogma into the atmosphere of history, by presenting in the tongue of the people the Scriptures which both Moslem and Christian confess as inspired, and so setting forth the personal Saviour to whom they witness. This young Cambridge don, who died at the age of thirty-two, inaugurated a new era of Christian evangelization of the Moslem. Thenceforth at intervals the great translations of the Bible into languages of the Moslem world followed one another; the Persian, which Henry Martyn himself first did, then Arabic, Turkish, Malay, Swaheli, Hausa, besides other tongues of the seventy million Moslems of India; Bengali, Panjabi, Gujrati, Sindhi, Pashtu, Kashmiri and many more. And with this spread of the Christian Scriptures the age-long prejudice against rendering the sacred Arabic text into a common tongue has largely broken down among Moslems themselves, and besides the translations made by western scholars the Koran is now available in sundry vernacular renderings by Moslem translators. That they should be able carefully to compare the Koran with the Bible is all to the good.

There was an earlier translation of the New Testament and parts of the Old into the "Hindustani" of South India by a Danish missionary named Schultze, about 1741, but it had practically disappeared, and Henry Martyn was the first to make an effective Urdu rendering of the Scriptures. It was the New Testament on which he concentrated, and which he completed before he left India to take up the same work in Persia, where he succumbed to illness aggravated by unceasing labors. The Urdu work, more especially, is a monument not only of his devoted piety, amazing industry and brilliant gifts, but also of his far-seeing sagacity.

From Henry Martyn's memoirs there is not much to be gathered in detail as to his translational principles or

methods; but the progress of his work is clearly shown. In 1805, before leaving England, he read Urdu for two months with the leading scholar of that day, Mr. Gilchrist. On the voyage we find him studying the language: "Learning Hindustani words, which, however dry an employment in itself, is made so delightful to me by the mercy of God that I could be always at it." He arrives in India in May, 1806. On October 20th of that year we find him "employed all day in translating the first chapter of Acts into Hindustani. I did it with some care, and wrote it all out in the Persian character; yet still I am surprised I did so little." Next day, after correcting it with his munshi, "felt a little discouraged at finding [after five months in the country] I still wrote so incorrectly." On October 29th he is "grieved and disappointed and ashamed at this extraordinary backwardness in the language," because he cannot make some Rajmahal boatmen (who doubtless spoke Eastern Hindi, perhaps mixed with Bengali) understand his Urdu. In November, at Dinapore, while translating, "my soul much impressed with the immeasurable importance of my work and the wickedness and cruelty of wasting a moment when so many nations are, as it were, waiting till I do my work. Felt eager for the morning to come again, that I might resume my work." In June, 1807, Henry Martyn accepts a proposal of the Rev. David Brown, on behalf of the Calcutta Bible Society, that he should engage more directly in Hindustani Scripture translation, besides superintending the same work in Persian. Somewhat later he writes: "So delightfully engaged in the translation; the days seem to have passed like a moment. . . . What do I not owe the Lord for permitting me to take part in a translation of His Word! Never did I see such wonders and wisdom and love in the blessed book as since I have been obliged to study every expression; and it is a delightful reflection that death cannot deprive us of the pleasure of studying its mysteries."

After this Henry Martyn is joined by his chief Urdu assistant, Mirza Fitrat. In March, 1808, the New Testament translation is completed. In April he is sending off the first pages to David Brown at Calcutta, apparently to be tested by scholars there. Somewhat later he writes: "I have read and corrected the MS. copies of my New Testament so often that my eyes ache." The heat he feels terrible (often at 98°), the nights insupportable. On June 7th he writes to David Brown: "Your design of announcing the translation as printed at the expense of the British and Foreign Bible Society I highly approve. I wish to see honour put upon so godlike an institution." July 2nd: "We are safe with the Hindustani; it wants but little correction, and, in case of my death, could be easily prepared by any one." During the rest of 1808 and 1809 Henry Martyn is continually revising the Urdu MSS. and superintending the Persian translation (this, it would seem, was first done by his assistants from the Urdu, and afterwards checked by Henry Martyn himself). In September, 1809, Martyn is again correcting the Urdu gospels with Mirzā Fitrat. In August, 1810, both the Urdu and the Persian translations have been completed and submitted to scholars in Calcutta. The Persian is rejected as too full of Arabic, the study of which language had an intense fascination for Martyn; but the Urdu, "on the minutest and most rigorous revision," is pronounced to be "idiomatic and plain." So in 1811 Martyn leaves India to perfect his Persian translation in Persia itself, and, having finished it, lays down his life.

Meanwhile, the Urdu version was passing through the Baptist Mission Press at Serampore, when the great fire of March 11th, 1812, destroyed almost all the sheets, save the first thirteen chapters of St. Matthew's Gospel, and melted the fount of Persian type. Happily some copies were saved, so the book was put to press a second time at Serampore "from finer type," and the first edition of two

thousand appeared in 1814, two years after the translator had passed away.

Henry Martyn apparently began to read Urdu in 1805. He arrived in India in May, 1806, and began translating the New Testament soon after. By the summer of 1810 it was finished, in four years from his arrival in the country and in five years from his first study of the language. It is an achievement unique in the history of Bible translation. It was not a translation done by a native in his own mother tongue, or by one who was given to that work alone; it was by a foreigner, dependent on the help of others for questions of style and idiom, in a most trying climate, with the cure of souls committed to him, which he discharged faithfully. The excellence of the language reflects indeed the greatest credit on Mirzā Fitrat. But though Martyn largely owed to another the shape and polish of the language that he used, yet it was himself who had to determine the tone and temper of the translation. For this he had unique gifts: immense linguistic capacity, reasoning power combined with imagination, deep reverence linked to sensitive, passionate feeling, intense sympathy for those to whom his message was to go, and a constraining sense of obligation to his Lord. As Canon Edmonds finely says: "He put his soul into his sentences, and He that dwelt in his soul condescended to dwell in his sentences too."

It is interesting to note that the personal fruits of Henry Martyn's work as an evangelist among Mohammedans were typical of later experience among missionaries generally. There was Mirzā Fitrat, the scholarly and God-fearing helper, who never got beyond the knowledge of the word to the discipleship of the Master. There was Sabat, the proud, irascible, scheming Arabist who was actually baptised, but after Henry Martyn's death turned and rent his work in fierce anti-Christian controversy with arguments culled from his studies as a Bible translator. Finally there was Shaikh Salih, baptised as 'Abdul Masih just after Martyn left India, or-

dained as the first Indian minister of the Anglican Communion in India in 1825 and the first medical missionary in a simple way. The three types are with us still, the friendly student, the instructed apostate, the faithful disciple and evangelist; and of the last, thank God, we have seen a goodly succession.

REVISIONS

In the course of the nineteenth century the Urdu Bible, which was subsequently completed, went through several partial revisions, none of which carried the consensus of the whole missionary body; the Baptists, in particular, being bent on preserving the Serampore version of the New Testament with their own rendering of *baptisma* as "dipping." It was not till 1892 that a committee, representing all the missions interested, was set up by the British and Foreign Bible Society for the revision of the Urdu New Testament. This included, alongside of missionaries, Indian Christians lay and clerical, and, for the sake of style and idiom, we consulted also non-Christian assessors including three well known writers of the Urdu literary world. The first stage of the work was completed in 1899 and the tentative edition then printed was again carefully gone over in 1904 and finally published in 1906. In the course of the revision the Baptist members working on the Committee had been empowered to agree that their own special rendering of *baptisma* should be placed in the margin, the customary translation being retained in the text. A century-long controversy was closed, and one New Testament version adopted by the whole Urdu-speaking church: another milestone on the road towards reunion. But among all the emendations, demanded by the growth of the language and the progress of scholarship, the text of the Urdu New Testament bears still the same relation to Henry Martyn as our English Revised Version does to William Tyndale.

One more chapter remains. Since 1906 the Indian

church had grown, and it felt the need of unifying the form of the whole Urdu Bible by a careful revision of the Old Testament translation. Not only did the impulse to the work proceed from the Indian element, but there were now Indian scholars ready to take the lead, and in 1921 the work was begun under the chairmanship of the Rev. Joel Waiz Lal, a biblical scholar from among the Kayasth class, hereditary Hindu votaries of Urdu. He, alas, died in 1924, but the work continued, and of the Indians who have taken part in it, including two successive chairmen, three were converts or children of converts from Islam; the descendants of men who had been brought to the knowledge of Christ as a result of Martyn's work, thus helping together to consolidate and spread it. As we realize the unity of the church militant and the church triumphant we may well believe that there was joy in heaven when the man who had burned out his life for Christ in rendering His message for the Moslems of India and Persia came to know of their children teaching and spreading it!

The revised Old Testament is now in press, and an effort is being made locally to raise the sum of Rs. 12,000 to publish the first edition of the whole revised Urdu Bible, as a gift of the church in India. The circulation of the Urdu Scriptures through the British and Foreign Bible Society since its foundation is listed up to 1927 as Bibles 129,412; New Testaments 294,136; portions (chiefly Gospels for teaching in schools and general circulation) 4,587,617. The figures for 1928 amounted to 2,817 Bibles, 4,446 New Testaments, 144,720 portions. The New Testament especially goes to all parts of the world where Indians migrate; it is heard of from Hong Kong, Malaya, Mombasa, Lagos, Vancouver, Australia. In case of conversion from Islam in India (as I know from personal experience) the most frequent beginning is the study of the Urdu New Testament, and the Urdu Bible is the basis of a theological literature which now runs into hundred of books. It speaks to the Hindu as

well as to the Moslem. The Gospel which brought conviction to Maulawi Imad-ud-Din seventy years ago and that which Sadhu Sundar Singh fifty years later first destroyed and then embraced came to both in the Urdu tongue. This language, so expressive, so flexible, so wide-spread, born under the Moghal rule and further shaped under the British, has become a polished instrument in the service of the kingdom of God.

London.

H. U. WEITBRECHT STANTON.

THE COST OF EVANGELIZATION AMONG MOSLEMS

Converts from Islam have ever been won through tears and blood, and the stubborn road of progress is flanked by the graves of the pioneers. Raymund Lull, stoned to death by an angry mob outside the walls of Bugia; Henry Martyn dying in India, a young man with the best of life still untried; Ion Keith Falconer in his lonely grave among the barren fastnesses of Aden: their blood calls aloud to us—not for revenge but for lives of sacrificial service poured out like theirs in joyful abandon and utter selflessness. It is little more than a century since the Christian Church awoke to the duty of evangelization among Moslems: yet in that time there have been hardly fewer martyrs for their faith than converts among the natives of the “home countries” of Islam where the religion of Mohammed has long held sway.

As one views the present extent of Islam, spread like a huge fan across the breadth of Asia and Africa and embracing a score of nations, one feels appalled by its apparent strength and solidarity. Yet there is evidence that the old-time stability of Islam is breaking down: national and economic forces are at work, weakening and disintegrating the solid wall of custom and tradition; and there are signs that the near future will see many Moslem lands, hitherto closed to evangelization, at last unbarred to the entrance of Christian missionaries.

What is the wedge that, driven into the fissures in this already crumbling wall, shall break up the hard crust of antagonism and lay the veiled cities of Islam open to the light of the Gospel? It is not Western civilization, although that has played its part: not education

alone, however enlightened: not organization, however thorough and extensive. It is nothing else but lives laid down gladly and willingly for these sons of the desert and the mountains, who are of those "other sheep" over whom Christ yearned. To the writer's mind there presents itself a vivid picture of three new graves in Moslem countries—the resting place of those who gave their all for the hope of the Gospel: who held death cheap if but one might be won from Islam to Christ.

The first grave is that of William Temple Gairdner in the little English cemetery in Cairo. None who were present at the funeral service will ever forget its quietness and touching simplicity. There were no agonized ones, no noisy weeping, such as is the usual accompaniment of a Moslem funeral: all was peace, and the dominant note was one of triumph. Many leaders of Mohammedan thought were present, and they must have been impressed by the beauty and hope of a Christian burial. Canon Gairdner has served Egypt nobly and devotedly for thirty years, but his greatest testimony to the living power of Christianity was in his own burial. As his body rests under the shade of branching palms in that beautiful garden of the dead, who dares say that his life has not reached its fruition. Christian work in Egypt has suffered a great loss by his death, but of him it may truly be said that "he, being dead, yet speaketh."

The second grave is at Addis Ababa, among the mountains of Abyssinia. It was a cruel mischance that robbed Aden of the bones of her most honored missionary to Moslems, John Cameron Young; who after thirty-five years of devoted service succumbed to the rigors of the climate, in May, 1926. Should we mourn the loss of one who has passed to his reward "with honors rich upon his head"? Not the hardships of years of patient toil bring regret, but this thought—that through all these years no more than half a dozen converts have been won from Islam; and of these some have gone back.

This is the price that the missionary to Moslems must

pay—patient uncomplaining toil through many years, with little or no visible result at the end.

News has just reached us of the tragic death of Henry Bilkert, of the American Mission in Eastern Arabia, shot by Ikhwan raiders on the road between Basrah and Kuwait. His newly-turned grave in the Makinah cemetery in Basrah is the latest witness to the cost of Christian evangelization in Moslem lands. The pathos of the tragedy is not lessened by the fact that these raiders were engaged in a purely tribal dispute, and had no specific designs on the life of this devoted missionary: had the convoy not seemed to interfere with their depredations, it might have passed unmolested. None the less, this is another brave life laid on the altar of sacrifice: a life in its prime, cut short to gratify the blood-lust of a Wahhabi zealot, so utterly futile in its expression that one almost despairs of the power of reason. But the murdered man's wife has seen in the sudden home-call the working out of God's purpose for Arabia. When told of the tragic event, she said, "If his death will be the means of bringing peace among the Arabs, I am willing, even thankful, that he died." Such faith and heroism need no commentary: they lift the soul to the uppermost reaches of sacrificial love. Mr. Bilkert's colleague Dr. C. G. Stanley Mylrea wrote:

"On January 21st, 1929, there passed from the roll of the members of the Arabian Mission, the name of Henry Bilkert. His death has come down upon us like a thunder bolt from a clear blue sky. It was so unsuspected, so, humanly speaking, unnecessary, so overwhelming. Mr. Bilkert was travelling from Basrah to Kuwait with the party of Charles R. Crane, when they were suddenly attacked by a party of Ikhwan, Ibn Sa'ud's fanatical tribesmen, who regard all Moslems outside their own sect as heretics upon whom war must be waged to the death, failing absolute surrender.

"The news of Mr. Bilkert's death has come upon his colleagues with all the force which blows of this kind

must inevitably inflict. He was so near to us and so very much alive. Only a few days ago I received a letter from him, probably one of the very last he wrote, dated but three days before he was struck down by the bullet of the fanatic. It was a letter brimming with love, joy and enthusiasm, characteristic of the author. For Henry Bilkert was of the type which is preeminently suited for missionary service. In his person he combined the valuable traits of an unfailing good nature, a delightful sense of humor, a love of sociability, and the best sort of optimism, which while it realized the many difficulties of our work in Arabia, difficulties both spiritual and material, the difficulties of reaching the Arab heart and the difficulties of carrying on the work with funds greatly inadequate to the needs as he saw them, refused to let these difficulties daunt him, but looked steadily forward into the future, fully persuaded that what God had promised, He was able to perform. He was one of those steadfast, unmovable men, always abounding in the work of the Lord, and we may rest assured that his labor was not in vain in the Lord."

The workers pass, but the work goes on. It is a high and a solemn task to be called to follow in their footsteps. Does Arabia need more blood poured out to the death ere she will hear the Christian message? If that be God's will for us, we accept joyfully. If a single soul be won from the thralldom of Islam into the marvellous light of the Gospel, it will be worth all the lives and money expended in the effort. Let us revise the words of Kipling and make them our prayer and our challenge:

"If blood be the price of victory
Lord God, let us pay in full."¹

Sheikh Othman, Aden.

W. IDRIS JONES.

¹ From "A Song of the English."

THE REBELLION IN KANSU

Several years ago, when one of history's greatest earthquakes shook the province and a contemplated rebellion of East Kansu Mohammedans was frustrated, the world was as startled by the

time required for the facts to filter through as by the catastrophe itself. Likewise the real facts that have reached the outside world about the Moslem rebellion that flared up in western Kansu last year have, up to the present, been almost *nil*.

A few words are necessary, first of all, about the three cities most affected by the rebellion. (See map herewith.)



Hochow is a walled Chinese city in the center of a populous district largely Moslem. The south suburb far outshadowed the city in influence and importance, being the famous "Ba Fang" or Eight Parishes, the site of fifteen noted mosques and the hub of Chino-Asia Mohammedanism. The suburb and the districts near by contained the home sites of important Moslem families and the burial tombs of their dead. Mo-Ni Valley to the Northwest is the home site of the famous Ma An Liang Family. Most of the influential Moslem families of the present are related to it, directly or by marriage.

Sining is the city which suffered most in the rebellion of 1895. The main authority in this city for several

years, during the period of nominal control by the Chinese, being the Defence Commissioner of Sining and Kokonor, a strong Moslem Military leader.

Liangchow is a city selected by the Moslems in very recent years for development as a Moslem center. It is on the big road to Turkestan and very near Mongolia. Here was located a very wealthy Moslem leader, third son of the late Ma An Liang.

Preceding the siege of Hochow, which precipitated this rebellion, crowds of lawless Moslems had been roaming about in western Kansu, robbing on out-of-the-way roads and pillaging isolated villages. Some of these, no doubt, were engaged in this nefarious pursuit because of near famine conditions. During the month of May, thousands of these people armed with guns, spears and often crude weapons, in large bands devastated the surroundings of larger cities. Emboldened by success and joined by more recruits, the mob descended on the prosperous Hochow valley and besieged the walled Chinese city. The Nationalist garrison in the city was just able to protect the terror-stricken populace and refugees from this lawless mob, but outside in the district near and far they looted and burned, mostly attacking Chinese villages.

As the besiegers made their headquarters near the South Suburb, the Mission Hospital premises, lying as they did where the bandits settled down, was doomed from the very first. Dr. Liu, the Chinese doctor in charge of the hospital at the time, at the first warning, with his family fled with a few belongings into the walled city. The Chinese Moslem evangelist, treating the warning as a rumor, stayed on a couple of days and finding the conditions hopeless for useful work, and the gates into the city then closed, fled for his life to the eastern hills. He sought refuge in a Moslem village with an old Mohammedan who had given him lodging on many occasions, but this time his old-time friend dared not take in a Chinese. The fiat had gone forth that any

Chinese fleeing from Hochow should be slain at sight. After many hairbreadth escapes, in which the Lord protected him, he reached Titao, a Chinese city to the east.

During June, while the Nationalists rushed soldiers to Hochow and heavy fighting was progressing there, some of the Sining Moslem cavalry revolted. The leaders who thus revolted were evidently desirous of active opposition to the Nationalists, whilst the Moslem Commissioner desired to remain neutral. Mr. and Mrs. Learner, while returning from the coast to their station, met some of these revolting cavalry, but were unmolested. For weeks matters in the Sining district were at a great tension. Country people flocked into the walled cities, and city people sought refuge in mountain caves. The countryside was infested with roving bands of armed robbers.

At Liangchow, the Moslem Commissioner, according to report, had agreed to relinquish his post in favor of a Nationalist appointee by a certain date. For reasons not known to the general public, on the last day of June the Nationalists carried out a *coup d'état*, suddenly attacking the Moslem suburb. The leaders fled in confusion and the Nationalists, it is said, took more than one hundred and twenty cartloads of the spoils of war to Lanchow. The Nationalists thus took over full control in Liangchow city, but the surrounding district was thrown into confusion.

The Nationalists then increased their operations at Hochow, raised the siege, scattered the brigand mobs, but not without much bloodshed on both sides. During these operations, Dr. Taylor, a new doctor under the China Inland Mission, spent some weeks there doing Red Cross work. In a letter at the time he wrote: "It is real war."

Meanwhile the Liangchow leaders were reassembling their scattered forces, and this time with the consent, if not the cooperation, of some Sining and Hochow leaders, on July 22nd retook Liangchow, defeating the Nationalists with terrible slaughter. An authentic account

from there stated: "Everyone who was thought to be in sympathy with the Nationalists was shot at sight." Two members of the China Inland Mission church were accidentally killed.

Now leaving the Moslems in charge in Liangchow let us see what was transpiring down Hochow way. A most daring and drastic action was being carried out. In order that the Moslem suburb and environs might never again become a cover from which the Chinese city might be attacked, the entire suburb was cleared and walls and buildings levelled to the ground. Then, as a silent witness, the historic artery of trade, the south gate of the walled city of Hochow was not only closed but the gateway dammed with bricks and mud.

The reader, unless acquainted with old Hochow, can never imagine the effects of this action.

A simple illustration or two from old Hochow will suffice. A father has taken his little son out to the edge of the suburb, where lie the vast acres of Moslem dead. Many graves are there of great and famous names of the past. Over some are impressive mausoleums. With what fervor he shows him this, and admonishes his boy to grow up in the traditions of these who have gone. The muezzin's call to prayer for three or four centuries has sounded forth from these many minarets five times daily. A year ago one might have walked through the continual bazar on Hochow's main street, crowded with people, and all manner of beasts of burden from donkeys to camels, and having turned up one of the many side lanes, have entered the precincts of one of the old mosques. Faded panels given by early Emperors of the Manchu dynasty hung beneath the tottering minaret. From the platform four stories above, fourteen other minarets would have been visible within a mile radius, seven of these within a stone's throw. The tracery and design of traditional Moorish architecture mingled with old Chinese in these minarets. Below, surrounding these towers were the schools and colleges where hundreds of

Mullas were always training in Arabic, Islamics and many sciences, and after years sent forth as proud contenders for their Faith. In many places one would have seen the shining roofs of the houses of influential Moslem merchants, military leaders and retired gentlemen. All this, by one command, became a vast plain of broken walls and smouldering debris. Near the graves of the past some Moslems will ever be, and although some day a new suburb will arise upon the ruins of the old, the old Ba Fang is gone and gone forever.

After this necessary digression let us continue the narrative.

A thin line of communication was kept open to Hochow from Lanchow, but not over the regular routes through Mohammedan country, as all surrounding country was infested with brigands. August was a month of continual hostilities. The Moslems, pushed southward from Liangchow, and now unquestionably aided by some Sining and Hochow leaders, retook Pingfan. Early September found the Moslems still spreading their control, and Lanchow was threatened. A veteran missionary of the China Inland Mission reported from Liangchow that during this Mohammedan occupation of the city the officials and soldiers were kind to the foreigners and did what they could to protect them from molestation. The district controlled by the Sining Commissioner having definitely been drawn into the fight against the Nationalists was cut off for some time from all commercial relations with Lanchow. While this injured trade in Sining, yet it cut off from Lanchow the supplies of grain on which the capital largely depends. The hour was a critical one for both sides. Large reinforcements had been dispatched to Kansu from Shensi and Honan.

From Nanking Marshal Feng Yu Hsiang was trying to bring about a reconciliation with the Moslem leaders. The noted Moslem leader Ma Fu Hsiang, who was reported as under appointment as military Governor of

Sinkiang, was retained in Nanking that he might use his influence among the Kansu leaders. At his request, one of his sons proceeded from Northeast Kansu to Lanchow and later to Hochow as a peacemaker. Also northwest of Liangchow, a member of the East Country tribes of Moslems not related to the Hochow Moslem families, went to Sining to urge the Commissioner there to make peace with Lanchow. As a result of his visit, an embassy of three important officials was dispatched toward Lanchow on a peace errand. They never arrived, however, as in the mountain gorge three days from Sining, they were set upon by renegade Moslem soldiers, who killed two outright and left the other one for dead. Almost at death's door and in a badly mutilated condition he was brought back to Sining, where the missionary was able to save his life.

Matters in Hochow being somewhat in hand, the Nationalists now redoubled their efforts to the north and finally retook Pingfan, inflicting a great defeat on the assembled Moslem forces. There was great loss of life on both sides, and wounded Moslems poured back to Liangchow and Sining. The Moslem leaders now driven back, at Liangchow prepared for resistance but also for flight to wild Tibetan country in the event of reverses, while at Sining the Commissioner finally agreed to confer with the Nationalist representatives at Hsiang Tang, the easternmost district of his control. Thus while the fighting drew near Liangchow an amicable agreement was being made with the Sining Moslems. The following is a vivid report from Liangchow:

"By September 20th the Nationalists began to approach the city. This caused the Mohammedans in Liangchow to be apprehensive of their own safety. The fighting drew nearer, and it was not long before rapid and violent firing could be heard southeast of the city. Various attempts were made at negotiations, which were fruitless until finally it was possible for a small party to visit the Nationalists' headquarters. On the 26th there

was a stiff battle east and southeast of Liangchow, and about two hundred wounded were brought into the city. On the 29th there was another struggle which lasted from midnight to the following noon, and by dawn on Sunday parties of the Nationalists were searching the city for fugitive Mohammedans." An attempt was made to kill some of the wounded Moslems in the hospital, but this was stopped as soon as reported to the officer in charge.

The ensuing two months saw no extensive opposition to the Lanchow control. The bandit armies were scattered further afield. During December, however, they came out from the fastnesses of the Tibetan border country and attacked and looted the cities of Taochow and Minchow and made attempts on other places. Further complications also arose in the Hochow districts. The unsubmissive Moslems made their stand in and near the famous Mo Ni Valley. After prolonged resistance the Moslem leaders fled to the ever open arms of the border country, and the Nationalists flew their flag and stationed their soldiers in this historic valley.

As far back as September an agreement had been made whereby the Sining district should be taken over fully by the Nationalists. But on the day before Christmas, when the writer with his family was returning to this city, the entire control was still in the hands of the Moslem Commissioner. There was a little apprehension on the part of the local people as to how peacefully the change would be made. At the close of the year, however, three officials and a small retinue of soldiers entered the city quietly and prepared for the coming of twenty-five thousand troops. At the same time announcement was made that Sining was to become the capital of a new administrative area, a new Province called Ching Hai, the Chinese name of Lake Kokonor. In a few days all the Moslem Commissioner's cavalry and infantry had withdrawn to nearby country, and con-

currently the first ten thousand troops marched in and the Governor arrived to take over full control.

This rebellion which has thus been brought to a close was peculiar in many ways. It was sectional, because the great Moslem population of Eastern Kansu did not become involved. It was largely political; not so much Moslems *versus* Chinese as some Moslem leaders against the present régime. That the trouble did not culminate in a religious *Jihad* is a cause for thanksgiving, and is due to the conciliatory spirit toward the priestly class, for, following the destruction of property at Hochow, it is reported that a large sum of money has been granted for the rebuilding of some of the mosques destroyed. The brigand bands are, for the present, just driven into other districts, and the leaders who have not submitted to the Nationalists have merely taken refuge with many of their soldiers in remote places.

At Hochow, the unrest still precludes the reopening of active missionary work among the Moslems who remain. The little group of Moslem Christians who were meeting there in the home of one of the believers is now scattered, as are many of the interested ones. Gradually they will have to be located again. When work is possible there once more, the Christian and Missionary Alliance, in whose district the city lies, may have missionaries on the field qualified for work among the Moslems. The China Inland Mission is faced with wide open doors among the Moslems in many districts, at present having workers giving full time to the Moslems in the Sining district and at Ching Shui near Tsinchow in Southeast Kansu. The Scandinavian Alliance Mission, associated with the China Inland Mission, also has one family giving much time to the Moslems in their district near Pingliang, eastern Kansu. Following on this recent crisis among the Moslems, much prayer is needed for wisdom and guidance to be given to these and forthcoming workers, and for this most difficult work.

Sining, Kansu.

GEORGE K. HARRIS.

ISLAM AND THE GOSPEL IN TANGA

In Tanga, the northernmost city on the coast of former German East Africa, now a British Mandate called Tanganyika-Territory, missionary work was carried on among the Mohammedans since the founding of the Tanga Mission Station in 1890. Thus, the Gospel of Jesus Christ, the Saviour of sinners, was preached to a people who are almost entirely, or at least outwardly, Moslems. This was done, until the war, by the missionaries of the Bethel-Mission, and by teachers and evangelists from their converts, without either the missionaries or the native assistants having had special training for mission work among Mohammedans. Because of lack of forces this missionary work was limited to a more or less regular preaching of the gospel in the streets and in the hospital for natives. At the same time, in a room rented in the city for this purpose, lantern slides of Bible stories were shown and explained, in order to give the gospel to the children of the non-religious government school. Visible results were not the reward of this missionary work among the Mohammedans, but it was seed sown in hope. In the small Christian congregation of Tanga, which during the twenty-five years before the war had grown to about one hundred and twenty souls, there was hardly one who was a native of the city of Tanga, or one who with knowledge had made the step from Islam to Christianity.

During the war all missionary work in Tanga was interrupted, and the Christians were scattered into the hinterland. Only after the war, that is 1920, was the zealous and faithful Pastor Yakobo Ngombe able to gather together the former members of the congregation

who had gradually returned to Tanga. He combined with them the many kinds of Christians from the various peoples of East Africa who were looking for work in the port of Tanga. It took five years until our Tanga Church acknowledged her duty to the Moslems, and dared to step out openly with the message of salvation in Jesus. Yakobo Nyombe gave a report of the first attempt in June, 1925, and the reason for such a long delay. He said: "A long time we doubted as to the value of preaching the gospel in the city of Tanga. We thought that the people of Tanga would not accept the preaching at all, and that no person would listen. The people despised the Word of God. They say: 'This is a European religion; a creed for unbelievers. It is sinful to listen to it. He who listens to this teaching will be lost.' In this situation we thought that it would be a vain endeavor to preach the gospel to people of such a mind." When the Christians, in spite of this idea, dared to preach the joyous message in the open, they noticed with great surprise that all their fears had been in vain. Yakobo reports, "Among all those who came to hear, we discovered none who came out of malice, or to disturb the meeting, but all with kindness and joy quietly listened to us. The light of the Word of God lightened their hearts, and they went home joyfully."

Encouraged by the result of this first meeting the small congregation continued Sunday after Sunday, with hardly any interruptions, to preach the gospel to the Mohammedans. "All of us, men, women and children left our villages," writes Yakobo, "and went into the city of Tanga to preach. We stopped on a crowded street and sang a song, in order to invite the people to come, and to praise God. Then there gathered a group of people who enjoyed the sight; Indians, Banyans, Arabs, Somalis, and Swahelis. We read from the Bible and preached to them by explaining what we read." The preachers—usually Yakobo and his brave assistant Hermann Kanafunsi—took special pains to meet the needs of the Mo-

hammedans in their choice of Scripture readings. Thus, they preached for a series of Sundays on texts which dealt with "the doubts of the people in respect to the Bible and to the Son of God." Also, they laid special stress on the message that Jesus is the Son of God. "We would like to make known to the people this great mystery of God becoming flesh for our salvation from the power of Satan, death, and sin."

That this preaching met with opposition might be expected. Yakobo reports about this: "The auditors paid careful attention. But a certain teacher did not like to hear that Jesus was the Son of God. He praised everything that we had preached, only he did not want us to praise Jesus as the Son of God. He also said that we would make ourselves very sinful if we do that." In general, there is the joyous note in the reports that the people of Tanga listened to the preaching of the gospel peacefully, and that those who disturbed the peace were reprimanded by the auditors themselves. At any rate, it has made a tremendous impression upon the people that the small Christian congregation has begun of itself this missionary work among its own country people and has kept it up with great faith for two and one-half years. It is a remarkable thing that the church did not become weary even though no visible results appeared from the work; but it was seed sown in hope. It is very gratifying that the two leaders, Yakobo Ngombe and Hermann Kanafunsi, are also able to hold their own in debate with Mohammedans, and that they at every opportunity give witness that Jesus is the Son of God and the Saviour of the world. Repeatedly, have they reported fully of such talks with Mohammedans. Hermann Kanafunsi appears to have special gifts for the discussion of questions on religion. Occasionally, Moslems have said that they feared his ready answers. "It is difficult to get around this teacher, either in things of the Christian religion, or in those of our own. He knows everything exactly. If you try to beat him, he beats you." Hermann Kana-

fungsi ends a full report of his discussions with Mohammedans incidental to a trip through Digoland (north of Tanga), with the words: "Now my Christian brothers, Mohammedans are all around us, and they are trying to prove that our religion has been changed and is false. They speak without knowing what they say. Let us take heed that we answer them in an orderly and gentle manner, using the word of God as it is written in that Book which we all believe. For the Word of God is no lie, but the truth. It bears the power within itself, when you hold it up to the Mohammedans."

It is too bad that the Bethel-Mission has not been able, as yet, to send a missionary again to Tanga. When the means and the man are ready for this, it will be very important that the missionary for Tanga has a good knowledge of Islam and its intellectual life, so that he can meet all the difficulties of the Mohammedans and show them that their own sacred writings as well as ours witness that there is no other salvation except in the crucifixion and resurrection of Jesus Christ, the Son of God.

Our wish and prayer, as we look upon the Mohammedan mission in Tanga, is that God give strength to the small church of Tanga, that it should not grow weary in sowing the good seed, and that He, out of the seed sown in hope, when He wills it, will permit a harvest to come.

Bethel-bei-Bielefeld, Germany.

S. DELIUS.

WHO IS 'UZAIR?

A Koranic passage which has bewildered many students, is that anent the name of 'Uzair. It is the sole reference¹ in the Koran to a personage whose identity is by no means certain, but is usually equated with that of the biblical Ezra. The Sura (IX) in which it is found is of the late Medina period, and the verse in question (30) reads: "*The Jews say 'Uzair (Ezra?) is God's son: and the Christians say, the Messiah is God's son . . . How are they misguided!*"

The interpretation of this may be taken in the expanded form found in Damiri (Hayat al-Hayawan, trans. Jayakar, Vol. I. 553), as follows:—

"When 'Uzair claimed that God had sent him to the Jews to renew the Pentateuch they disbelieved saying, 'God has not placed the Pentateuch in the memory of anyone after its being lost, unless he is His son,' so they called him, 'Uzair ibn Allah."

The difficulty that presents itself is the fact that no historical evidence can be adduced to prove that any Jewish sect, however heterodox, ever subscribed to such a tenet. What grounds were there for the accusation? Was it a figment of Mohammed's own imagination? Rodwell frankly believes it was. Goldziher accepts it as "a malevolent metaphor for the great respect which was paid by the Jews to the memory of Ezra as the restorer of the Law and from which the Ezra legends of apocryphal literature (II. Esdras, xxxiv, 37-49) originated."² But we are inclined to inquire, if it were "a malevolent metaphor", on whose side was the malevolence? Whence

¹ Moslem commentators and traditionists also find in Sura II. 261 a mention of 'Uzair in the story of the mysterious and nameless prophet of that verse, whose story is a prototype of that of Rip Van Winkle. For these legends see Sale's Koran translation and notes.

² Jewish Encyclopedia, VI. 657.

originated such an accusation? It is not probable that the Prophet uttered an indictment of this nature in a city like Medina where Jews abounded, without some foundation.

The Jewish post-biblical writings do not seem to yield any possible solution for this erroneous statement. The quotation from the Talmud (Sanhedrim, 21, 2) given by Geiger,³ to the effect that Ezra would have been worthy of receiving the Law had Moses not preceded him, does not assist us in unravelling the puzzle. Lidzbarski⁴ favors the possibility of a Jewish sect in Arabia venerating Ezra to such a degree as to deify him; thus casting shame on their orthodox brethren.

All these views are held on the supposition that the text of the Koranic passage is reliable. Emendations, of course, on the other hand, have been proposed, but it always seems a precarious operation to have resort to conjectural alteration in order to elucidate a troublesome text. There are two such textual emendations which have been proposed and which are worthy of mention because of their ingenuity. The first is by Casanova,⁵ who reads 'Uzail instead of 'Uzair, and equates with 'Azael, who, according to the Jewish Hagada, is the leader of the "sons of God" of Genesis VI:2, 4. The second is by J. Finkel⁶ who alters the diacritic points, substitutes z for r, and reads 'Aziz—"king" or "potentate". This emended text he connects with the verse in the Psalms (2:7): "The Lord said unto me, thou art my son; this day have I begotten thee."

In spite of such conjectures, however, Horovitz (*op. cit.* 167), considers that there is no reason to doubt the equation 'Uzair=Ezra. He himself in this treatment of the subject (*op. cit.* pp. 127-128) suggests in conclusion that, "it is very probable that Mohammed received his information from a Jewish or Judeo-Christian sect who

³ In his famous *Was hat Mohamed aus dem Judenthume aufgenommen?* (p. 194).

⁴ *De prophetis, quae dicuntur, legendis Arabicis* (Leipzig, 1893) p. 35 n.3.

⁵ *Journal Asiatique*, CCIV, 360, as quoted by Horovitz: *Koranische Untersuchungen*, p. 167. At present I have been unable to verify this reference.

⁶ *Moslem World*, 1926, p. 306.

revered Ezra in similar manner as certain sects did Melchisedek. (See Epiphan. Haeres, LV, 1-9)".

To conclude, if the equation 'Uzair=Ezra be valid, and there seems no reason to gainsay it, then Mohammed had either been misinformed, or had purposely invented this queer dogma. Certainly among the Jews, Ezra the Scribe, the second Moses, as leader of the men of the Great Synagogue played a most important part in the editing of the Jewish Scriptures and the re-establishment of Judaism in Zion after the Captivity, but so far as is known, no Jewish sect ever held such an extreme doctrine as is herein imputed to them by Mohammed. If the idea did not germinate in Mohammed's own mind, and since it is quite alien to Judaism, it is obviously a slanderous accusation made against the Jews by their protagonists. I would suggest therefore that perhaps the libellers were none other than their old enemies the Samaritans, who hated Ezra above all because he changed the sacred Law and its holy script. We do not readily associate the Samaritans with matters Islamic but in a very able article (in the Encyclopedia of Islam on the *Samaritans*) Dr. Gaster has demonstrated that Mohammed seems to have made several borrowings from Samaritan sources. May not this be another?

Let us look at the question through Samaritan eyes. Ezra had acted presumptuously. He had changed the old divine alphabetic character of the holy Books of the Law—a character still used and revered to this day by the rapidly dwindling Samaritan community—for the mercantile Aramaic script. He had acted in a dictatorial manner as if he were God Himself, or the very Son of God. The Samaritans, thoroughly shocked, accused the Jews of following Ezra⁷ and accepting his new edition of the sacred text. They not only accused the Jews of altering the sacred script but of altering the sacred scriptures. Dr. Gaster (in his *Schweich Lectures*

⁷ We know that the Samaritans actually circulated a false statement that the Jews kept an image of a small man in the Holy of Holies and worshipped it. Is there any connection between this and the name 'Uzair which is a diminutive form? May the imputed image have developed into "little Ezra"?

on the *Samaritans*) indeed proposes to find in this the origin of Mohammed's conception of the *Tahrif*, or the doctrine of the corruption of the Holy Bible by the People of the Book. For example, in Sura IV, 48: "Among the Jews are those who displace the words of their Scriptures." If Dr. Gaster's suggestion be correct, then Mohammed had found an ally against the Jews in the Samaritans. And if he found the accusations of the latter a useful weapon against the former in one instance, might he not do likewise in another instance, and that especially in the case of a personality like Ezra, whose name was the subject of controversy between the Jews and the Samaritans? Mohammed we know may have acquired his information from the Samaritans during his journeying to Syria, but on the other hand there might have been Samaritan off-shoots in Arabia, although no trace of such is discoverable in the historical records, unless a vestige be found in the feud of Sumair between the two Jewish tribes of Medina. That is highly problematical, and need not be stressed. But it is not at all unlikely that the source of Mohammed's indictment of the Jews is to be found amongst the Samaritans or amongst Arab tribesmen of Samaritan strain. If we found in Samaritan literature the opposite belief that Ezra (or Uzair) was the son of Satan, we would be well-nigh sure of having settled the matter. Unfortunately, access to Samaritan records is not possible at the moment for the present writer, and the argument from silence is not of substantial value.

Benha, Egypt.

J. WALKER.

CURRENT TOPICS

An Educated Moslem on Prayer

Professor S. Khuda Bukhsh is one of the honorary editors of the *Muslim Review* (Calcutta), a magazine of high literary character and remarkable for its breadth of outlook. In the last issue he writes in "The Reflections of a Wayfarer" on the danger of formality in prayer:

I never go to a mosque, nor do I ever pray the five scheduled daily prayers, nor yet do I ever indulge in those outward manifestations of religion which advertise piety, promote temporal interests but rarely or never sanctify life. And yet though averse from these things I have a deep-rooted faith in the spiritual force of religion; for to be without it is (to adopt a Greek proverb) to take the Spring from out of the year. To it we owe all that makes life endurable—strength in misfortune, moderation in affluence, a sense of justice and righteousness, gentleness, humility, resignation, loving-kindness. Without it life will be an unsupportable burden, an orgy of aimless pursuits. Though a devout believer in the true religious spirit, I set no store on religious form. The form debases, the spirit elevates man. The form, good enough, necessary enough at one time, crystallises during its passage through the centuries into a dry, meaningless routine, losing its original force and vitality,—in fact, seriously impeding the onward march of humanity. The recent happenings in Turkey and Afghanistan are eloquent commentaries on this proposition. Thus while the spirit is eternal, the form is a pure make-shift, calling for revision and adjustment as the hour-hand of progress slowly but surely moves. Religion, to be a vital force, must move with the times and shape itself to the needs of the hour. Take one instance among many, the instance of prayer. Its need is ingrained in man. In the savage it is fear which bends his mind in worship to a higher power; in the civilized man, thankfulness for the mercies bestowed upon him. In either case the impulse is overpowering, overwhelming. Through the ages it has assumed a thousand different forms but the spirit is one and the same—the spirit of thankfulness to the great Disposer of events for his uninterrupted gifts despite man's sin, perversity, moral obtuseness. Once we realize the true significance of prayer the form fades into insignificance,—for what is form but a shell concealing the kernel within? Why form, or time-table then? Neither appeals to a rational mind. Every moment of our existence should be a prayer-time; every spontaneous expression of gratitude, a prayer. The scheduled prayer degenerates into an empty form, destroying spontaneity once and for all. Feelings, emotions, impulses of gratitude or thankfulness cannot be disciplined into a routine. They must for ever defy the yoke of law or regulation. Religion as a living, reforming force must for ever be an assemblage of eternal verities, stripped of trappings, divested of

form. It is this aspect of religion which needs calling attention to—more so with us than anywhere else, for *with us the spirit is of no moment, the form paramount*. Can truth be the monopoly or light the heritage of any one people or race? Or the Divine Love either? No! Truth has but one voice though many vestures; the vestures change but the voice remains the one enduring, unchanging voice of Truth. If we would but hear and heed that voice, the dividing wall would fall and love unite us all, curing mental misconception, obliquity of vision, radical lie in the intellect.

When Controversy is Unnecessary

Mr. J. D. Warris, the secretary of the Punjab Religious Book Society, in his last report tells of “hundreds and thousands of men who are really Christian at heart but because of home ties and various other reasons prefer to remain secret Christians and not openly confess Christ. A most interesting incident took place in our Depot just lately. A Hindu gentleman—well-dressed, well-educated—rather advanced in years—stepped into the Vernacular Department and expressed a desire to see some of the latest works on Christian religion. The attendant handed him a copy of the Twelve Great Questions by Dr. McCartney—the well-known American Theologian—recently published in Urdu. He also explained to him that it contained answers to all objections raised by modernists and the so-called higher critics on the personality of Jesus Christ—viz. Virgin Birth, His Miracles, His Deity and Atonement, His Resurrection, Ascension, Second Coming and so on. The Hindu gentleman after glancing over the index of the book said: But what if one has *no* objection at all? Thereupon the plucky attendant gave him a copy of the Secret Disciples—a most beautiful tract in Urdu by the Rev. F. E. Keay of South India. He had a hearty laugh and finally went away with a copy of Maktab-i-Masih (At the Master’s Feet), by Sadhu Sundar Singh.”

The Christian Kalima

The Light (Lahore) has paid us the compliment of reprinting in full from THE MOSLEM WORLD an outline for a Christian tract and then comments as follows:

A little thought over the above “Christian Kalima” will convince one of the cleverness of the move. One will see how the writer has managed to refrain from making much of the Cross, the paganistic emblem of Christianity, and how astutely he has avoided even a mention of *Taslis* (Trinity) which he has represented with *Tauhid* (Unity) so as to impress the Moslem mind. But before proceeding further with our comment on the proposed *Kalima* we should like to quote here a passage from an article, headed “Difficulties in Presenting the Gospel to Moslems” by Mr. Alfred Nielsen (Damascus), which appears in the same number of the journal and which we presume led to the invention of a “Christian Kalima” after the lapse of nineteen centuries. Says Mr. Nielsen:

. . . still one difficulty is left, and to me it is the greatest, and the one that will remain the longest. In the above words it is expressed: the deeply-rooted self-satisfaction of the Moslem. I might express the same, seen from the Moslem point of view, by saying that *Christianity proclaims the Cross*. Islam has a unique position over

against Christianity compared with all other religions. . . . There are other things in the Christian message that are *stumbling-blocks for Moslems, apparently even more than the Cross*. . . . I am thinking for instance of *expressions such as "Son of God" and "Trinity."* If both sides show goodwill at any rate some of the stumbling-blocks will disappear. But *as long as Christianity remains that of the New Testament, and Islam that of the Koran, the Cross will remain the stumbling-block*. I am thinking here of the historical reality of the crucifixion, that Jesus really died on the Cross, and I am thinking of the significance of the Cross and its value for Christians, not of a certain theory of its explanation, but *its place as the central point of God's salvation for men, and its place in the Christian life, its nerve and its ideal.*"

Italics are ours and they are significant. The Moslem mind cannot make room for idolatry, polytheism or anthropomorphism. If Christianity in its present shape is repulsive to it, it is particularly because of the infiltration into original Christianity of these ugly heathen ideas. The cross represents practical idolatry in the Christian religion, Trinity suggests polytheism, and "Son of God" in its literal sense, Jesus being God's "only begotten son," unquestionably indicates anthropomorphism. And the cross plays no insignificant part in Christianity, for *its place is as the central point of God's salvation for men, and its place in the Christian life, its nerve and its ideal.*

The Jerusalem Council Meeting through Moslem Eyes

Under the caption, "A Step towards Islam," the Moslem weekly *Sunrise* (Qadian, India) comments as follows on the recent meeting of the International Missionary Council:

"A great mental change appears to have come over the Christian Missionary. He is beginning to learn to appreciate the good points in religions other than Christianity. A desire to refute and overthrow the beliefs and practices of the followers of other faiths has given place to an appreciation and recognition of the spiritual values in other systems. Discussing the report of the Conference of Christian Missions held in Jerusalem last year, Dr. George Howells writes in the *Serampore College Magazine*:

"We have to recognize that increasingly it is coming to be realized in Christian circles that there is justification for the term "A Parliament of Religions," and that we must approach non-Christian systems in the humble spirit of fellow-learners, rather than with the one desire to refute and overthrow. "On our part," says the Report (of the Jerusalem Conference) "we would repudiate any symptoms of a religious imperialism that would desire to impose beliefs and practices on others in order to manage their souls in their supposed interests. We obey a God who respects our wills, and we desire to respect those of others."

"To approach more closely the subject of our discussion, Christian thinkers of today are in increasing numbers gladly and ungrudgingly recognising the spiritual values in other systems, and the following passage in the Jerusalem report is particularly significant in that direction. 'We recognize as part of the one truth that sense of the majesty of God and the consequent reverence in worship, which are conspicuous in Islam; the deep sympathy for the world's sorrow and unselfish search for the way of escape, which are at the heart of Buddhism; the desire

for contact with ultimate reality conceived as spiritual which is prominent in Hinduism; the belief in a moral order of the Universe and consequent insistence on moral conduct which are inculcated by Confucianism; the disinterested pursuit of truth and of human welfare which are often found in those who stand for secular civilization, but do not accept Christ as their Lord and Saviour.'

"The idea that there is good and truth in every system, in every religion and that that good and truth must be frankly, openly and unambiguously recognized, originated with Islam. It is one of its most distinctive characteristics. Islam regards it as the height of ignorance and folly to say that there is no good in other faiths (Koran 113:1). It goes even further than that. It has included belief in the prophets of other faiths and in their revelations in its fundamental principles. What the passage of time, the spread of science and learning and a close contact with the adherents of other religious systems have compelled the leaders of the Christian Church to recognize was recognized in a better form fourteen hundred years ago by our Holy Prophet."

Religiöse Werte im Koran

Wer den Orient kennen lernen will, muss den Islam kennen. Und wer den Islam kennen lernen will, muss den Koran kennen. Womit nicht gesagt ist, dass die Vertrautheit mit dem Koran schon für die Kenntnis des Islams ausreichend sei. Dies ist ebensowenig der Fall, wie die Vertrautheit mit dem Neuen Testament für die Kenntnis des Christentums ausreichend ist. Von der Bergpredigt bis zu dem Marienbilde, vor dem das katholische Mädchen kniet, von dem, der nicht hatte, da er sein Haupt hinlegte, bis zu dem Mann im Vatikan ist eine tüchtige Strecke Wegs. Und der Sufi mit seiner Askese und pantheistischen Mystik, so früh er im Islam auch auftaucht, stellt eine auf dem Hintergrund des Korans einigermassen fremdartige Erscheinung dar. Aber der Koran ist nun einmal, „das Buch“, das, ähnlich wie bei uns die Bibel im Mittelalter, ja vielleicht in noch höherem Masse das gesamte religiöse, sittliche, soziale und kulturelle Leben der islamischen Welt bestimmt. Theologie, Philosophie und Rechtswissenschaft gründen sich auf den Koran. Auch der Geist der islamischen Kunst begreift sich allein aus ihm. Und wenn das unheimlich rasche Eindringen europäischer Art und Sitte, wie wir es jetzt besonders in der Türkei beobachten, die Frage nahelegen kann, ob nicht die Tage der geistigen Alleinherrschaft des Korans gezählt sind, so zeigen andererseits Vorgänge wie die in Afghanistan und im Reiche Ibn Sa'uds, dass der Islam noch über ausserordentliche Widerstandskräfte verfügt. In den Kämpfen aber, die entbrannt sind und noch entbrennen werden, geht es letztlich um die Alleinherrschaft des Korans.

—SUPERINTENDENT FLEISCHMANN in *“Der Orient.”*

Opportunity of Islam in Russia

"Russia today is the battle-ground," says M. Lunatcharsky, a student of Russian present conditions, "of the struggle of the individual conscience against the mass conscience, of the spiritual man against the material man, of a new and highly mechanised version of the contest between St. George and the Dragon." Religion—and by religion is meant Christianity only by the Western writers when they write about Russia—is engaged in a life and death struggle with the gospel of Lenin

and Marx. The Communist party is determined to crush Christianity in Russia because their quarrel is mainly with the faith which was professed and practised in the old Czarist régime. The Communists are anti-God also. "We have no need for the hypothesis of God, said Stalin to the American Labour Delegation. We are one hundred per cent for science and science requires no faith." The Communists, perhaps, will succeed in destroying Christianity—or better Churchianity—and also in rooting out from the minds of the coming generation the conception of God taught by Christianity as it is irrational and immoral, but they cannot destroy religion as such. The religious instinct in man is so strong and the love of God so deeply implanted in his nature, that no state statutes or anti-religious propaganda can kill them. That the Communist Party is not indiscriminately against all religion but only against the religion of Rasputin and the Czars, is evident from the article of M. Lunatcharsky himself. Describing the activities of the Communist Party to destroy religion he says, "It is not without significance that its ban against all religious education is relaxed in favour of the Mohammedans; it has in common with Mohammedanism not only a political but a moral aversion to the whole Western religious system."

—*The Sunrise* (Qadian).

By Air to India in Seven Days

The provisional time-table of the new London-Alexandria-India air service of Imperial Airways, opened in March, has now been issued. The outgoing service leaves on Saturday morning, and the incoming mail from India reaches Croydon on Sunday. There are three sections on the route, which crosses the frontiers of France, Switzerland, Italy, Greece, Egypt, Palestine, Trans-Jordan, Iraq, Persia, and India:

- (1) European Division.—London to Genoa, 635 miles.
- (2) Mediterranean Division.—Genoa to Alexandria, 1,500 miles.
- (3) Near East Division.—Alexandria to Karachi, 2,500 miles.

The whole journey is to occupy seven days.

As soon as sufficient experience has been gained and equipment for night flying is available, the time taken for the whole flight of some four thousand six hundred miles can be still further shortened. As at present arranged, the air passenger will leave Croydon on Saturday at 6.45 a.m., reach Basel at 1 p.m., and leave by train for Genoa at 2.42 p.m., reaching the Italian port at 3.40 a.m. Leaving by the Calcutta flying-boat at 7 a.m., the passenger stops at Rome for an hour from 10 to 11 a.m., and finishes the flight on Sunday at Syracuse at 3.25 p.m. On Monday the machine leaves at 6.30 a.m., reaches Navarino at 11.45 a.m., where there is a stop for an hour, and then proceeds across the Mediterranean to Tobruk, which is reached at 4 p.m. Here the night is spent, and on Tuesday morning, starting at 6.30 a.m., the traveller arrives at the Harbour, Alexandria, at 11.45 a.m., where a connection by car is made at Aboukir with the Cairo-India machine which had left Cairo at 11 a.m. Alexandria, Aboukir, is left at 1.15 a.m. and Gaza is reached at 4.40 p.m. The next morning, Wednesday, at 6.30 a.m., the machine departs for a long day's flight to Basrah, passing Rutbah at 11.45 a.m. (where there is a halt of forty-five min.), Baghdad West at 3 p.m. (another halt of forty-five min.), and reaching Basrah at 6.45 p.m. On Thursday morning the passenger leaves at 6 a.m., reaches

Bushire at 9 a.m. (a halt of forty-five min.), Lingeh 2.10 p.m. (halt of forty-five min.), and Jask, the end of the day's flight, at 5.15 p.m. Once again the departure is at 6.30 on Friday morning, and after a stop of forty-five min. at Gwadar, reached at 11.35 a.m., the passenger arrives at Karachi at 4 p.m. on the seventh day out from London. On the return flight the aeroplane leaves Karachi at 7.30 a.m. local time on Monday, stays the night at Jask, is at Basrah on Tuesday night, at Gaza on Wednesday, Tobruk on Thursday, Syracuse on Friday, Genoa on Saturday, and at Croydon at 3.45 p.m. on Sunday.

—*The Near East and India.*

The Origin of "Crescent" Rolls

Some years ago our Quarterly published a study on the origin of the crescent as a symbol of Islam. The evidence for its origin and wide-spread use was, however, conflicting, except that the writer established the fact of its use by the Turks even before they accepted Islam. A German historian, Karl Aspern, in his "Geschichte der Türken" throws new light on the crescent. After a description of the final defeat of the Turks at Vienna in 1683, he says: "*Damals endlich kam die neue Gebäcksorte der Sogenannten Hörnchen oder Kipsel auf, in Erinnerung an der geschlagenen Halbmond.*" So Southwestern Europe takes its café-au-lait with crescent-rolls, to commemorate the defeat of their conquerors and the proper name naturally is Vienna rolls.

The Right to Carry on Propaganda

(*A Criticism of Mr. Gandhi*)

"While we regret that once again we feel we should take up the unpleasant task of criticising the views of Mahatma Gandhi on the question of religious propaganda we think we are quite justified to do so because he is a man of representative character, and is held by no few people to be a best exponent of at least some of the important religious questions. It is needless to say that our criticism is based not on any personal grudge but on the fact that we as Moslems are the most ardent advocates of religious propaganda, whereas Gandhiji's opinion is opposed to ours. In the course of a reply to a letter addressed to him by a Christian missionary Mr. Gandhi says:

'At the root of missionary effort is also the assumption that one's own belief is true not only for oneself but for all the world. . . . In missionary effort therefore there is a lack of real humility. . . .'

"According to Islam the missionary work means only this, that you should convey the truth which is with you to wherever there is the evil of untruth. And the right, or rather the duty, of preaching a truth devolves on those who have been assured by their sincere judgment to have found out the truth and who after the discovery try to follow it with boldness and sincerity. Man is a rational being, and his rationality suggests that he must judge everything with reason before he accepts it; and when he is satisfied that the thing accepted by him is expected to be of good to him, his duty as a moral being is to preach it for the benefit of mankind. A man may be wrong in his belief or judgment, but what does it matter? Morality says that what you consider to be true and good, it would be your duty to practice it in your own life and at the same time to urge others to do the same.

When, however, it is proved that you have been in the wrong, your duty will be to give up the wrong view and accept what has been proved true. We believe there is no wrong in 'the assumption that one's own belief is true not only for oneself but for all the world.' No assumption based on sincere judgment can be called wrong or unjustified. Again, if the fundamental principles and central truths of a religion can really benefit one man they must needs be beneficial to the whole humanity, human nature being always and everywhere the same. Of course, details may be acceptable according to circumstances. It cannot in all cases be rightly asserted that 'in missionary effort . . . there is a lack of humility,' for lack of humility presupposes absence of the sincere feeling of the duty of preaching a truth revealed from God, which is the most essential condition for missionary work. To preach a belief only by one's practice is only a passive function, and the preaching of a theory on the part of one who does not practice it while he professes to subscribe to it is simply immoral. Morality exhorts a man to preach only that thing which he himself believes to be true and practices it in his own life."

—*The Light* (Lahore).

A Bishop builds a Mosque

At the first annual meeting of the Society of Friends of the Moslems held in Shanghai last year Bishop Holden, the first speaker, started off by saying that he holds a distinction few Christians can claim:—he built a mosque in Kweilin. The mission property was next door to a mosque and one night it burnt down, the mosque burning with it. At first the Mohammedans were quite angry, but when he offered to pay for the building of another they became quite friendly. Kweilin is the only city in his diocese containing any number of Moslems. There are 25,000 there, with six mosques to minister to their needs. The faith is not aggressive, but on the other hand it is very difficult to meet the Moslems. Their respect for their ancestors seems to dominate everything, even their worship of Allah. The month of Ramadan is more a time of paying respect to ancestors, when the *ahungs* spend much time reading prayers for souls in purgatory. Among the masses the refusal to eat pork marks the Moslem, while among the educated classes the adherence to stricter Moslem rules is carried out. At the principal mosques are small schools where elementary Arabic is taught. The Koran is only taught to those who are studying to be *ahungs*. A few of the Moslems have become Christians. The senior pastor of the Diocese is a converted Moslem, a Mr. Sung. This man was attracted by the high character of one of the earliest missionaries, a Mr. Bird. The persistent love revealed in the life of that missionary caused Mr. Sung to be baptised, and become an evangelist, catechist, and priest. This man though not a particularly strong character is nevertheless a sincere preacher of the Gospel. Whereas there is at present no special work in Kweilin for Moslems a little has been done in the hospital. This work in the future will be enlarged and an attempt made to reach the Moslems through the use of tracts and personal contacts.

BOOK REVIEWS

The Life and Times of 'Ali Ibn 'Isa. (The Good Vizier). By Harold Bowen. Cambridge University Press, 1928. Price 25s.

Ameer Ali in his "Short History of the Saracens" states that the dignity of the Abbasid empire was maintained during the first part of Muqtadir's reign by the virtues and abilities of his viziers. It is only in a foot note that he adds, "Such as Ibn Furat and others." As most conspicuous among the others, Mr. Bowen would have put 'Ali Ibn 'Isa al Jarrah, whom he considers more worthy of a place in history than Ibn Furat.

"Certainly Ibn al-Furat had more vigour than 'Ali ibn 'Isa, and owned the effrontery he lacked; but he cannot, it seems to me, be justly extolled as a statesman, since his ruthless opportunism was responsible as much as anything for the ruin of the Caliphate. Besides, with his dishonesty and self-seeking, Ibn al-Furat was typical of his class; whereas 'Ali ibn 'Isa, with his integrity and foresight, stands out from the prevailing villainy of the age as *par excellence* "the good Vizier." (Page vii).

Some historical books are hard to write because of the scarcity of sources of information. Others are written with difficulty because of the vast amount of material that must be reviewed. Living in the days of the beginning of the decline of the Abbasid Caliphate there is no period "more abundantly chronicled" than that of 'Ali ibn 'Isa.

The author has been very careful to give references for all of his conclusions, and has given meticulous attention to the minutest details.

The events recorded in the history of "The Good Vizier," while centering around him, are concerned with all the personages, caliphs, viziers, eunuchs, and commandants of the guard, who played a leading part in the drama of the first steps in the decline of the Abbasid Caliphate between 892 and 946 A. D. The exciting period full of unrest, plots, violence, rebellions of the soldiery, and political murders, is fully portrayed. No Caliph nor vizier felt secure in his position. Once in power, the customary procedure was to consign all rivals and enemies to prison, or condemn them to a cruel death. Prospective viziers were often summoned to undertake the office from prison or from exile. Muqtadir, twice deposed from his position as Caliph, finally met his death at the hands of the Berber soldiery, who carried his head in triumph to their leader Mu'nis. Qahir, his half brother, who succeeded him as Caliph, was blinded when deposed the second time, at the instigation of one of the leaders of the troops. Two of his successors followed him in similar fashion into the realm of darkness. He is last pictured in extreme destitution, begging alms in the streets of Baghdad. Had he so wished he might have recalled the day when he stood by when the throat of Mu'nis was cut, after being presented with the heads of his chief chamberlain and the chamberlain's son.

The claim of 'Ali ibn 'Isa to be entitled the "Good Vizier" does not rest upon his long tenure of office, for the two short periods when he was chief vizier lasted in all but about five years. In days of intrigue and extravagance he stands out as a man of different caliber than his contemporaries. When others were plotting to obtain power or retain the positions they held, 'Ali alone seemed reluctant to assume office, and very anxious to relinquish it as soon as he felt his counsel and advice of no avail.

It is to be remembered that a vizier's success rested largely in keeping the purse full. He was given much more authority in gathering taxes and inaugurating schemes for the increase of revenue than he was in spending the money accumulated. The administration of 'Ali was remarkable for its attempt to put the finances of the profligate Muqtadir on a sound financial basis and to abolish extortion. His policy of rigid economy and desire to further such public works as the building of hospitals and mosques was sure to incur the disfavour of the restless soldiery. His offer of resignation was not accepted by the Caliph, but intrigue soon made him unpopular at the court, and he was thrown into prison, large sums of money were extorted from him, and then later he was banished to Mecca. All this happened when he was sixty years of age. During the almost thirty years of his life that remained he again acted as vizier for a short period, but because the finances were in such a chaotic condition he resigned. Twice later, under the Caliphate of Radhi, he was offered the position, but refused. Most of his contemporaries died violent deaths. 'Ali was one of the few leaders of his time whose declining years and end were peaceful.

Living in an age of corruption and oppression, under a régime of cruelty and torture, when it was hard for one to exhibit even passive goodness, 'Ali was peculiar in his reputation for honesty and justice. On one occasion his pride suffered him to permit a gross irregularity rather than admit an error in his accounts. Miskawayh, whose book *Kitab tajarib al-umam* has been translated by Margoliouth under the title "Eclipse of the Abbasid Caliphate," reports that 'Ali too could torture his opponents (Vol. 1, pp. 27, 181). His piety and asceticism were proverbial, but if attachment to the Koran signified anything, Muqtadir, who usually found solace in wine and song, also qualifies, for he sat in lonely majesty reading his Koran awaiting his angry detractors who would dethrone him (p. 83).

The author, although admitting the lack of clear evidence for 'Ali's connection with the great historian Tabari (p. 73) and for a secret sympathy for al Hallaj, is disposed to give 'Ali a closer relationship to the literary and the *sufi* circles of his time than he probably deserves.

The subject matter of the book imposes on the author a difficult task to keep it from being monotonous. As has been intimated, there is in this period of Islam much insurrection, warfare and conspiracy, largely the outcome of selfish ambition; and not even for any loyalty to a dynasty, let alone in defence of some great principle. However, Mr. Bowen in his "Life and Times of 'Ali ibn 'Isa" has made a lasting contribution to the study of the factors conditioning the rise and power of the soldiery and the decline of the Abbasid Caliphate.

E. E. ELDER.

The Transit of Egypt. By Col. E. P. Elgood, 1928. Longmans, Green & Co., New York. pp. 342. \$7.50 or 18/.

This is a volume the object of which is to show the wonderful political and material reconstruction that has been taking place in Egypt during the past century and a quarter. As this great work is not yet complete, would it not have been more correct to have named the book "Egypt In Transit?"

The author is an Englishman who was for many years in the Civil Service of Egypt. For that very reason his story has its limitations. His account of men and affairs, of political movements and of England's great work of saving Egypt from bankruptcy and her peasantry from continued ignorance and oppression is very readable and informative.

In two or three matters, however, one could wish for a fuller or a different treatment. The struggle of Muhammad Ali and of Ismail Pasha to escape from the stranglehold of the reactionary and oppressive Sultan of Turkey does not seem to be given the importance it deserves. And is the standpoint and terrific struggle of the Egyptian of today to escape from what he deems the tyrannical and usurping power of Great Britain described with the sympathy and appreciation that they deserve? The fact that England pledged herself in official documents and by the promises of her statesmen in 1882, and later, to withdraw from Egypt when order should be restored and effective government reestablished, and that she has failed to keep that pledge, although nearly fifty years have passed, is scarcely shown as it would be shown were the people the author's own. In every land the struggle for liberty is generally accompanied by excesses and extravagant claims, and by destruction of life and property. And the Egyptians are of an alien race and of another religion and another civilization.

Colonel Elgood shows but little sympathy with the Copts, the largest body of native Christians in Egypt. Does he not forget that for thirteen centuries they have been deprived of the freedom and Christian privileges of the Lord's Day? Although they pay taxes as others, yet their children are forced to be in school on their Sunday, if they attend the State Schools. The Christian Civil Service officials are obliged to work on Sunday as on other days. Their Moslem conquerors, century after century, have continued to inflict this galling injury upon them. But our author dismisses their petition for relief by saying that "it was clearly impracticable"—to give Christian children and Christian officials relief from work "on Sundays would dislocate the business of the State." And yet in the neighboring State of Palestine, Government has found a way by which the Moslem has his Friday, the Jew his Saturday and the Christian his Sunday. Was it not a mere matter of good-will and accommodation? Britain's representatives did not think that "the Copt suffered any disability," and missed the opportunity to remove an age-long injustice and to secure equality of treatment for the best educated and most progressive element of Egypt's population, as well as their goodwill. The Christians of Egypt number at present nearly one million people. The Mohammedan "Bank Misr" (Bank of Egypt) with purely Mohammedan management is open in all its branches as well as its Central Office on Fridays and closed on Sundays.

On the whole, however, "The Transit of Egypt" gives the best resumé of the story of present day Egypt available, and provides an

excellent companion to Lord Cromer's indispensable "Modern Egypt." The footnotes are many, and furnish a mine of valuable information. The appendices add greatly to the value of the work as a book of reference, and one wishes that a fifth appendix were added giving a copy of the Constitution of Egypt.

J. R. ALEXANDER.

Hafiz: The Tongue of the Hidden in Rubaiyat. By C. K. Streit. The Viking Press, New York. pp. 96. \$2.00.

Among the Persian poets only Sa'adi and Firdausi rank in Eastern opinion as the peers of Hafiz, but, as the author of this volume remarks, "translations of Hafiz are not lacking, readers of them, unfortunately, are." This version of the *Divan* does not pretend to be either a complete or a literal translation of the original, nor does the translator attempt to reproduce or adapt, as does Miss Gertrude Lothian Bell, the "ghazal" verse form in which Hafiz wrote. Instead he has adopted, for reasons which he argues convincingly, the *rubai* form of Fitzgerald's *Omar*. Further he confesses that he has "occasionally contracted into one *rubai* ideas expressed in a whole *ghazal* or in several couplets, whether contiguous or separated;" at other times that he has "expanded a single couplet into more than one *rubai*, or combined both methods." The object of the version is thus an aesthetic rather than a precise and scholarly translation, and the result of Mr. Streit's work is a delightfully readable volume, full of the spirit—as he interprets it—of the original.

The volume includes, in addition, an essay on Hafiz, which should be read in conjunction with that in Miss Bell's book. Mr. Streit feels that a great deal of Sufi mysticism has been read into the poetry of Hafiz by his admirers, and he would interpret much that the Persian poet says a great deal more literally. He does not, therefore, deal with the Sufi in Hafiz, or with Sufism in general, with as much sympathy and understanding as does Miss Bell. His English *rubaiyat* of selected verses in the *Divan* are often very beautifully done, and maintain a high level, but Miss Bell at her best has, we believe, given her verse-translation an even greater and more satisfying charm. The volume as to form and type is lovely, an artistic addition to any library.

MOWBRAY VELTE.

Istituzioni di Diritto musulmano Malichita, con riguardo anche al Sistema Sciafita, di David Santillana. Vol. I. 8vo xvi, 375 pp. Roma, 1926.

This is the first volume of one of the most important works on Moslem Jurisprudence that has appeared for many years. It deals primarily with the Jurisprudence of the Malikite sect, though with constant reference to the Shafi'ite system: the Malikite system being chosen for treatment because it is the system most in vogue in Italian Lybia and in Eritrea.

The present volume contains the Introduction, and the three sections of Law dealing with the Person, the Family and Property. The Introduction is a systematization of courses of Lectures delivered by the author in the University of Rome during the years 1913-1923, and covers three subjects (i) the Moslem Community, and its head, (ii) the Sources of Moslem Law, and the Principles of their interpretation, (iii) the limitations of Law in respect to space and time. In these

sections we have one of the completest discussions that has yet appeared of the fundamental problems of the Shar'ia, the Caliphate, Fiqh, and the application of Jurisprudence to such questions as Jihad.

The formal statement of Maliki Law naturally goes over well-known ground most of the time, but the peculiar excellence of this work is that the author provides us in his footnotes with elaborate references to all the best known Arabic sources and to the critical discussions by European scholars.

The volume is provided with a good Bibliography and Index, and like all the publications of the Istituto per l'Oriente, is excellently printed.

ARTHUR JEFFERY.

La Lotta tra l'Islam e il Manicheismo: un Libro di Ibn al-Muqaffa contro il Corano confutato da al-Qasim b. Ibrahim. Testo Arabo pubblicato con Introduzione, Versione Italiana e Note, da Michelangelo Guidi. Roma, 1927. 8vo xxviii, 129. 55 pp.

It is probably little known, outside the narrow circle of specialists on Koranic study, that in Islamic history there have been several works written within the camp in refutation of the Koran. Naturally the text of such works has not been allowed to survive, but in recent years we have fortunately come to know something about two of them from works which were written in reply to them. We gained some knowledge of the famous work of Ibn ar-Rawendi by the discovery and publication by Nyberg in 1925 of al-Khayyat's "Livre de Triomphe et de la Refutation d'Ibn ar-Rawendi l'hérétique," and if this tractate published by Guidi proves to be genuine, we have some fragments here of the equally famous work of Ibn al-Muqaffa in this refutation of his views by the Zaidite Imam Qasim b. Ibrahim. Ibn al-Muqaffa is of course most celebrated for his translation (supposedly from the Pahlavi) of the well known book of *Kalila wa Dimna*, and is known to Arabists also as the author of two small tractates on Rhetoric: "Al-Adab as-Saghir" and "Al-Adab al-Kabir." His thinking was strongly Manichæan in colour, and he was put to death as a dangerous person by the Caliph Mansur.

Dr. Guidi found this present treatise in a *Majmu'* of the works of the Zaidite Qasim in manuscript in the *Biblioteca Ambrosiana*, and has reproduced it with an Italian translation and a lengthy Introduction, in which he defends its genuineness. This is not the place in which to go into a discussion of the work, but it may suffice to say that even though its genuineness may finally be impugned, it nevertheless remains an important document for the history of the development of the controversial theology of Islam in the face of the critical arguments of men who had come into contact with more advanced types of religion.

ARTHUR JEFFERY.

Revelation and Inspiration. By Benjamin Breckinridge Warfield, Professor of Didactic and Polemic Theology in the Theological Seminary of Princeton, N. J., 1887-1921. pp. xiii, 456. Oxford University Press, New York (1927).

This book is not a fresh discussion of the question of revelation and inspiration. It consists rather of a collection of a number of articles from the pen of Dr. Warfield, dealing with various aspects of the question, which have been previously published in various encyclo-

pedias, reviews, and periodicals. This is the first volume of a series which is to contain all the author's published articles. An idea of the contents of the volume may be gathered from the titles of a number of the articles: "Biblical Idea of Revelation and Inspiration," "The Idea of Revelation and Inspiration," "Theories of Revelation," "The Inspiration of the Bible," "The Biblical Idea of Inspiration," "The Real Problem of Inspiration," "Inspiration and Criticism," etc.

As will be noted from the titles, no systematic discussion of the subjects indicated in the title of the book is attempted. Indeed, a certain amount of repetition is discernible, due to the fact that these articles were published at different times and under various auspices. The author's name, however, is a sufficient guaranty for the sound scholarship and critical acumen of all the discussions. The point of view throughout is that of the plenary verbal inspiration and absolute inerrancy of the Holy Scriptures. In two of the articles entitled, "The Real Problem of Inspiration" and "Inspiration and Criticism," the theory of verbal inspiration is subjected to the test of "the assured results of recent Biblical study." "It is important to keep ourselves reminded," says the author, "that the doctrine of inspiration which has become established in the church is open to all legitimate criticism, and is to continue to be held only as, and so far as, it is ever anew critically tested and approved" (pp. 172, 173). But since the former of these articles was first published in 1893 and the second as long ago as 1878, a generation and more of recent Biblical scholarship does not come directly under review, although some of the articles were written more recently than the two mentioned.

While there are no direct references in the volume to Moslem views of inspiration, or comparison of Moslem and Christian views, the able and scholarly discussions of the problems of inspiration will be of particular interest and value to missionaries in Moslem lands.

C. C. ADAMS.

The Empire of the Great Mongol. A Translation of De Laet's "Description of India and Fragment of Indian History." Translated by J. S. Hoyland, and Annotated by S. N. Banerjee. D. B. Taraporevala Sons & Co., "Kitab Mahal," Hornby Road, Bombay. pp. 252, Rs. 5-8.

This historical study is a translation of an old work but gives a true picture of past conditions in Moslem India. Joannes De Laet (1593-1649), an industrious and voluminous Dutch author, did much good service in his day, by compiling from the best authorities well-digested accounts of various foreign lands. His scarce little book "De Imperio Magni Mogolos" long ranked as the best general account of India and was utilized by many authors. It deals with events to 1628. It consists of two parts, viz., "*Descriptio Indiae*" (Geography and Administration of the Mongol Empire) and the "*Fragmentum Historiae Indicae*" (A Fragment of the History of India). The "*Descriptio*" is a good compilation from the works of Sir Thomas Roe, Purchas, Peter Texeira and other authors. The "*Fragmentum*" is based on a genuine chronicle of the Empire. It contains certain statements of considerable importance, and deserves to be used critically as one of the early authorities for the history of Akbar.

The translation reads correctly, the book is well printed, though on poor paper, but the index is unsatisfactory.

Mogreb-El-Acksa. A Journey in Morocco by R. B. Cunninghame Graham. First published by Wm. Heinemann, 1898. Revised edition issued by Gerald Duckworth & Co. Ltd., 1921. Cheap edition, 1928. pp. 300. Price 7/6 Net.

The author has a clever pen and paints word pictures with unusual skill but he has a blind-spot for "das Heilige" and little sympathy with "prophets, reformers, missionaries, illuminated folk and all those who leave their homes to preach a faith no matter what it is." The result of mission work in Morocco is *nil*. "Who that has lived in Arab countries, and does not know that fear, and fear alone, makes the position of the Christian tolerable. Christ and Mohammed never will be friends; their teaching, their lives, and the conditions of the different peoples amongst whom they preached make it impossible; even the truce they keep is from the teeth outwards, and their respective followers misunderstand each other quite as thoroughly as when a thousand years ago they came across each other's path for the first time."

The book is not new; it was published in 1898 and again, revised, in 1921; it has no illustrations, no map, no table of contents and no index; all which is remarkable in a book of travels worthy of a third edition. It holds the reader's attention. It is out of date as to its history and political geography but up to date in its canny characterizations of life and thought in Morocco. The spelling of Arabic words and proper names is atrocious, e. g., *Sannaar* for *Sana'a* and *Ibn Jaldun* for *Ibn Khaldun*; but the description of the race atones for errors in transcribing their speech: "The Arab, one of the finest types of all the races of mankind, tall, thin, fine eyes, aquiline noses, spare frames; walking with dignity; a horseman, poet; treacherous and hospitable; a gentleman, and yet inquisitive; destroying, as Ibn Jaldun (*sic*) assures us, the civilization of every land they conquer, and yet capable of great things, witness Granada and Damascus; a metaphysician and historian; sensual and yet abstemious; a people loveable, and yet not good to 'lippen to,' as Scotchmen say; and yet perhaps of all the Orientals those who have most impressed themselves upon the world."

We have similar thumb-sketches of the Berbers, the Jews, the Sherifs, the *faqirs* and the wandering minstrels of Morocco. Here is a book that in the author's own words tells of: "Lonely rides, desolate camping places, of ruined buildings seen in peculiar lights, of simple folk who pray to Allah seven times a day, and act as if they never pray at all."

Z.

Bible Tales in Arab Folklore. By Joseph Meyouhas. Translated from the Hebrew by Victor N. Levi. Alfred A. Knopf, London, 1928. 7/6 net.

The stories here collected, we are told, were gathered from Arab folklore and translated from the Hebrew, but, as the book has no preface, introduction, nor footnote, the stories resemble Melchisedek, "without father or mother or genealogy." If the writer had been acquainted with the Arabic originals as found in *Qissas-ul-Anbiya*, by Al Tha'alabi or the analysis of the sources of these tales in Lidsbarski, he would have avoided many pitfalls in the translation. As it is we have here stories on the Old Testament characters which originally are found in the Hebrew Midrash and Talmud and passed from the Hebrew through the Arabic mind and language. Apparently this English ver-

sion is therefore at third hand. This fact will account for many mistakes in the spelling of proper names or such "howlers" as that, "Rayan Ibn Alhalid, the Pharoah of Egypt, died, and Sinjov his son reigned after him." And this in the days of Moses!

The reader, however, who is not an Orientalist, will be fascinated by the quaint anecdotes and interesting comment made on the Bible narrative. Beginning with the creation of the Pen and of Adam, the whole range of Old Testament characters is covered; Noah, Job, Abraham, Lot, Joseph, Moses, David, Solomon, etc. There are also chapters on Lukman, Zipporah, the Queen of Sheba and Al Khidr, here called Alhadr.

Most of the stories are wise and clean, but some are otherwise.

Z.

Persian Wonder-Tales. Adapted from the Persian by Major C. F. Mackenzie, C.I.E. Price 5/- net. pp. 160. Blackie & Son, Ltd., London and Glasgow.

We learn from the preface that these stories are adapted and abbreviated from the well-known Persian classic *Anwar-i-Suhaili*. The author of that work undoubtedly derived much of his inspiration from far earlier Sanskrit sources, and these stories are based upon the most ancient fables known to literature.

Anwar-i-Suhaili is partly in prose and partly in verse, and all who have read this work in the original Persian find exceptional charm in its dignity of style and rhythm, and in the wide variety of a well-selected and eloquent vocabulary.

In translating and abbreviating such a masterpiece to suit the taste of young people, one must sacrifice that rhythm which may be found in every original line; and one is also handicapped by the necessity of reducing the number of difficult words to a minimum, and by omission of the deeper philosophy.

The book consists of three series: A Jackal in Persia, the treacherous conduct of the Jackal Damnah to the Bull Shan, and the result of Damnah's treachery—forty-eight tales all told. In the last story, the Lion, King of beasts, passes judgment on the jackal for all his treachery "And all the beasts of the forest gave their consent to his execution."

Z.

Charles H. Robinson. A record of travel and work. By Florence Robinson, with a foreword by the Archbishop of Canterbury. pp. 143. Price 3/6. The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts. Westminster, 1928.

Canon Robinson was born February 27th, 1861. For the last quarter of a century, the man who had lived a strenuous life as missionary in Armenia and Hausaland worked among his books in a library, tucked away behind Dean's Yard in Westminster. He was editorial secretary of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel and inaugurated *The East and the West* quarterly review.

His books on the history of Christian Missions are of permanent value. To the missionary among Moslems, however, the fact that he was the first European to cross the great Hausa district between the Sahara and Northern Nigeria and the first writer to describe Kano, is of deeper interest.

In a foreword, the Archbishop of Canterbury says: "The hero of

this little Memoir was a more remarkable man than most of his contemporaries and many of his friends realized. His unconquerable and sometimes tiresome reserve, and the peculiar combination of an inherent modesty with a persistent and almost ruthless assertion of his convictions in face of opposition, made him what is called a 'difficult' man even to some of those who knew him best and respected him most. But to those who penetrated the crust of his rather unaccommodating temperament, and who were capable of appreciating the man as he actually was, he stands on a level above most of his fellows."

He was always keen on work among Moslems, and among his books now out of print we have the valuable monograph on "Mohammedanism, Has it any Future?" Devoted to the strenuous life, undiscourageable in his purpose and with a vision for world conquest by the forces of Christendom, we are not surprised that at the time of a visit to the Coliseum he wrote words such as these: "It is impossible to describe the sensation produced as one stands in the arena and gazes up at the tiers and tiers of seats with their 100,000 occupants whom one can almost see, and as one thinks of Ignatius and the hundreds, probably thousands, of Christian martyrs who stood there once. If only we had the courage and faith of those early martyrs, Christianity would make but short work of Mohammedanism, as it ought to have done long ago. The remark, however, made to me at Tabessa by the curé there, reflects the spirit of modern European Christianity. When speaking of the conversion of Mohammedans he said: "*C'est très difficile, c'est même impossible!*" "Thank God, there remains as difficult work to be done as lay before the martyrs in the amphitheatre and the same power is available today as of old, so that 'impossible' is a word we may never use."

The book is well written and at the close, there is a good word-picture of the striking contrast between Nigeria thirty years ago and today.

Z.

Le Monde Musulman dans les Possessions Françaises. By Jules Sicard. Librairie Emile Larose. pp. 236. Price Frs. 14.

This manual, excellent in every way, was prepared for the use of French Army Officers in 1919. The present edition is revised and enlarged. It consists of five parts.

The first treats of Islam as a religion, its dogma, its sacred book, the traditions, selections from the Koran and a brief description of the chief Moslem sects found in French colonies. The second part discusses the religious development of Islam, beginning with the reforms of Mohammed Abduh up to the abolishing of the Caliphate. The author discusses the conversion of Moslems to Christianity and gives reply to this question in the affirmative: "*La conversion des musulmans au christianisme est-elle possible et désirable?*"

The third part gives practical directions on Moslem etiquette and how to live among Moslems without giving needless offence. In the fourth part Moslem social life is discussed, including marriage, the veil, belief in spirits, the use of talismans etc. The final sections of the book are statistical and ethnological, with brief notes on the languages used in North Africa.

Z.

Der Islam. Von Dr. Joseph Lippl.

Die Christlichen Kirchen Des Orients. Von Dr. Konard Lubeck.
pp. 99 and pp. 206. Verlag Joseph Kosel, München, 7 Marks each.

These two little volumes appear in the "Sammlung Kosel" series of handbooks in philosophy and religion. The first is by a Professor in the Lyceum at Regensburg. It is even more condensed than the manual by Dr. Julius Richter, reviewed last year, has a larger bibliography, an accurate summary of the origin and character of Islam but no reference to missions.

The second volume, on the Oriental Churches, has no bibliography nor references to authorities, but the writer shows a thorough knowledge of the subject; he also spent a year in the Near East. The great mass of condensed material is presented to the reader in three parts. The first is historical and tells of origins. The second deals with the present-day organization of the Uniate, the non-Uniate and the Greek Orthodox Churches; the third part (pp. 92-206) gives an admirable sketch of the differences in dogma, liturgy, discipline and monastic life, with a brief reference to relations with the Western Churches through Missions and plans for the re-union of Christendom.

Z.

Stories from the Bustan of Shaykh Sa'di together with Selections from Francis Gladwin's Translation of Sa'di's Gulistan. The former translated and the latter revised by Reuben Levy, M.A., Lecturer in Persian in the University of Cambridge. With a frontispiece by Cynthia Kent. Price 21/-. pp. 159. Chapman and Hall Ltd., London.

These celebrated stories taken from the works of the great Persian poet and mystic, born A. D. 1184 and said to have died A. D. 1291, never appeared in more elegant form than the present. This is Vol. V. of the Treasure House of Eastern Story series published under the editorship of Sir E. Denison Ross who contributes the introduction. The stories are selected, somewhat expurgated, but published without notes save the references to the original Persian. In the usual florid style "the skirt of speech is embroidered with pearls," and "the bow-string of desire lingers on the arrow of action" so long that the Western reader is wearied. Among the subjects of the stories are Justice, Equity, Generosity, Gratitude, the Ways of Kings, the Ways of Derwishes and the Secret of Contentment. As the editor points out in the introduction: "In criticism it must be said that the poet has not always the art to let well alone and will spoil an excellent story which points its own moral by dragging in a didactic tag which comes as absolute bathos upon the rest. But then, it must be repeated, to him the real point of the story was its moral."

The book has neither table of contents, nor index.

Z.

The Nationalist Crusade in Syria. By Elizabeth P. MacCallum. pp. 299. Price \$2.50. Foreign Policy Association, New York, 1928.

We congratulate the author on this painstaking historical study. It is an excellent and unbiased account of the Syrian rebellion of 1925-27. Only the title is somewhat unfortunate. Why Crusade?

Here we have a sequel to Lawrence's "Revolt in the Desert." That is to say, it tells for the first time the story of that amazing revolt in 1925, 1926 and 1927 which was the last resort of disappointed Syrian

patriots in the face of a determined and not always wise colonizing policy on the part of the French guardians, the Allies had given them, in 1920. Lawrence fought for Syria's freedom, but the prize for which he and his Arab warriors had contended was snatched from them at the Peace Conference of Paris. "The Nationalist Crusade in Syria" tells the story of how Syrians were goaded to rebellion by their French masters who had stepped into the place of their former Ottoman overlords. It tells of the havoc wrought in Syria by successive bombardments of cities, towns and villages—of the sudden perils and frequent alarms which made life in their own country under the French régime insupportable to thousands of peace-loving men and women who were thus driven to seek refuge in alien lands. How the rebellion, though destined from the beginning to military defeat, yet forced the French Government to alter some of the policies to which Syrians had most objected is recalled, and how the Mandates Commission of the League, debarred by its very nature from direct intervention in Syria, exerted a less definite influence during the crisis than some of the League's admirers had hoped it would do.

The subject of the book is controversial, and all readers will not agree with the conclusions, but the author has based her study on careful research. The bibliography is excellent, but the four maps might have been better.

Z.

Baghdad and Points East. By Robert J. Casey. pp. 300. Hutchinson, London. Price 18 Shillings.

Another book of travel sketches on the Near East. The author feels the glory, the tragedy and the romance of the past as he portrays the present. The thirty-eight short chapters all bear a double title and have as background an Arabian Nights' atmosphere. The writer does not tell the reader who he is, whence he came and why he went, nor record such details as dates. His observations are shrewd and lively but superficial. The itinerary covers old ground, Damascus, Palmyra, Baghdad, Kazmain, Busrah; the illustrations are numerous and exceptionally good.

Z.

Studies in Islam. By The Rev. Canon Sell, D.D., pp. 262. Rs. 4. Diocesan Press, Vepery, Madras, 1928.

The veteran missionary and author is known to all students of Islam from his earlier scholarly exposition of "The Faith of Islam," "The Historical Development of the Quran" and numerous other works. Here we have the ripe product of many years of study on a variety of themes: Mysticism in Islam, the Shi'ahs, the Fatimide Khalifate, Babiism, the Darwishes and the Koran. Each is a monograph, abundantly documented, with illuminating notes and quotations from Arabic and Persian authorities.

The chapter on Babiism is one of the best summaries of this sect we have seen. Dr. Sell shows how the doctrine of the Imamate and its leading principle lie back of the Modern Ahmadiya sect and as in Persia so in India the death of the founder of these movements resulted in divisions. We would fain quote some paragraphs from the chapter on Mohammed's revelation, but content ourselves with the concluding paragraph which is a masterly plea for missions:—

"Possessed of a highly dogmatic system, the dogmas of which are sharp and well defined; accepting a law supposed to be divine, complete and final; looking back to a history which records many former successful worldly conquests, with occasional gleams of borrowed splendour—the Moslem stands erect, proud to be such, and too often scornful of other men and other creeds. Has the Church ever realized the greatness of the forces thus arrayed against her, or estimated aright the difficulties to be overcome? Century after century passed by and the Church was silent. When, then, we remember our past neglect, the point of contact in some matters of belief between us and Moslems, the conscious groping for light some of them have shown, the repudiation of much that is narrow, superstitious and immoral by a few imbued with a modern spirit and with a wider outlook, whose ideas will doubtless more and more affect the thinking classes—when we remember all these things, are we not distinctly called upon to try and understand this great Islamic system, and then seek to win the Moslem for his rightful Lord and Master, and to set before him with earnest love and patient sympathy the grace, the glory, and the power of Him, who is the Way, the Truth and the Life?"

Z.

The One-Humped Camel. A Treatise on the One-Humped Camel in Health and Disease. By A. S. Leese. Price 16/-. pp. 382. Haynes & Son, Lincolnshire.

This book is of interest only to those who have to deal practically with the camel for transport or for riding. Their number is steadily decreasing, at least among the missionaries.

In reviewing this book we were reminded of two things: The passing of the camel and the passing by of the Arabian camel. It is an important treatise, but one wonders whether, even in an Arabic translation, it would interest Ibn Saood and his people as much as an Arabic manual on how to repair an automobile. In Arabia and in the vast Sahara, the camel is passing; everywhere travellers and desert-wares are being transported by motor. Again, here is a first-class book by a camel specialist—one who has had years of experience in India, East Africa and Somaliland, yet Arabia, the home of the camel is strangely left out. To anyone, however, who loves the camel—and what lover of the desert does not? here is a book worth its weight, at least in silver. Its nearly four hundred closely printed pages (in type too small) give the zoology, the comparative anatomy, the history, types and breeds of camels. There are chapters on grazing, watering, breeding and pack-work; others tell of riding camels, draught camels and hybrids; of transport methods by rail and by sea. Over one-half of the work is veterinary and tells of all the diseases camel-flesh is heir to with the necessary surgical and medical treatment suggested. Finally, there are chapters on snake-bites, poisonous plants, and the secrets of the purchase and examination of camels for soundness.

Twenty-five illustrations, temperature-charts of sick camels and line drawings, with a glossary and index, make the volume still more attractive.

Z.

Durch Heiliges Land. Reisebilder aus d. alten Aegypten und d. neuen Palästina. Scharpff, Dr. A. M. 2.-199 S.

The author traveled extensively in 1927 in Egypt and Palestine. His warm interest in the missionary work among the Mohammedans led him to visit the German Sudan-Pionier-Mission and the German Karmel-Mission in Haifa and to occupy himself intensively with the work there. We are shown how difficult the work in the Moslem world still is today. He tells, for example, the story of a young man who, after coming over to Christianity, disappeared one day leaving no trace. In addition the book gives us an abundant store of information in regard to Moslem customs and usages. The author doubtless prepared himself well for his trip both before beginning his travels and afterwards. His further descriptions of Palestine and Egypt will be of keen interest to everybody who knows this country; for the author has so adequately familiarized himself with the available pertinent literature that he is in a position to judge objectively the conditions there.

SIMON.

The Glory of the Cross. By Samuel M. Zwemer. pp. 128. Marshall Brothers, London. 3/6.

The Glory of the Cross is a book of ten chapters just issued from the press. The book is the result of meditation on the Passion of our Lord and His Death on the Cross, in the midst of men who deny the historicity of the Crucifixion and the necessity of the Atonement. Its illustrations are copies of great paintings related to the subject of the book.

W. I. C.

Arabia of the Wahhabis. By H. St. P. B. Philby. 8vo, xv, 422 pp. Constable and Co., London, 1928. 31/6.

This volume is really a continuation of the story told in the two volumes of Mr. Philby's "Heart of Arabia," which have already taken their place among the classics of Arabian travel. The story is back in 1918, and tells of the last four months of his sojourn with Ibn Sa'ud and his travels with that Arabian chieftain in connection with his war-time Mission of helping the British advance in Palestine and Syria against the Turks, by having the Wahhabis attack the Arab tribes who were helping the Turkish armies. The story is thus a supplement to Lawrence's "Revolt in the Desert," telling of another phase of that Arab Revolt.

To the general reader, perhaps, the most interesting thing in the whole book is the light it sheds on the relations of ex-king Hussein with the rest of Arabia, incidentally revealing the infinitely greater character and statesmanship of the Wahhabi leader. We have had now quite a number of pen-pictures of Ibn Sa'ud from writers of most diverse temperaments, but Mr. Philby makes a unique contribution to our understanding of the man, by letting us see something of the difficulty of the position in which he had to stand, and the amazing courage and shrewdness with which he carried out his purposes.

A great part of the book is descriptive. The author is a geographer at heart, and has made the most of his opportunities to make his contribution to our knowledge of the country and its people. In this respect he is not unlike his great predecessor Doughty, and his book is one to which the scholar will continually make reference.

Readers of the *MOSLEM WORLD* will be particularly interested in what he has to say of Wahhabi religion, and its effects on the daily life of the Arabs. At present that crude form of Islamic Puritanism seems to have made a profound impression on some sections of the people, and yet Mr. Philby, like other writers, allows us to see that there are other sections which are exceedingly restive under its somewhat senseless tyranny. The book has excellent illustrations and a map.

ARTHUR JEFFERY.

Kreuz und quer durch die Sahara. By Gerhard Rohlfs. F. A. Brockhaus, Leipzig, 1928. 158 pp.

Dr. Guenther, professor at the University of Freiburg, describes in this book the five African travel tours, 1869-1880, of the great African explorer of Germany, Gerhard Rohlfs. We are indebted to him for much information, still valuable today, in our understanding of North Africa and its inhabitants. Rohlfs, who had acquired in Morocco a thorough command of the language and customs of the country, was the first German explorer to succeed in crossing the Sahara Desert in face of the ever-present dangers and hardships. As a result he became famous in Europe and elsewhere, and was put in charge of various scientific exploration expeditions. The most famous is probably the search for the oasis Kufara in Libya. The entire expedition was, in fact, here plundered and robbed, and it was only through the arrival of the Senussi that Rohlfs was able to save his own life. Many noteworthy comments concerning the life of the North African Mohammedans are included in the descriptions. On his first trip in the western Sahara Rohlfs had to disguise himself as a Mohammedan. Only on his later trips in the East did he let it be known that he was a Christian. He was indeed for this very reason forced to accept many insults. His observation that the fanaticism of the North African Moslems markedly increased from 1869 to 1879 through the activities of the Senussi is of special interest. The formerly friendly, hospitable desert inhabitants had through the activity of the order become fanatic enemies of the unbelievers. We are given especially careful information concerning Upper Algiers and Tripoli.

SIMON.

Persia Old and New. By the Rev. W. Wilson Cash. 72 pp. Church Missionary Society, London, 1929. 1 shilling.

A better shilling's worth it would be difficult to find. Here is a bit of real missionary life, a picture of the new age emerging from the ancient life of a classic land. Mr. Cash has learned to know men and things as missionary in Egypt, and Chaplain General of the Near East in war time. As General Secretary of the Church Missionary Society he has visited its rapidly expanding mission in Persia. He links the growth of the new church with the emergence of Shah Riza Pahlawi on the one hand, and with the work of Henry Martyn and his Persian New Testament on the other, and in the interval he draws a moving picture of the birth of a church in the world of Shi'a Islam. Acute perils of the present and future are realized, only to stress God's call so to build foundations now that they may stand, and even if the first builders should be excluded, the building may grow under the hands of Persian Christians moved by the Divine Spirit.

H. U. WEITBRECHT STANTON.

SURVEY OF PERIODICALS

BY MISS HOLLIS W. HERING
Missionary Research Library, New York

I. GENERAL.

LES CHLEUH DANS LA BANLIEU DE PARIS. Lieutenant-Colonel Justinard. (In the *Revue des Études Islamiques*, Paris. 1928. cahier IV. pp. 477-480.)

A geographical survey of these Moroccans; with a map indicating in general the localities from which they have come.

CONTRIBUTION A LA BIBLIOGRAPHIE DE LA MUSIQUE TURQUE AU XXE SIECLE. E. Borrel. (In the *Revue des Études Islamiques*; Paris. 1928. cahier IV. pp. 513-527.)

A survey of the indigenous music published by the Conservatory of Music at Constantinople, and by various firms there; also of articles appearing in journals, transcriptions of Turkish music into Byzantine notation, and foreign descriptive works.

L'ÉCONOMIE RURALE DE LA TURQUIE. I. A. Waismann; tr. by Joseph Castagné. (In the *Revue des Études Islamiques*, Paris. 1928. cahier IV. pp. 529-558.)

A thoughtful summary of the present conditions and possibilities of the widely diversified types and systems to be found in the rural development of the country.

L'ORF DES BENI M'TIR. Paul Marty. (In the *Revue des Études Islamiques*, Paris. 1928. cahier IV. pp. 481-511.)

Gives the code of law, both penal and civil, as agreed upon and written down in 1918 by a general assembly of the authorities in the tribe, together with certain agreements entered into with neighboring Berber tribes.

II. ARABIA.

ARABIA AND HER DESTINY. Olive Wyon. (In *World Dominion*, London. April, 1929. pp. 148-159.)

The first of three projected articles giving a survey of conditions. This installment is chiefly geographical and political.

THE SOUTH-EASTERN BORDERLANDS OF RUB' AL KHALI. Bertram Thomas. (In *The Geographical Journal*, London, March, 1929. pp. 193-212.)

Describes a unique desert journey in Arabia, with general notes on the land and on the tribes encountered.

III. HISTORY OF ISLAM.

IV. KORAN, TRADITIONS, THEOLOGY.

ISLAM'S ATTITUDE TOWARDS WOMEN AND ORPHANS. C. A. Soorma. (In *The Islamic Review*, Woking. March, 1929. pp. 104-119.)

The final installment of this treatise. The previous numbers are noted in *THE MOSLEM WORLD* for April, 1929.

V. RELIGIOUS AND SOCIAL LIFE.

THE MODERNISATION OF ISLAM. Ikbal Ali Shah. (In *The Contemporary Review*, London. February, 1929. pp. 202-207.)

Indicates the nature and the causes of the social and cultural transformations affecting the Islamic countries, with notes on the reasons for the failure of the modernisation program in Afghanistan.

LE MOUVEMENT DE LATINISATION DANS LES REPUBLIQUES SOVIETIQUES MUSULMANES ET LES PAYS VOISIN. J. Castagné. (In the *Revue des Études Islamiques*, Paris. 1928. cahier IV. pp. 559-595.)

Selected documents translated from the Russian press, noting the progress of the reform area by area.

NATIONAL AND RACIAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE PERSIAN NATION. Sir Arnold T. Wilson. (In *The Asiatic Review*, London. April, 1929. pp. 298-311.)

After noting the remarkable racial mixture to be found among the Persians, comments are made on their adaptability, dissimulation, honor, loyalty, hospitality, and intellectual characteristics.

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF TURKISH REFORM. Veninda. (In *World Dominion*, London. April, 1929. pp. 160-164.)

Through quotations from Turkish newspapers, shows the upheaval in religious thought which the drastic reforms have wrought, and the deadlock which results in any attempt to put into practice the present theory of religious freedom.

VI. POLITICAL RELATIONSHIPS.

AFGHANISTAN AND THE SOVIET. T. Comyn-Platt. (In *The Nineteenth Century*, London. March, 1929. pp. 297-305.)

A constructive discussion of the serious situation developing from the anti-British activities of the Soviet representatives.

LES DROITS POLITIQUES DES INDIGENES D'ALGERIE ET DES COLONIES. André Tardieu. (In *L'Afrique Française*, Paris. March, 1929. Renseignements Coloniaux. pp. 222-224.)

An address made by the Minister of the Interior, indicating the present state of the indigenous representation, reform proposals,

underlying principles, and possible ways and means for the solution of the problem.

ENGLAND AND EGYPT. M. S. Amos. (In *The Nineteenth Century*, London. March, 1929. pp. 306-316.)

A clear presentation of the arguments in justification of the Declaration of 1922, which abrogated the British Protectorate over Egypt, and recognized the independence of that country.

THE NEAR EAST IN 1928. Elizabeth P. MacCallum. (In *Information Service*, Foreign Policy Association, New York. May 1, 1929. pp. 63-84.)

A study of the reaction which association with European powers has produced in the countries lying between the Black Sea, the Persian Gulf, and the Eastern Mediterranean.

SYRIA. Duncan McCallum. (In *The Asiatic Review*, London. April, 1929. pp. 220-229.)

Shows how far, in spite of discouraging difficulties, France has endeavored to carry out those provisions of her mandate calling for progressive self-government of the territory.

VII. MISSIONS TO MOHAMMEDANS.

AMERICAN MISSIONS IN THE NEAR EAST. Edward Mead Earle. (In *Foreign Affairs*, New York. April, 1929. pp. 398-417.)

Discusses historically and critically the attitudes of the missionaries and of the Mission Boards towards protection from the home government.

CENTRAL ASIA AS A MISSION FIELD. A. Mildred Cable. (In *The International Review of Missions*, London. April, 1929. pp. 179-187.)

A discussion of present conditions, religious, political, and geographical, together with the qualifications necessary for a successful missionary in such an isolated, difficult region.

EVANGELISM IN MOROCCO. Charles C. Gabriel. (In *World Dominion*, London. April, 1929. pp. 166-172.)

A description of the open air preaching which has been carried on in the various markets, its extent and the reactions of the people to it.

EVANGELISTIC WORK IN ARABIA. G. D. VanPeurse. (In *The Baptist Missionary Review*, Bezwada. March, 1929. pp. 111-114.)

Leaving aside the medical and educational work, the methods generally used in presenting the Gospel to the Arabs are briefly sketched.