

READ CAREFULLY IMPORTANT STATEMENT  
ON PAGE 43.

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## THE VALIDITY AND NECESSITY OF MISSIONS TO MOSLEMS

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### I

#### FROM THE CHRISTIAN VIEWPOINT

The writer's attention has been called to an article entitled "New Missionary Dimensions", which appeared in the summer number (1936) of *Christendom*. The author of the article is Dr. Hugh Vernon White, a Secretary of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. Dr. White recently made a tour of certain mission fields in the Orient and he returns with "a disturbing revision and expansion of ideas".

It would be a pleasure to discuss some of the ideas put forward in the first part of this paper, for with many of them I am in hearty accord, far more so than Dr. White (who would no doubt number me among the group he labels as "orthodox") appears to imagine. But as my space is limited, I pass at once to the second and third sections of the article in question, where the writer gives expression to certain sentiments which one cannot but think disastrous to the cause of the Gospel.

"I am convinced that the time has come on at least some mission fields when the whole program of *proselyting* should be radically modified or abandoned."

"The Christian church ought to quit trying to make *proselytes* of Mohammedans."

"From the days of Raymund Lull, one of the most winsome and devoted of Christian missionaries, down to the present time,

Christian efforts to *evangelize* the Moslem have met with signal and consistent failure." (italics mine.)

Dr. White has pointed out what we agree to be a confusion in the use of the words "to convert" and "to proselytize". But there is a more fundamental error than this in the use of these words, and into this error he himself falls. That is, the use of both these words interchangeably for the term "to evangelize". Elsewhere I have had occasion to show that the New Testament usage of the latter word in no way justifies our equating it with "to convert", or, as Dr. White would now have us say, "to proselytize".<sup>1</sup> *Evangelism* is one thing; *proselytism* is quite something else. The former is the simple proclamation of the Gospel message in the faith that the Word of God, which is sharper than any two-edged sword, will pierce to the roots of personality and work the will of God in renewal and revivification (Heb. 4:12). The latter is something that depends on the frailty of human method, produces its fruit after the human pattern (Matt. 23:15), and is rightly condemned by the peoples of every race among whom it is tried.

The distinction referred to becomes very clear in the passive of the verb, which means, not "to be converted", but, as Abbott-Smith rightly defines it—"to have glad tidings proclaimed to one". All who are *evangelized* are not thereby *converted*. The classic passage in proof of this is found in Heb. 4:6—"they to whom the good tidings were before preached [were evangelized] failed to enter in because of disobedience". Here the author's argument hangs on the fact that one may be *evangelized* without being *converted*.

Now, if by a "radical departure from proselyting" Dr. White could bring himself to mean that evangelism in the New Testament sense of detachment should proceed, while the willy-nilly making of proselytes from Islam ought to cease, then I can assure him that the end he seeks is already achieved in numerous mission fields today. I speak out of a wealth of experience of the work that is going forward among the Moslems of North India. And I say

<sup>1</sup> *World Dominion* for July, 1934—art., "That Word Evangelism".

without the slightest hesitation that there is a goodly band of Indian and missionary workers there who are "evangelists" and not "proselytisers", using both words in the New Testament sense. They are proclaiming the Gospel message in a spirit of detachment such as can only spring from a genuine reverence for personality on the one hand, and from a lively sense of the fact that the power is all of God, on the other. Their sole aim is to present Christ and Him crucified in the faith that the Word of God, which alone can change the hearts of men, will eventually grip these lives and turn them from darkness unto the Light.

"In matters of ritual and dogma the historic church has little that will ever appeal to the Moslem world, and that little is so bound up with elements that are positively repugnant to him that he will never be able to see them without bias."

"The Christian church . . . should bring the best works of Christian service to the Moslem world in a spirit of ecclesiastical and theological disinterestedness."

Dr. White is of the opinion that "the old Christian theologies", with "their emphasis on the trinity", bear very little relation to an "ethical and spiritual Christianity" and that they require "too much interpretation and explanation" to justify our bothering the Moslem brother with them. Of the first of these claims I shall say nothing; this is obviously a matter of opinion about which Christians differ widely, and it would be useless to debate that matter here. But the statement that the Christian missionary should desist from giving to the Moslem the best interpretation of the Christian view of God and the world of which he is capable because, on the one hand, it may prove *repugnant* to him, or that, on the other, he would find it difficult to understand, is open to serious question. What sort of "disinterestedness" is that which seeks to gain the Moslem by permitting that to go unsaid which may prove repugnant to him? Is not this just that type of "proselytism" of which Dr. White has expressed his hearty disapproval? My students in the Theological College, particularly those who have themselves come out from Islam, continually raise the question in the class on the Textual Criticism of the New

Testament—"But what shall we say of these things to the Moslem with his rigid view of the inspiration of Scripture?" The invariable reply one gives to such a question is—"One can only tell him the simple truth". *The final question is not, what does the Moslem abominate, but where does the truth lie?*

Again, we need not be afraid, I think, of wearying the Moslem with the necessity for interpreting or explaining any of the great doctrines of the Church. It is not Theology as such which is repugnant to the Moslem, for it is on this that he nourished such spiritual life as he already possesses. It is the peculiarly *Christian* brand of Theology which he abhors, and that quite apart from sectarian emphases and ecclesiastical modifications. It is the content of the Christian Gospel which he abominates—that God out of infinite compassion graciously sent His Son to die for sinners. This Gospel, which proved a stumbling block alike to Jews and Gentiles in Paul's day, is still the Moslem's stumbling block.

But, though the Moslem cannot accept this Theology of the Church of Christ, he does respect a clear-cut presentation of it. *It is equally certain that he would not respect a statement of the Christian Way, which dodged the great questions with which Theology deals: what, in the final issue, is the nature of God? what is Man's present state? what solution, if any, has the Christian Gospel for the problem of sin in the experience of men? The "moral content of the Gospel", "the person of Christ and his teachings", lives which "truly express his way of love and service"—these things are essential parts of the Christian programme: no Christian missionary would care to deny it. But these things must be set against the background of a Theology that is intelligible and that is grounded on a Word from God, as well as one that his experience shows to be in line with his own needs, or they will remain inexplicable to the Moslem mind, as well as actually unappealing to him. No Moslem of my acquaintance would be able to understand Dr. White's lack of interest in Theology. This is a way God has opened for the Christian Gospel into the*

citadel of his personality. We shall prove poor stewards of that Gospel if we fail to use it.

“The form that is to be taken by any fellowship which seeks to promote and conserve the truth that comes from Christianity would be left to the people of Islam. Whether such fellowship would be called a Christian Church is not important. But it will never be unimportant to have the spirit and teaching of Christ truly understood and faithfully lived within Islam.”

It is not altogether clear what is intended here. The statement appears to ignore the fact that Islam is itself already cast in a mould not unlike that of the Christian Church. Islam is the one great religion outside Judaism and Christianity which both practises communal worship and knows something of the meaning of brotherhood. The Christian missionary, indeed, is often put to shame to discover that Islam realizes in experience what we Christians profess and so signally fail at times to bring to the birth in the matter of fellowship. For Islam knows no barriers of race or color, of rich or poor. That Christianity, then, should assume any other form than that of the Christian Church among the Islamic peoples is unthinkable.

But it is equally unthinkable that the Christian experience should find expression in any other way among any people. What is that “spirit and teaching of Christ” that is to be lived outside the bounds of the Christian Church? The first teaching of our Lord is summed up in the command—“Follow Me”,—a command that means absolute surrender of everything that would keep one from an intimate fellowship with Him. And that break away from the old associations brings with it communion, not alone with Christ, but with those who are near Him. So the Christian Church comes into being in every land. And it is within that Church that the moral and spiritual energy is found which makes it possible for men and women to live after His spirit and teaching. I am personally acquainted with several examples of men who returned to Islam after professing the Christian Faith, because of the cold reception given them by the Church.

But these friends found that to live the Christian life at its fullest they had to return to the shelter of the Church and to fellowship with a people who were slow to receive them unto themselves.

Dr. White's thesis is based upon what he conceives to be the "solidarity of Islam" at the present day, and the consequent ineffectual nature of the Christian propaganda. Even if it were granted that he paints an accurate picture of the Moslem position, it would not yet be possible for the Christian to give up the direct proclamation of the Gospel message. True Christianity does not give up just because the way appears hard. Jesus Himself "came preaching" and He commanded His disciples to carry on this method. They have no other recourse than to obey, remembering that the greatest of all Christian virtues are *obedience* and "*hypomone*"—*stick-to-it-ive-ness*, the ability to stand by till the task is done. Christian experience, both individual and corporate, is abundant testimony to the fact that the night is darkest just before the dawn. It was so at the beginning of the fourth century before the Roman Empire succumbed to the preaching of two hundred and fifty years. It was so during the period that separates Savonarola and Huss and Wyclif from Luther, Calvin and Zwingli. There is some evidence that it will be so in our day.

For what appears to Dr. White as the impregnable citadel of Islam is actually undergoing a terrific bombardment, not alone from the side of Christianity, but from that of Western Science, Politics, Culture and Philosophy as well. The time would appear to be ripe for a final assault by Christianity upon walls that are already tottering.

Just before returning to America a few months ago I was addressing an audience of educated Hindus, Moslems and Sikhs. My chairman was a Moslem gentleman, Principal of the local Government High School and a Ph.D. of Heidelberg University, Germany. At the close of the address he remarked publicly, "You may call me

agnostic or irreligious, and so I am, though nominally a Moslem. But this is the first time I have ever heard an intelligent presentation of religion. If this sort of apologetic is continued by the Christians our *maulvis* will have to change their method of defense". The "intelligent" presentation which I had given of Christianity was as simple a statement of the Gospel message as I was able to give. The truth of the matter was, not that my presentation of the Gospel was particularly intelligent, but rather as a result of Western training my chairman was intelligent enough to understand it. "Christianity", wrote Sir William Ramsay a number of years ago, "is the religion of an educated mind". As education in the Orient increases by leaps and bounds, the way is being opened for a new and effective presentation of the Gospel. This new way is as significant as the various factors that contributed to the spread of Christianity in the Roman Empire. Instead of being discouraged, then, over the slowness with which Islam has opened her doors to an appreciation of the Gospel during the past twelve hundred years, let us look with gratitude to the change that has come over the East, and thank God for the open door that stands before us.

*Saharanpur, U. P., India*

JOHN W. BOWMAN.

## II

### FROM THE MOSLEM VIEWPOINT

"No, it will not do," observes the Sheikh, as he sits back in his modern desk-chair, "the idea in the article that you sent me was that we Mohammedans ought not to be asked to give up our religion and become Christians. Perhaps I can show you why I think it will not do."<sup>1</sup>

Such an outright rejection of this compromise suggestion sounds interesting. He is now an educated Mohammedan gentleman, a typical man-of-the-world. Twenty years ago I had met him as a young man. Arrayed in a long black robe he had come into the room in his stocking

<sup>1</sup> While this conversation did not occur with one individual as represented, yet it is true to life and is an attempt to face the issue squarely. It expresses the hope missionaries have for such men and the conviction that they ought not to hope for less.

feet and had placed a tray with glasses of tea between me and his father as we sat cross-legged on the floor. The father was a *mulla*, and both he and his son had then worn large pure white turbans. In filial respect the boy had stood to one side on that occasion until the father called him and told him to sit with us. He then informed me that his son was going to Paris, if God were willing, to study medicine. We talked about Paris and the opportunities for study that he was about to have, and I remarked that I had a little guide book in French that I would send him. When I went home I sent him a French New Testament that was nicely bound in leather. He met me on the street a few days later, and with a twinkle in his eye he thanked me for the *guide book*.

Years later I met him in a provincial town where he was practicing medicine, and he invited me to lunch with him and several of his friends. This time we sat at a table, well-laden with what he called European food, and there was a phonograph, with choice symphony orchestra records, and the room adjoining was his private study, where he had a considerable library of modern books.

And today, after years of responsibility had somewhat aged him, I see my friend sitting here, still genial and very human, but with a serious and determined expression.

"It would be a mistake", he continues, "for you missionaries to think that you can come and give us the best you have to give and yet expect us to 'remain in Islam'. Foreign cities and foreign peoples have given us too many other things that have led us away from the faith and customs of our fathers. Should not those of you who are religiously alert and responsible, so to speak, aim to give us something else, as best you can, to take its place? Thinking of this first in a very general way, let me read you an early tradition that shows what are the minimum requirements to be a good Mohammedan."

He walks across the room and brings an Arabic book, from which he reads as follows:<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> Wensinck, "The Muslim Creed", page 21, gives the translation.

“Once there came to the Apostle of Allah a man from the people of Nadjd, with dishevelled hair; we heard the humming of his voice but we did not understand what he said till he was near the Apostle of Allah. Then he began to ask him about Islam. The Apostle of Allah answered: Five *ṣalāts* every day and night. He asked: No more? The Prophet answered: No, what is above this number is supererogatory. Further, the fast of *Ramaḍān*. He asked: No More? The Prophet answered: No, what is more than this is supererogatory. Further, the Apostle of Allah mentioned the *zakāt*. He asked: No more? The Prophet answered: No, what is above it is supererogatory. Thereupon the man went away saying: By Allah, I shall add nothing, nor omit anything. Then the Apostle of Allah said: He is saved, if he keeps his promise.”

“Now how many men who have studied in our colleges and universities”, he asks, “would qualify as Mohammedans today by that test? I tell you that the Islamic faith that most of us have now is without works and is dead. If you ask me why this is, I can only say that our new scientific background has freed us from a heritage of fear and superstition and from a veritable tyranny of dogma.”

“Do you mean to say,” I venture to inquire at this point, “that this new scientific outlook has broken down your religion?”

“My opinion is”, he replies, “that there are many things that have been claimed for Islam,—for the Koran, for the Traditions, for Mohammed himself, and particularly for our Imams here in Persia, that will not bear the light of unbiased investigation. Yes, I will go further, there are claims made in the Koran and by Mohammed that we modern-minded men can no longer accept.”

“Can you not allow”, I ask, “for the times in which your Prophet lived, and for what you recognize as the human element in his character, and still feel that, after all, through him you can find guidance in your spiritual needs?”

“It is about this way”, he says, “as if you were to ask me to take David and the Psalms as my guide in life while you would keep Jesus and the Gospels. Now I have sometimes read the Psalms and have felt their noble aspirations and have been able to enter into their spirit of praise.

In this respect they have much in common with the Koran. There are passages in the Koran that I can quote at times with conviction and pleasure, and I think of Mohammed as having a personality that won men to him as he strove to call his own people from idolatry to the worship of Allah. And yet, when all has been said, the outcome is like this. If, in a spiritual sense, you and I were in a desert and were very thirsty, and all I had was the Koran and all you had was the book of Psalms, we could share with each other expressions of our thirst and need that we would find in our respective books, but would either of us have what he could recommend to the other as the coveted *water of life?*”

Perhaps he senses a thought that passes through my mind, for he smiles as he pulls out the central drawer in his desk and picks up a small leather book.

“This little *guide book* has had its own corner in my desk for many years”, he remarks, “and I think we have never talked with each other directly about it since you gave it to me.”

Here he pauses and I hesitate as to what to say, for I had come to regard him as an accomplished free-thinker, artistic in his tastes, polite, considerate, and cosmopolitan. I have known of his giving time and sympathetic interest to patients who have been unable to pay. It is true, I have invited him to come to special religious services a few times, and he has come occasionally, but in twenty years I have never made an appointment with him to consider whether that little *guide book* has made any real impression on his life. And now he is telling me himself.

“This book”, he says, “is for me a most significant book of evidence. The books you see over in that corner give the best evidence we have about Muhammad, and here on the right are books that give the evidence of science—astronomy, anatomy, psychology, etc., and there are works on history, and encyclopaedias and dictionaries, all of them giving evidence of what man has come to know about many things. We need them all, and in spite of the

débacle that came with the World War I still believe that there is yet to be an international fellowship of those who are earnestly seeking the peace and progress of mankind. But my best reason for this continued hope is this small book, which, by the way, the Koran erroneously says 'came down upon Jesus'. To me it is a book of evidence about Jesus, and in some places from Jesus, and for that reason it is of supreme value, for it shows me the true purpose and spirit and hope of human life. Better than any other book I know, this book shows the insufficiency of outgrown conceptions of God. The God of this book is no tribal or national god of a chosen people but a God who wants to be a heavenly father to all mankind. Here the love of God is not restricted to mere gratification on account of the devoted service of faithful slaves, but it is persistent like the affectionate love of a fond father for a son who has deserted him. The boy needs only to come back, disillusioned and repentant, and the father will reinstate him and fully acknowledge him as his son. And here in the life of Jesus we have God's most perfect revelation of himself to men."

I am about to make a comment, but he raises his hand in polite objection, as he says: "Excuse me, right here I want to make my point. The article you gave me suggested that as missionaries, whose business is presumably to personally witness to the life and teachings of Jesus, you might aim to help us Mohammedans to understand Jesus' ethical teachings, but that you should not expect us to give up Islam. Perhaps there is an idea abroad that it is not in accord with the modern conception of international etiquette for one people to really care about another people's religion. Or possibly there is the feeling that it will take a good many generations for those of us with the background of Islam to become capable, in the general process of social evolution, of being Christians. Or those of us who have a general western education may be thought to be like the cover crops they have to raise first in Florida. I understand that before the acres of

sand can be cultivated profitably it is necessary to raise upon them these cover crops, not because they are worth anything, but as temporary expedients for the improvement of the soil. On that basis we doctors and teachers and government officials who have learned something about Christianity in Mission schools, or through association with friends, and who are now working for better social conditions, are means to an end and nothing more. But as an objective for your work, would not such an idea be contrary to Kant's categorical imperative, which, as I recall, is this: So act as to regard yourself and every other person always as an *end* and never as a *means*. Unless I am greatly mistaken it is also opposed to the repeated teaching of this little *guide book*. It is because I myself have tried to stop short of giving up other things to become a Christian that I tell you from my own experience that this idea of restricting your work to your social and ethical influence will not do. Men such as I have been will continue to be the fruit, as it were, of the general impact of western science and civilization, and of Christian philanthropic work, but men such as I have been are not the men we ought to be, according to this little book."

He is through, and I feel I must say something, but what shall I say? He sits there with a happy expression, as though he had said something he had been wanting to say for a long time, and with his hand on the little book. The thought comes to me to put my hand on his and to kneel beside him. He kneels too. I pray that we may both be guided by this same little book in doing our part more obediently in the great mission of the Church of Jesus Christ as it is already at work among Mohammedan peoples. And what is my joy when he prays for some of the simple artisans and clerks in the city who have had the courage to come out openly as followers of Jesus, and that he and a number of his friends may have the strength to do likewise.

*Meshed, Iran*

DWIGHT M. DONALDSON.

## RETURN TO THE OLD QIBLA

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“The fools among men will say, What has turned them from their qibla on which they were agreed?”—Surah 2:135.

From very early times and in more than one ethnic religion the direction (Arabic *qibla*) toward which the worshipper made his prayer was considered of great importance. In I Kings 8:44 there is an allusion to prayer “toward the house and toward the city” which Jehovah had chosen. Of Daniel we read that he offered prayer three times a day in the direction of Jerusalem (Dan. 6:11) and this continues the custom of Jewry scattered among the nations. The ‘Amidah is recited by all Jews standing and facing the Holy Land. Thus all Israel at prayer turn their faces in the same direction.<sup>1</sup> The Essenes prayed in the direction of the rising sun and the Syrian Christians also turned eastward at prayer.<sup>2</sup> The Zoroastrians attached great importance to the points of the compass in their ritual of purification or prayer and in the building of the fire-temples, the Bareshnum, and the towers of silence.<sup>3</sup> Eastward toward the sun-rising was the direction of good omen. In the Anglican Church the import and importance of the eastward position is still a matter of grave discussion.

It may therefore be well assumed that, according to tradition, Mohammed appointed a *qibla* when he instituted prayer at Mecca. But in what direction he and his followers first prayed is a more difficult question.

It seems certain that in the period immediately following the Hegira the *qibla* of the Jews, i.e., Jerusalem, was also used by the Moslems.

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<sup>1</sup> Yer. Ber IV:5, Jewish Encyclopedia X:168.

<sup>2</sup> *Ancient Syriac Documents*, ed. Cureton, pp. 24, 60.

<sup>3</sup> J. J. Modi, “The Religious Ceremonies and Customs of the Parsees”, pp. 135-235. Bombay, 1922.

The Koran passages that refer to the original *qibla* and to the change of direction from Jerusalem to Mecca are found in Surah 2:107-109; 136-146. The important verses read as follows (Palmer's Translation):

"But who is more unjust than he who prohibits God's mosques, that His name should not be mentioned there, and who strives to ruin them? 'Tis not for such to enter into them except in fear, for them is disgrace in this world, and in the future mighty woe.

"God's is the east and west, and wherever ye turn there is God's face; verily, God comprehends and knows . . . .

"The fools among men will say, 'What has turned them from their qiblah, on which they were agreed?'

"Say, 'God's is the east and the west, He guides whom He will unto the right path. Thus have we made you a middle nation, to be witnesses against men, and that the Apostle may be a witness against you.

"We have not appointed the qiblah on which thou wert agreed, save that we might know who follows the Apostle from him who turns upon his heels; although it is a great thing save to those whom God doth guide. But God will not waste your faith, for verily, God with men is kind and merciful.

"We see thee often turn about thy face in the heavens, but we will surely turn thee to a qiblah thou shalt like. Turn then thy face towards the Sacred Mosque; wherever ye be, turn your faces towards it; for verily, those who have the Book know that it is the truth from their Lord;—God is not careless of that which ye do.

"And if thou shouldst bring to those who have been given the Book every sign, they would not follow your qiblah; and thou art not to follow their qiblah; nor do some of them follow the qiblah of the others; and if thou followest their lusts after the knowledge that has come to thee, then art thou of the evildoers . . . .

"Every sect has some one side to which they turn (in prayer); but do ye hasten onwards to good works; wherever ye are God will bring you all together; verily, God is mighty over all.

"From whencesoever thou comest forth, there turn thy face towards the Sacred Mosque, for it is surely truth from the Lord; God is not careless about what ye do. And from whencesoever thou comest forth, there turn thy face towards the Sacred Mosque, and wheresoever ye are, turn your faces towards it, that men may have no argument against you, save only those of them who are unjust."

The importance of these passages is evident when we turn to the commentators or to the standard collections of Tradition. It is safe to say that no religion has laid greater

emphasis on this detail in worship than Islam. One of the terms commonly used to designate orthodox Islam is *ahl-al-qibla*, i.e., the people who follow the right direction in prayer. Dr. Wensinck in his Handbook of Early Moham- medan Tradition gives more than one hundred forty references to the question of the *qibla* and its sacred character: it is a criterion of true Islam; only voluntary prayer (*dua'*) is possible without regard to the *qibla*; a number of traditions tell why and when the *qibla* was changed; sacrificial victims must be made to face the *qibla*; the dead when buried are to face the *qibla*; no one should ever spit toward it or relieve a natural want with his face or back to the *qibla*, etc., etc. <sup>4</sup>

In every mosque and in every Moslem land from Morocco to China there is a *mihrab* or prayer-niche which points toward Mecca. Moslem travelers have so frequently used a pocket compass to ascertain the right posture for prayer that it itself is popularly called a *qibla*; and worldly-wise manufacturers actually produce for particular latitudes compass-cards which point to Mecca!

The passages quoted from the Koran give the history of the spiritual struggle that took place in the mind of Mohammed, when he formulated his ritual at Medina. Tradition places the alteration in the *qibla* sixteen or seven- teen months after the Hegira, in the month Rajab or Sha'aban. At this time we can trace an important change in Mohammed's attitude to the Jews. He was disappointed at the slight success of his preaching among them and naturally began to turn back to the old Arabian tradition and place the story of Ibrahim in a Mecca environment. Hagar, Ismael and the well of Zemzen were brought together; the Ka'aba was built by the patriarch Abraham (Surah 2:118) while even Adam and Eve find their refuge after expulsion from Paradise in the barren valley of 'Arafat. <sup>5</sup>

So the Ka'aba was brought into prominence as a religious center and the *Hajj* of heathen Arabia turned

<sup>4</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. 117, 125 (Jerusalem).

<sup>5</sup> Ibn Sa'ad, *Tabakât* 1:12 seq. Bukhari 60:9.

into a Moslem rite. The alteration of the *qibla* is the pivot in this series of events and in Mohammed's train of thought. "We see how thy face turns to all quarters of the heavens so we will cause thee to turn to a *qibla* pleasing to thee." Such a revelation was opportune and fitted Mohammed's national ambitions. Tabari asserts that the change of *qibla* was due to scornful remarks of the Jews regarding his dependence on the prescriptions of their religion.<sup>6</sup> According to another tradition Mohammed received this revelation in the early morning as he was praying in the little mosque of Quba or in a mosque of the Banu Salima (both close to Medina). He immediately turned round to the direction of Mecca and completed his prayer with his back to Jerusalem. The mosque received the name of Masjid-al-Qiblatain, the mosque of the two *qiblas*.<sup>7</sup>

"The question still remains", says Dr. A. J. Wensinck, "what was Mohammed's *qibla* before the Hegira. In Tradition, two answers are given to this question and a third deduced by harmonizing the other two. According to one, Mohammed in Mecca observed the *qibla* toward the Ka'aba (Tabari *Tafsir* II:4; Baidhawi on Surah II:138); according to another story the *qibla* had always been Jerusalem (Tabari, *Tafsir* II:3, 8; Balādhuri *Futuh* p. 2); according to the third (Ibn Hishām, p. 190, 228) Mohammed in Mecca was careful to have the Ka'aba and Jerusalem in a straight line in front of him at the *ṣalat* . . . . If the second opinion had not an historical basis, one does not quite understand how it could have arisen, for Tradition does not like to acknowledge Mohammed's dependence on Jewish practice. This view is therefore in my opinion the most probable."<sup>8</sup>

At the earliest period in Medina, Mohammed desired to conciliate the Jews as far as possible, but was not successful. They were suspicious of his alleged "revelations." They took trouble on one occasion to translate a portion of the Old Testament into Arabic in the hope of ruining his reputation.<sup>9</sup> They perplexed him with knotty points of law or jeered at him because of his ignorance of medicine and agriculture.<sup>10</sup> As a result there was violence

<sup>6</sup> Ed. De Goeje, I, p. 1280.

<sup>7</sup> Encyclopedia of Islam, Vol. II, p. 686. In this connection we also note that the conflicting *qibla* verses are always cited by Moslems as proof of their doctrine of "abrogation", *nāsikh* and *mansukh* verses. Cf. Anwar-ul-Haqq, "Abrogation in the Koran", (Lucknow, 1925).

<sup>8</sup> Art. *Kibla* in Encyclopedia of Islam. "The early immigrants had already built a Mosque at Kuba, prayer at that time being directed toward Bait al Maqdis (Jerusalem)"—*Futuh-al-Buldan*, Hitti's translation, p. 15.

<sup>9</sup> Margoliouth, "Mohammed", p. 229.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.* p. 230.

and angry dispute between the Jews and the new community. Some Jewesses tried to bewitch the Prophet and his harem.<sup>11</sup> The result of all this was a determination to destroy the Jews and abandon all attempts to compromise with them or win them by concessions. "He decided definitely to break with them. He received a sudden revelation bidding him to turn his back, when he prayed, to the Jewish *qibla*, Jerusalem, and his face to the Meccan temple, the Ka'aba. For the Day of Atonement he substituted a new fast, the month of Ramadan . . . . With these institutions we may further connect the adoption of Friday as the day for public worship. The change of the prayer-direction was not merely anti-judaic; he had no sooner spilt Meccan blood than he resolved to open the road to agreement with the Meccans. Their temple was to be retained in its proud position of central sanctuary of Arabia."<sup>12</sup> Henceforth the Prophet's followers were forbidden to imitate the Jews in anything. Even the pagan mode of burial was again substituted for the Jewish and a long tirade against the Jews (in Surah 2) came as a special revelation at this time.<sup>13</sup>

It seems almost certain, therefore, that the change of *qibla* marked a crisis in Mohammed's own spiritual life and a decision to place his new religion into direct opposition to the older revelations that found their center in Jerusalem. According to Tor Andrae (following Buhl in his life of Mohammed, p. 212) the original *qibla* was toward the east and due to Christian influence at Mecca. But Schwally holds that the Jerusalem *qibla* was introduced into Mecca perhaps as a Jewish-Christian institution.<sup>14</sup> In either case the evidence of the change of *qibla* at Medina remains in the Koran text itself. When one reads the passage carefully and realizes what it meant for the future development of Islam, the conclusion of Major Osborne seems inevitable:

"There have been few incidents more disastrous in their con-

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.* p. 230.

<sup>12</sup> Margoliouth's "Mohammed", p. 249.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 250.

<sup>14</sup> *Encyclopedia of Islam*, Vol. II, p. 686.

sequences to the human race than this decree of Muhammad, changing the Kibla from Jerusalem to Mekka. Had he remained true to his earlier and better faith, the Arabs would have entered the religious community of the nations as peace-makers, not as enemies and destroyers. To all alike—Jews, Christians, and Muhammadans—there would have been a single centre of holiness and devotion; but the Arab would have brought with him just that element of conviction which was needed to enlarge and vivify the preceding religions. To the Jew he would have been a living witness that the God who spake in times past to his fathers by the prophets still sent messengers to men, though not taken from the chosen seers—the very testimony which they needed to rise out of the conception of a national deity to that of a God of all men.

“To the Christians, his deep and ardent conviction of God as a present living and working power, would have been a voice recalling them from their petty sectarian squabbles and virtual idolatry, to the presence of the living Christ. By the change of the Kibla, Islam was placed in direct antagonism to Judaism and Christianity. It became a rival faith, possessing an independent centre of existence. It ceased to draw its authenticity from the same wells of inspiration. Jew and Christian could learn nothing from a creed which they knew only as an exterminator; and the Muhammadan was condemned to a moral and intellectual isolation. And so long as he remains true to his creed, he cannot participate in the onward march of men. The keystone of that creed is a black pebble in a heathen temple. All the ordinances of his faith, all the history of it, are so grouped round and connected with this stone, that were the odour of sanctity dispelled which surrounds it, the whole religion would inevitably perish.”<sup>15</sup>

When the woman of Samaria raised the question of the true *qibla* (John 4:20) Jesus Christ said, “Ye worship that which ye know not: we worship that which we know, *for salvation is of the Jews.*” The old Jerusalem was the symbolic center of the revelation of God to the patriarchs and prophets. Here our Lord came as a child; here He taught in the temple and worked miracles; here He wept and suffered and died and arose and ascended; Jerusalem the city of the Great King, eternal type of the Jerusalem which is above and is free, the mother of us all; center and pivot of all the prophecies and types and promises that find their fulfillment in the Christ of God. It is not a light thing to turn one’s back on Jerusalem.

<sup>15</sup> “Islam under the Arabs”, p. 58.

About the same time that Al Ghazali, the greatest Moslem theologian, wrote his orthodox but sensuous description of the Prophet's Paradise, and of the pilgrim rites at Mecca, Bernard of Cluny composed his hymn of three thousand lines on *Urbs Sion aurea*:

“Jerusalem the golden, with milk and honey blest!  
Beneath thy contemplation, sink heart and voice oppressed,  
I know not, O I know not, what joys await us there;  
What radiancy of glory, what bliss beyond compare!

“There is the throne of David; and there, from care released,  
The song of them that triumph, the shout of them that feast;  
And they who with their Leader, have conquered in the fight,  
Forever and forever, are clad in robes of white.”

When we think of all this we long for the day when our Moslem brethren will go back to the old *qibla* and with Mary and Joseph return to *Jerusalem* to seek Jesus. They, too, will find Him “in the temple sitting in the midst of the teachers, both hearing them and asking them questions” that have never been asked or answered in Mecca.

*Princeton, N. J.*

S. M. ZWEMER.

## THE RELICS OF THE PROPHET MOHAMMED

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The preference which the Moslem community maintained through many centuries for oral tradition, as against written documents, accounts for the fact that not only the Prophet's correspondence was preserved by memory only, but that even parts of the Koran when that work was collected had to be got from men's "breasts". The personal possessions which are called Relics could not be preserved except in their original substance, and we should have expected that such belonging to the Prophet would be carefully guarded. To the *barakah*<sup>1</sup> or mystic virtue which attached to them there is a reference in Tabari's account of the first Umayyad Caliph Mu'awiyah's dying instructions.<sup>2</sup> "The Prophet", he said, "once clothed me with a shirt, which I put away, and one day when he pared his nails I took the parings and placed them in a bottle. When I die, clothe me in that shirt, and chop up and pulverize the parings; sprinkle them over my eyes and into my mouth, on the chance that God may have mercy on me through their *barakah*". Belief in the power of a relic could scarcely exceed this. Only if the Caliph's wishes were carried out, the relic was destroyed for his benefit.

A list of relics is furnished by the Traditionalist Bukhari in his "Section dealing with what has been narrated of the Prophet's cuirass, staff, sword, cup, and seal, which of these were used by the Caliphs after him, not having been shared by others; and his hair, shoe, and vessels which were shared (according to another reading: used for *barakah*) after his death by his Companions and

<sup>1</sup> This subject is admirably treated by Westermarck in his "Pagan Survivals in Mohammedan Civilization", London, 1933. For reverence paid to relics see Goldziher's *Muhammadanische Studien* ii:356-359.

<sup>2</sup> Leyden edition, ii:201.

others.”<sup>3</sup> The title of this section is, as one of the commentators observes, not in agreement with what follows; for the traditions quoted deal with only four objects out of this list, seal, cup, sword and shoes. Other traditions which are cited in the section have to do with articles not enumerated. A somewhat similar list of the Prophet’s personal possessions is given by Ibn Sa’d.<sup>4</sup>

The seal, as we shall presently find, was a precious possession of the Abbasid Caliphs. Unfortunately, the Traditionalists are agreed that the first three Caliphs used it, only the third dropped it accidentally down a well, and a search of three days failed to recover it. That in spite of this it was in the possession of the Abbasids for some centuries will occasion no surprise when we have traced the history of a yet more famous relic.

This is the *burdah* (cloak), supposed to be preserved in Constantinople, where, according to an ex-official of the Ottoman government, it is so wrapped in napkins that little of the fabric can be seen. Its worn condition gave rise to a proverb “shabbier than the *burdah*.”<sup>5</sup> The story told about it is that when the poet Ka’b b. Zuhair announced his conversion to the Prophet, and recited his eulogistic ode beginning *Banat Su’ad*, the latter was so pleased that he presented the poet with a cloak. The cloak itself was sold by the poet to the Caliph Mu’awiyah for twenty thousand *dirhems*, and was worn by the Caliphs on the two Feast-days.—This is the story told by Ibn Qutaibah (213-276 A.H.), who cites for it Aban, son of the third Caliph Uthman, without mention of the intermediate transmitters.<sup>6</sup>

It is noteworthy that the next person who tells the story reduces the price to six hundred *dinars*, which at the usual rate of exchange would give nine thousand *dirhems*.<sup>7</sup> Compensation for this is provided by a later writer who doubles the earlier figure.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>3</sup> Ed. Krehl ii:276.

<sup>4</sup> Ed. Sachau, I. ii:162 seq.

<sup>5</sup> Freytag, *Proverbia Arabum*, iii:139.

<sup>6</sup> *Liber Poesis, etc.*, ed. de Goeje, p. 69.

<sup>7</sup> Tha’alibi in *Thimar al-qulub*, p. 48.

<sup>8</sup> Abu’l-Fida, ed: Reiske i:175.

If this narrative is true, we may suppose that the *burdah* remained in Damascus in the possession of the Umayyads till the fall of the dynasty. But at this point there occurs a blot on its escutcheon, as well as on those of the Prophet's seal-ring and staff. According to Mas'udi,<sup>9</sup> when the last Umayyad, Marwan II, was slain at Busir in Egypt, one of his eunuchs saved his own life by offering to reveal in the sand where Marwan had buried these relics. They were unearthed, and sent to the first Abbasid, Saffah, who left them to his successors. Some suspicion attaches to articles which are buried and unearthed. They are next heard of in Baghdad, whence some of them were sent to the Caliph Ma'mun by his general Tahir, together with the head of Ma'mun's brother Amin. The letter which accompanied them<sup>10</sup> only mentions the *burdah* and the staff; Tabari adds a third relic, a praying-mat of palm-leaves, lined,<sup>11</sup> doubtless the *khumrah* which Ibn Sa'd includes among the relics.

That the *burdah* was worn by the Caliph on certain occasions is attested by the poet Buhturi, according to whom the Caliph Mutawakkil used to appear with this cloak over his own.<sup>12</sup> One such occasion was the Feast at the close of Ramadan.<sup>13</sup> He would also wear it when he wished to emphasize the sanctity of his person or his succession to the Prophet. In 251 A. H. the Caliph Musta'in used it for this purpose.<sup>14</sup> When in 320 the cowardly Caliph Muqtadir was compelled to appear on the battlefield, "he had on him the *burdah* which the Caliphs successively inherited, and the staff in his hand."<sup>15</sup> He was killed and his corpse stripped naked. The contemporary Mas'udi is unable to say whether the relics are in the possession of the reigning Caliph or are no longer in existence.

In the encomia of the Sharif al-Radi on the Caliph al-Ta'i' (363-381) the *burdah* does not appear to be

<sup>9</sup> *Muruj*, vi:77.

<sup>10</sup> *Irshad al-Arib*, ii:163, 16 (ed. 2).

<sup>11</sup> *Chronicle* iii:925, 4.

<sup>12</sup> *Ed. Const.* i:7, line 5 a.f.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.* i:11, line 13.

<sup>14</sup> *Tabari* iii:1630.

<sup>15</sup> *Miskawaihi*, ed. Amedroz, i:235.

mentioned; but it figures in one on al-Qadir dated 382, dealing with a great reception at which this Caliph "appeared in the Prophet's cloak".<sup>16</sup> Hence it must have been either rescued or replaced. It was not, however, immune from vicissitudes. Ibn al-Athir records that in the year 535 the *burdah* and the staff, which had been taken from the Caliph Mustarshid, were returned by the Sultan Sinjar to his second successor, Muqtafi. They must have been taken from Mustarshid on the occasion of his murder by the Assassins in the year 529, when his captor, the Sultan Mas'ud, had left him insufficiently guarded. Probably like Muqtadir he had taken them with him to demonstrate the sanctity of his person. He too was stripped naked by his murderers, who also hideously mutilated his corpse. Here again suspicion arises as to the identity of the articles.

Later on in this century frequent mention is made of the relics by the poet Sibt ibn al-ta'awidhi in his encomia on the Caliphs Mustadi' and Nasir. The latter wore the *burdah* at his accession ceremony in 575;<sup>17</sup> his predecessor in the same year had been credited with the possession of the prophetic cloak, staff, pulpit, and sword;<sup>18</sup> elsewhere the seal, the sword, and the cloak are enumerated as heirlooms from the Prophet.<sup>19</sup> This poet seems to know more about the relics than his predecessors. Abiwardi, who has encomia on Muqtadi (467-487) and Mustazhir (487-512) mentions the *burdah* only.<sup>20</sup> They apparently hold that the *burdah* was a garment worn by the Prophet himself, and inherited by his heirs. This does not seem to agree with the story told above.

The seal, according to Miskawaihi, was produced without difficulty at the accession of Radi in 322;<sup>21</sup> its legend was, as described by Bukhari, three words: *Muhammad Apostle (of) Allah*, each forming a line.

It was noticed above that whereas Bukhari enumerates

<sup>16</sup> Ed. Beirut, 1309, ii:543, line 12.

<sup>17</sup> My edition, p. 238, line 35.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.* p. 409, line 30.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.* p. 149, line 30; p. 375, line 18.

<sup>20</sup> Lebanon, 1317 A.H., pp. 221 and 379.

<sup>21</sup> Ed. Amedroz, i:290.

various relics with which his section is to deal, the contents of the section fail to agree with the title. He begins a story about the sword;<sup>22</sup> but the story suddenly changes into something which has apparently no connexion with it, and rather desperate expedients are adopted by the commentators to excogitate a connexion. The suspicion arises that the story to be told was inconsistent with the possession of the sword by the Caliphs, and that the disagreement of the title with the contents of the section is due to expurgation.

The presence of the prophet's pulpit among the relics is mysterious. Samhudi<sup>23</sup> quotes numerous authorities to the effect that attempts made by Umayyad Caliphs to transfer the pulpit from Medinah to Damascus were frustrated, at first miraculously. It would seem that some Abbasid Caliph was more fortunate.

Abu'l-Fida asserts that the *burdah* was taken by the Mongols when Baghdad was stormed and the last of the Abbasids who reigned there was put to death. He is likely to be right, and the rest of the relics are likely to have perished at the same time. His life extended from 672 to 732 A. H., so his evidence is inconsistent with the possession of the *burdah* by the first Egyptian Abbasids; and we may be certain that the relics were not handed over by the Mongol conqueror to either of the pretenders whom the Egyptian Sultan Baibars recognized as Caliphs.

Of one other relic which seems to have perished at the same time as those mentioned there is a notice in the recently published Chronicle of Ibn al-Futi, who died 723 A. H.<sup>24</sup> He states that in the year 653 Salah al-din, ruler of Damascus and Halab, sent to the Caliph Musta'sim a single stirrup of iron, of large size, which he claimed had belonged to the Prophet, and had been preserved by the Ayyubids as the *burdah* had been by the Abbasids. The Caliph kissed it and put it with the *burdah* and the staff in the Treasury. Some verses improvised on the occasion

<sup>22</sup> The sword whose history is told by Goldziher was never the Prophet's.

<sup>23</sup> *Wafa al-Wafa*, Cairo, 1326 A.H., i:282.

<sup>24</sup> Baghdad, 1932, p. 301.

by Abu'l-Ma'ali al-Qasim ibn Abi'l-Hadid are quoted by the historian.

One Ibn Abi'l-Hadid, who, however, must have been a different person, as he has been identified as Preacher at the Mosque of Damascus, with death-date 646,<sup>25</sup> figures in the Chronicle of Yunini<sup>26</sup> as possessor of another relic. This was a shoe (similar, it may be presumed, to those described by Bukhari), which had, according to him, belonged to the Prophet, and which he exhibited to various Islamic potentates, who paid him handsomely for the sight. Among those to whom he brought it was the Ayyubid prince al-Malik al-Ashraf, who reigned in Damascus 626-635 A. H. This prince offered the owner thirty thousand *dirhems* for a piece of it the size of a chick-pea which might be buried with him, and doubtless secure him Paradise. The owner consented, and arranged to assemble the *ulema* the next day and detach the piece in their presence. Only in the night the prince reflected that his example would probably be followed by other princes, and this would result in the destruction of the precious relic. He therefore withdrew his request, to the alarm of the owner, who supposed he would forfeit the sum promised him. The prince, however, gave him the whole sum. When the owner died, having no heirs, he bequeathed the relic to al-Malik al-Ashraf, who built a School of Tradition in the neighborhood of the citadel of Damascus to house it, where it might be visited on Mondays and Thursdays.

It may be conjectured that this relic perished when Damascus was burned by Timur in 803, and most of the religious buildings were destroyed.

A collection of the Prophet's relics was made by Baha al-din Ali b. Muhammad b. Salim b. Hanna, vizier of the Egyptian Sultan Baibars al-Bunduqdari, who died the same year as his sovereign (676 A. H.). He acquired them at great cost and built for them a depository which overlooked the Nile, where visitors were received on

<sup>25</sup> See Ibn al-Qalanisi, ed. Amedroz, p. 317.

<sup>26</sup> Bodleian MS, Poc. 132.

Wednesdays.<sup>27</sup> The *burdah* was not one of these relics, as we learn from the Preface of al-Busiri to his eulogy of the Prophet, known also as the *Burdah*. According to this a man who suffered from eye-trouble was told by the Prophet in a dream to go to this Baha al-din and ask for the *burdah*. Baha al-din told him that it was not in his collection, and suggested that Busiri's ode would serve instead; the patient applied it to his eyes and this effected a complete cure.<sup>28</sup> Evidently the collector did not know where the real *burdah* was to be found, but as the date of this event is not given, we can draw no inference. We happen to know what the collection did contain from the description given by the traveller Ibn Battuta, who visited Cairo in 729. He calls it "the Clay Monastery" (*Dair al-Tin*), built by the vizier mentioned above to house the sacred relics, consisting in a fragment of the Prophet's bowl, the pencil with which he applied *kuhl* to his eyes, the awl with which he patched his shoe, and a Koran in the autograph of Ali (the Prophet's cousin and son-in-law). The price paid for these treasures had been one hundred thousand *dirhems* (estimated at seventy-five thousand francs). An endowment provided a stipend for the guardians and food for visitors.<sup>29</sup>

Of the relics mentioned one seems to have been identified with a piece of the cup mentioned in Bukhari's list, the fracture of which was recorded by the Tradition. That the Prophet painted his eyes is also mentioned in a tradition,<sup>30</sup> in which the instrument employed bears the same name as figures in Ibn Battuta. We can supplement Ibn Battuta's list from one given by the topographer Ibn Duqmaq<sup>31</sup> who held a conversation about them in the year 793 A. H. (1391 A. D.). As might have been expected, the price paid has been more than doubled; two hundred fifty thousand *dirhems* were disbursed to a *Sharif* (whose name is lost) for them, only according to this authority by the grandson of Baha al-din, Taj al-din Muhammad. To the relics he adds a piece of the stick (*anazah*), or rather javelin, given

<sup>27</sup> Ibn Iyas, 1:99.

<sup>28</sup> Uri's edition, 1771, p. 2; also told in *Fawat al-wafayat*, ii:209.

<sup>29</sup> Paris edition, i:95.

<sup>30</sup> *Musnad* of Ibn Hanbal, i:354.

<sup>31</sup> *Description de l'Egypte*, Cairo, 1893, p. 103.

to the Prophet by the Abyssinian monarch; and an instrument for extracting thorns.

Maqrizi (766-845 A. H.) reduces the price considerably, but he also reduces the number of the relics; the latter were only a bit of wood and a bit of iron (evidently the last two mentioned), purchased for sixty thousand silver *dirhems* from the Banu Ibrahim of Yanbu, who claimed that they had inherited them in regular succession from the time of the Prophet. Maqrizi is slightly sceptical as to their genuineness.<sup>32</sup>

He states that down to the year 806 the relics were visited by great numbers of devotees, who brought the place much prosperity; from that time, owing to political troubles, its popularity had declined. Dair al-Tin was not, as Ibn Battuta thought, the name of the monastery, but of the village in which it was situated. This was burned and plundered in the year 1186 A. H. (1772-3 A. D.),<sup>33</sup> and such relics as had been left are likely to have disappeared then. Ali Pasha Mubarak, who sketches the history of the place, did not think the relics deserving of mention.<sup>34</sup>

How and when the Ottoman Sultans came into possession of their *burdah*, which they kept with some hairs of the Prophet, does not appear to have been enucleated. Von Hammer records how Mohammed III in 1656 took it with him to the siege of Erlau and actually wore it at the battle of Kerestes in the same year.<sup>35</sup> Since the last of the Egyptian Caliphs was removed to Constantinople after the Ottoman conquest of Egypt in 1617, this seems strong evidence in favor of the much-contested opinion that he handed over his Caliphate—and with it its accessories—to the conqueror. But the question how he got the *burdah* is still obscure.

Considering the reverence paid to such relics and the high prices which they fetched, it is to the credit of the Moslem community that not more were put on the market.

Oxford University

DAVID S. MARGOLIOUTH.

<sup>32</sup> *Khitat*, old edition, ii:429.

<sup>33</sup> *Jabarti*, i:371.

<sup>34</sup> *Khitat Jadidah*, xi:71.

<sup>35</sup> *Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches*, iv:269 and 456. His authority is the Turkish chronicler Na'ma, i:163.

## HAS WESTERN CULTURE A DEBT TO ISLAM? <sup>1</sup>

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“Western Culture” is not a completely satisfactory term; some might even say there are many cultures in the West. Orientals have been quick to characterize the various nations of the West and to appraise the peculiar characteristics of each. But there is, after eliminating the peculiar elements of the culture of the various Western nations, a residue which may be called Western culture, a least common denominator, as it were, of that which is West, as over against that which is East. To attempt to define what is meant by Western culture is a most difficult task and such a definition cannot be put into a few words only. Culture has been defined as “the enlightenment and discipline acquired by mental and moral training”. Most people feel that the West does have a discipline and a life that is its own, and we can best, perhaps, assume an understanding of the meaning of Western Culture rather than attempt a close definition.

Then there arises the important matter of the relation of Christianity to Western culture. Religion and culture have always been closely related, in fact, there has never been a culture in the world’s history that has not had its roots deep in some religious soil. Not all religions have produced a culture, unless savagery and barbarism may be so called. Christianity has been the dominant religion of the West, though it has many and powerful rivals there. And as such, its influence permeates all the institutions of the West. Christianity has inspired the noblest themes in music and in painting. In art and education the Christian types are still considered the best. In government the democratic ideal is traced to Christian ideas. And even in

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<sup>1</sup> Reprinted from *The United Church Review*, of India, with revision and additions by the author.

war the Red Cross stands as a reminder of One Whose cross is the sign of peace. But, and this is important, we must be careful not to identify Christianity with Western Culture.

This would confuse the question before us, for it is one thing to consider the debt Christianity owes Islam and quite another thing to consider whether Western culture has a debt to Islam. Western culture is not Christianity, nor is it to be identified with Christian culture. Western culture is a mixture of the culture of professing Christians and of those people who, though they do not identify themselves with the Christians, nevertheless admit the dominant influence of Christianity. It is part of the genius of Christianity that it takes, from whatever source it may choose, that which is good, and makes it a part, not of itself, but of its culture. It is conscious that so long as it is meek it shall inherit the earth. It holds itself free to take all that is consistent with its fullest development. It takes from nature, science, art, and from man. It has its symbols, some of which may have originated among the Pagans. The dominant church architecture has been Gothic, but this has not made Gothic architecture Christian. It may be that Moslem architecture may prove more suited to its needs and there would be no objection to its adoption. This freedom on the part of Christianity to take from anywhere, whatever is not inconsistent with itself, has been the most important help in the growth of both Christian culture and Western culture.

As a matter of fact the question is not whether the West has been influenced by Islam, but the problem is as to the character and extent of that influence. In what sphere has it been most potent, the material, the intellectual, or the spiritual? One splendid book is before us which is especially intended to help in this problem, "The Legacy of Islam", edited by the late Sir Thomas Arnold and Alfred Guillaume. Thirteen writers contribute on various subjects, but the work of total appraisal is left to the reader. In the preface, however, Sir Thomas Arnold does give an

estimate. He says, (page V), "the reader will learn from this book that there is little that is peculiarly Islamic in the contributions which Occidental and Oriental Muslims have made to European culture. On the contrary, the legacy has proved least valuable where religion has exerted the strongest influence, as in Muslim Law. But Islam is the fundamental fact which made the legacy possible". On the other hand André Servier denies that there is an Islamic legacy.<sup>2</sup> His view is that Islam has had a paralyzing influence on culture. The Reverend E. J. Bolus admits a certain legacy but it is of doubtful value.<sup>3</sup> De Lacy O'Leary holds the view that it is not the legacy of Islam at all but, "the transmission of a particular type of Hellenistic culture",<sup>4</sup> and that "Muslim culture was at bottom essentially a part of the Hellenistic-Roman material, even the theology of Islam being formulated and developed from Hellenistic sources . . . Islam's greatest power lay in the fact that it presented the old material in an entirely fresh form."<sup>5</sup>

This view raises a different aspect of the problem, namely, were the Moslems transmitters or creators of a culture? Was Islam a vehicle through which passed the more ancient culture, or did the Moslems create from their own native resources, a culture of their own? O'Leary's emphasis on the Greeks overlooks one other possibility, namely, the influence of Judaism and Christianity on Islam. There are those who would make Islam a "Christian heresy", with the implication that might follow, that its culture is no less borrowed. But perhaps the best attitude toward the question is an empirical one, to calmly observe and examine modern Western culture and find to what extent it contains Islamic elements.

#### ISLAMIC SOURCES

We are concerned with the Islamic sources because an appreciation of its background is essential to an under-

<sup>2</sup> "Islam and the Psychology of the Musulman", p. 271.

<sup>3</sup> "The Influence of Islam."

<sup>4</sup> "Arabic Thought and its Place in History", p. 295.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. vi.

standing of Islamic culture. These sources include all the peoples of the territory in and surrounding Arabia, the "Cradle of Islam"; we have space to mention them but briefly.

Central in Islam is the Koran. It is for them the divine text-book of life and thought, and if we can account for it we have come a good way in understanding the sources of Islamic culture. Rodwell, in the preface of his translation of the Koran says, "The sources whence Muhammad derived the materials of his Koran are, over and above the more poetical parts, which are his own creation, the legends of his time and country; Jewish traditions based upon the Talmud, or perverted to suit his own purposes; and the floating Christian traditions of Arabia and of Southern Syria". Whole sections of the Koran are a re-telling of portions of the Bible. There was a Jewish colony in Medina at the time of Mohammed, and there is no doubt that the Jews vitally influenced him. The *qibla* at first faced Jerusalem.

Christian tradition was equally important in the formation of the Koran. The cousin of Mohammed's first wife, Waraka, was a reputed convert to Christianity, and others of his friends were supposed to have been acquainted with parts of the Bible. Mohammed is known to have journeyed into Syria as far as Bostra where he surely must have come in contact with some form of Christianity. Christians of Abyssinia had made contact with Arabia even before Mohammed's day, and many of the stories of the Koran show that Mohammed must have had access to the teaching of some of the Apocryphal Gospels.<sup>6</sup> Mohammed was very likely influenced by the Zorastrians of Persia for they are mentioned in the Koran, 22:17.

The Koran was, however, but one of the circumstances in the development of Moslem culture. Its historic development is the story of other and even more important influences. The Orthodox Caliphate from 632 to 661 A. D., was the period of conquest. The Umayyad Caliphate from

<sup>6</sup> Cf. on the birth of Christ, *Thilo Cod. Apos.*, p. 136-139.

661 to 750 A. D., was the period of the administrative development of the Mohammedan Empire. And the Abbaside Caliphate from 750 to 1258 A. D., was the period of cultural development and of final decline of the Empire. It was during the early part of the Abbaside period that the intellectual life of the Moslems flourished, and particularly during the reigns of Mansur (754-775) and Harun al-Rashid (786-809), because it brought to an end the distinctly Arab influence, and henceforth Persian influence was dominant. The Persians, in contrast to the Arabs, had a long cultural background and it is natural that with their coming to power this culture should make its influence felt.

The transfer of the capital from Damascus to Baghdad opened the way for these new influences. The administration of the government was largely a copy of Persian methods. That important person, the *wasir*, began his responsible career after the Persian model. With him came the executioner whose part was to be significant. The court life and social customs of the Sasanians became the vogue and Persian dress was prescribed. The way was open for Persian art, music, science and literature to make their contributions. The Abbaside court was a magnificent spectacle, as those who read "The Arabian Nights" can easily imagine. The Zoroastrians themselves had not looked with favor upon the handicrafts, but nevertheless they had attained a high degree of perfection in Persia. The grandiose and flattering style of speech of the Persians became the accepted style in place of the blunt and terse manner of the Umayyads. Their first scientific interests were in philology and genealogy, the one to aid foreigners to read Arabic and the other to establish family connections back through Abraham to Adam. There was also an interest in astronomy for the purpose of telling the exact fast season and also the direction of Mecca for prayers.

Under the Abbasides new and outside influences came in. Most important of these was Hellenistic culture. There

were Arabs who knew Greek and some who knew Syriac. Syria had long been under Greek influence. The Greek Christians there had brought with them Greek learning. The Nestorians inherited the same tradition. So there were many Greek works translated into Syriac. The work of the translators cannot be over estimated. During the reign of Mansur (754-775) there were available in Arabic several works of Aristotle, Euclid and the *Almajasta* of Ptolemy. Later the list included almost all of Aristotle's *Organon*, his *Metaphysics*, *Theology*, *Physics*, *Meteorology*, and much of Plato. In medicine there were translations from Galen and Hippocrates.

Besides the Greek sources there was the translation by Ibn Muqaffa from the Old Persian of *Kalila wa-Dimna*, which was itself a translation from the Sanskrit. Influence from India came also by way of the Sindhind which was brought to Mansur by a traveller from India. It was a treatise on arithmetic and astronomy. Later Musa al-Kharizme used it to combine Arabic and Indian astronomy and the subject became important in Arabic studies. There was also the influence of the Pagan Greeks at Harran near Baghdad, from among whom one was supposed to have become famous in chemistry, and his work was later translated into Latin under the name Geber.

Thus we see that there were many sources for Islamic culture but scarcely any of them were purely Arabic. The religion of Islam had a Semitic background, particularly in the Jews. The Umayyads had the support of the Syrians who were composed of Semitic elements. But the culture of Islam was not purely Semitic. The Arabs were not as a people primarily interested in cultural attainments. They were interested in conquest and plunder and in power. The Arab Register or *Diwan*, which was prepared in the days of 'Omar, indicated this. Sir William Muir says, "The blue blood of Arabia was universally recognized as the aristocracy of the Moslem world. Rank and stipend now assigned, and even rewards for special gallantry in the field, descended by inheritance". This *Diwan* was a

register of practically the whole Arab race, most of whom were entitled to a stipend from the treasury for military service rendered to the Moslem state. Later most of the Arabs thought it beneath their dignity as members of the privileged nation, to indulge in merely intellectual pursuits, and thus much of the work was done by clients who were mostly people of other nations.

#### IMPORTANT ELEMENTS IN ISLAMIC CULTURE

If Western culture is indebted to the Moslems, we must understand some of the important elements in Islamic culture which would be part of its contribution. We can start with art. Conspicuous in Moslem art is its architecture. In Jerusalem, Damascus, Cordova, Cairo, Delhi, Agra, and Fatehpur Sekri are magnificent mosques. The Taj Mahal is recognized as the most beautiful building in the world. But who can say that outside of winning high words of praise these buildings have appreciably influenced architecture in the West? They were designed for hot climates and are difficult to adapt for cold ones. Martin S. Briggs in his chapter on Architecture in "The Legacy of Islam" says,

"A generation hence it may be possible to estimate with some confidence the legacy of the Islamic world to architecture; but in the present state of scholarship so much doubt exists as to several important aspects of Muhammadan architecture, that only a violent partisan can feel sure of his ground."<sup>7</sup>

The legacy in literature has had the advantage of a wider interest among scholars. Omar Khayyam has been made famous by Fitzgerald's work. Its "polished hedonism" finds its counterpart in modern poetry and prose, but Omar Khayyam can hardly be held responsible for it. In the eighteenth century the "Arabian Nights" began a vogue which continues to this day. Its actual influence in English literature seems to be found only in Moore's "Lalla Rookh" where it is "reduced to a few elements of the frame-story".

<sup>7</sup> p. 155.

But the translations of Arabic books on metaphysics which came up into Europe from Spain had a great vogue among the philosophers of the late middle ages. Here the influence was not so much literary as philosophical.

One case of literary influence has been the subject of a controversy in recent years, namely, concerning Islamic elements in Dante's "Divine Comedy". M. Asin Palacios of Madrid, in 1919 championed the thesis "that it is the Islamic literature that holds the key to the greater part of the explained and the unexplained portion of the Divine Comedy, that is to say, of the part which students of Dante explained by the ideas of his Christian precursors and of that which, being inexplicable, they attributed to the creative genius of Dante". Comparisons are made between the poem of Ibn-al-'Arabi written a century earlier. The matter is regarded as both proved and unproved. If it is true, certainly it was not very gracious on the part of Dante to have placed both Mohammed and 'Ali in the eighth hell of his Inferno. There are striking parallels, however, and it is a matter for the scholars to decide.

In the art of painting Western Culture owes no debt to Islam. And the orthodox Mohammedan would desire that it always be so, for he holds that all pictorial art is forbidden by his religion. There is no explicit prohibition against pictures in the Koran, but the strong denunciation of idols and the "joining of gods with God" is interpreted to preclude any representation of any living thing, whether in picture form or as a statue. Thus the Moslems have had no notable sculpture. Mohammed is reported to have said: "Every painter will be in hell". Except in Persia, and for a short time in India, this type of tradition dominated. Moslem artists have excelled in ornamentation, as, for example, the use of Arabic letters for decorative purposes. But in painting we must conclude that their influence is of no real significance.

When we come to the minor arts, we have a much more fruitful field. The minor arts grew in a perfectly natural way, out of the desire to give form and beauty to the

religious institutions of the Moslem church-state. With painting and sculpture forbidden, we find that ornamental design is the outstanding minor art developed by the Moslem. Designs and inscriptions were copied in Europe for cloth and mural decorations. In connection with the binding of the Koran a beauty of design and technique was developed which was widely copied. Ingraved and beaten metal work also became a fine art. Metal casts, astrolabes, ewers, writing-cases and bowls in brass and silver, or brass inlaid with silver are represented by specimens of unique beauty. Earthenware vessels and tile of choice design and color are also part of the heritage. Silk fabrics gorgeous and rich were developed. The oriental carpet, of all the Islamic minor arts, is perhaps the best known today, and there is no lack of appreciation.

Another sphere of development in Islamic culture is that of science and medicine, and they are more significant for our purpose. Scholars are embarrassed by the abundance of available material but again we are told that, "at present even an outline of the medical and scientific achievement of Islam can, at best, be but tentative."<sup>8</sup> We can but suggest what is known. The school of the Nestorians, who were the main bearers of the Greek tradition, was transferred from Edessa to Nisisbis in Mesopotamia and later to Junde Shapur in Southwest Persia. The Jacobite Christian, Sergius of Resh-'Aina, began the task of translating the Greek medical literature into Syriac. Al Razi (c. 865-925) a Persian, was the greatest physician of Islam. To him goes the credit for making the discovery of the difference between small-pox and measles. Moslem scientists were interested in alchemy and it is reported that at least they discovered how to transmute base metals into gold. There was no limit to the subjects a scholar could study. Al-Biruni (973-1048) was called a physician, astronomer, mathematician, physicist, geographer and historian. Vivisection was forbidden on religious grounds but much interest was shown in zoology.

<sup>8</sup> Max Meyerhof, "The Legacy of Islam", p. 354.

It is in mathematics and astronomy that again we find the Moslem to excel. Although he did not discover the cipher he did teach its use and so make possible practical arithmetic. Our word algebra is from the Arabic, a study the Moslems so developed as to give it a place among the exact sciences. And they prepared the way for analytical geometry. Arabic scholars preserved in their translations important Greek mathematical works which have been lost in the original. The average westerner does not realize that the Arabic mathematicians deal with long and complicated equations. In astronomy (stimulated by astrology) Euclid was their chief source, and the Greek influence is evident. But a tangible body of knowledge was developed which was later available to European scholarship.

Related to mathematics, at least as to theory, is music, and it is surprising to find that in spite of legal condemnation, music had a real place in the lives of the Moslems. They were proficient not only in practice, but in theory. Besides vocal music they had a great variety of instruments, at least one of which has bequeathed its name to the West, the lute from Al'ude. The list includes the pandura, psaltery, clarion, trumpet, cymbal, tambourine, and a variety of drums. They also had a miniature pipe organ. Most western musicians would probably be surprised to learn that Al-Ghazali, a Moslem mystic, wrote on Music and Ecstasy long before symphonies were thought of. What is more surprising is the degree to which the theory of music was developed by Arabic writers. It is true again that they had the use of Greek works on music. But we are also told that "it was perhaps the fretting of the Arabian lute that registered the employment of the major mode for Europe". A pertinent question for our consideration would be the degree of spiritual influence in western music which came from Moslem music.

The Moslems took a normal interest in geography, and their great empire, which at one time was the dominant political force of the world, had its full share of commercial activity. The pilgrimage to Mecca brought Moslems from

all parts of the empire to that city where exchange of opinion must have been stimulating. Maps were made. Islamic scholarship kept alive the doctrine of the sphericity of the earth, which had been nearly forgotten in the Dark Ages. It is doubtful, however, if Christian sailors learned much of their seamanship from Moslems. The Crusades probably stimulated a greater popular interest in geography in Europe than the Moslem school of literary geographers.

Columbus set out to reach the East, and thus indirectly at least, the Moslems had something to do with the discovery of America. It was, however, an Arab pilot who showed Vasco de Gama, after his circumnavigation of Africa in 1498, the way to India. There is in the commercial vocabulary of the West clear evidence of the influence of Moslem trade; for instance, the words traffic (*tafriq*), tariff (*ta'rif*), risk, tare, calibre and magazine (*makhasin*). The finding of Moslem coins throughout Europe is further evidence of the influence of Moslem trade.

In our consideration of those elements of Islam which might be the source of an indebtedness on the part of Western culture, we come to the social sciences, law and government, society and ethics. These are in a sense not experimental, because they all have moral implications, and are thus based on preconceived notions of right and wrong. This is true only in so far as it refers to the principles underlying them. The principles of law and government and society need not change, though their conditions are constantly changing.

We must remember that culture is, in its essence, not external and formal, but spiritual. The basis of all culture is discipline, because no knowledge comes without effort, nor does goodness. Principles grow out of convictions and convictions out of experience and faith. Faith is religion, and religion requires discipline. Islam, like Christianity, is a discipline and out of this discipline have come principles. In considering, therefore, the remaining elements of

Moslem culture, our task grows more difficult. How far has Islamic discipline influenced the discipline of the West? Did the West take over any principles from Islam and make them a part of itself?

#### LAW

The Moslem science of law is only a part of theology. The theocratic idea is predominant, and theology is the fundamental basis of their system. There is a definite conception of justice which marks the Moslem system as much superior to the barbarous practices of pre-Islamic Arabia and of the "crude formalism of early feudal law". But the fundamental idea in Islamic law is that "justice consists in reciprocity" and this has been pressed to its extremest consequences. There has resulted a system which is purely legal and great energy is expended in minute regulation of all details. The possibilities are limited to the four schools of law. In spite of the fact that there is recognized the principle of change and progress, there is no encouragement for the "spirit" of the law to soften the rule of rigid reciprocity.

#### GOVERNMENT

Islamic theory of government has been a church-state. The Caliphs were the "successors" of the prophet in everything but his prophetic office. As head of the church-state, he was bound by the divine law or *shari'ah*. This was fixed for all time by the Koran and the Traditions. The sovereign is an integral part of the law which is intended to save men from their wicked instincts. The history of the Caliphate is one of intrigue and bloodshed. Moslems, except recently, have never felt the desire for democratic government, primarily because their system has the sanction of the Divine will. In government the fundamental conceptions of the East and West are so different that any indebtedness of one to the other is of minor significance.

## SOCIETY

Moslem society is a community of believers, a brotherhood organized under a theocratic idea. Non-Moslems are regarded as Kafirs or unbelievers and therefore cannot share the full privileges of the church-state. These non-Moslems in the early days were called *Dhimmi*, and as such were given inferior places. For instance, they could not testify against a Moslem in a court of law. They were also required to pay a poll tax from which, for the most part, the Moslems were free.

In theory Moslems believe all men are equal, but slavery is recognized in the Koran, in the expression, "what thy right hand possesses", and it was a common practice within the Moslem Empire. The institution of polygamy is also recognized by the Koran and even today finds spirited defenders. Islam regards marriage as a contract, dissoluble on the part of the husband by the mere expression three times of the formula "I divorce you" without the necessity of legal process.

## ETHICS AND PHILOSOPHY

In the broader field of ethics there are such fundamental differences between the West and Islam that any influence there may have been seems to have been negative of results. Islamic ethics tend to be legal, those of Western culture are motivated more by their effect on society at large. They seem to come from different roots.

There remains in this very inadequate study the examination of the philosophy and theology of Islam. Of all the cultural influences these are the most important; in them we define our world view. If in this sphere we find vital influences, we can conclude that there is a real debt. It is just here, however, that we have the greatest difficulty in determining whether Islam made a contribution or left a legacy. Islam has a great list of philosophers. Many, if not most of them, would not be counted as orthodox, and their influence on Islam itself is no more certain of appraisal

than is their influence on the West. The names include al-Kindi (850 B. C.), who was the only philosopher who was a pure Arab; al-Farabi, Ibn Sina, (980-1037) known in Europe as Avicenna; Ibn Masarra (b. 883); Ibn Rushd (1126-98) known in Europe as Averroes, and who "belonged to Europe and European thought rather than the East."

Two influences stimulated the interest of Islamic scholars in Greek philosophy; first was the controversy with the Christians, who at first were the better scholars. The second was the controversy which developed among themselves, namely, that of predestination and free will. It divided their ranks, and the Caliph Ma'mun took up the unorthodox position of the free-willers, who had become known as Mu'tazila or Secessionists and who persecuted the orthodox group with inquisitional methods. Islamic philosophy took various forms but its main source was neoplatonism and Aristotle. These were confused and the latter was interpreted as in support of the former.

The course of philosophy found its way westward. In Spain we find Raymund Lull (1235-1315) whose life and work add to our knowledge of the influence of Islam. He was a Christian missionary and a controversy has arisen about the origin of his philosophy. Regarding it, the "Legacy of Islam" (p. 271) has this to say: "Where controversy runs high it is begging the question to speak of a 'commonsense view': but probably many will agree that the facts justify the general conclusion . . . ; (that) a classical tradition, lost or obscured in Christian Europe, returned under the *aegis* of Islam and caused enthusiastic study of Arabian writings, or Aristotle, and of the Fathers of the Church". St. Thomas Aquinas attacked the work of al-Kindi and did not hesitate to use other Islamic scholars to help him. But he shared the revival of Christian scholasticism and the appeal to the Church Fathers. His views were heartily opposed by Roger Bacon (c. 1214-1219), who has always been regarded as important in the history of Western thought. We can only point out the

difficulty in determining how much he was influenced by Arabic scholars.

This difficulty is typical of the present stage in the solution of the problem. There is as yet no evidence of a vital contribution by Islam to Western philosophy. The Moslem unquestionably served as a strong stimulus to the study of classical writers and the Church Fathers.

Space will permit but the mention of the two avenues of communication of Islamic culture to the West, the one from the east, through the contacts made by the Crusades, and the other from the southwest through Spain and Sicily. Contact in the Crusades was mainly through the sword and not very favorable to the transmission of culture. The Kingdom of Jerusalem was more western than eastern. Spain and Sicily provided genuine avenues of communication. The northern conquerors of Sicily for a long time encouraged Moslem influence there. Under Roger II and Frederick II real opportunity was provided for the mixture of the cultures. Spain was in direct contact with the rest of Europe and it was particularly through the scholars that Moslem influence reached Europe. They were freer from prejudices than others and their interests provided incentive.

#### ESTIMATE

1. In the present stage of scholarship, there is much that cannot be settled definitely concerning the contribution of Islam to Western culture.

2. Of that on which we dare pass judgment, we agree with Sir Arnold that the debt is not to Islam, but to Moslems who, as normal human beings, took hold of material available and developed it according to their particular genius.

3. The Moslems were both transmitters of ancient culture and creators of new material, but their main contribution was as transmitters of particularly the Greek tradition.

4. There is, thus far, no evidence to show that their

contribution was indispensable to the character of Western culture.

5. The contribution was mostly in the sphere of material culture in contrast to spiritual culture, that is, the contribution of those things which add to physical comfort, more than of things essential to the inner nature of Western culture.

*Ludhiana, India*

W. A. ZOERNER.

### THE FUTURE OF THE MOSLEM WORLD

Various proposals have recently been made by those most deeply interested in the future of THE MOSLEM WORLD, to establish it upon a more firm financial basis, and to expand its field of contributors and subscribers.

The World Dominion Movement has made a proposal, for which we are most grateful, to help toward the financial support of the Quarterly. Suggestions also have been made to increase the number of Associate Editors so that it may be more representative of the whole area of the world of Islam and include younger Islamic scholars. We have already secured Dr. Dwight M. Donaldson, of Meshed, Iran, Dr. Laurence E. Browne, of Cambridge, and Docent G. Raquette, of Lund, Sweden.

Our correspondents and those in conference agreed, however, that the Quarterly should continue under its present Editor and that the policy of the Magazine remain as enunciated in its first issue in 1911:

"Its aim is to represent no faction or fraction of the Church, but to be broad in the best sense of the word. Its columns are open to all contributors who hold the 'unity of the faith in the bond of peace and righteousness of life.' It is not a magazine of controversy, much less of compromise. In essentials it seeks unity, in non-essentials liberty, in all things charity. We hope to interpret Islam as a world-wide religion in all its varied aspects and its deep needs, ethical and spiritual, to Christians; to point out and press home the true solution of the Moslem problem, namely, the evangelization of Moslems; to be of practical help to all who toil for this end; and to awaken sympathy, love, and prayer on behalf of the Moslem World.

"To this end we invite the cordial cooperation of all those who have made special study of any phase of Islam, or who can from their experience show others how to win Moslems to Christ."

On this basis we trust that all our subscribers will continue to give us their hearty support, secure new friends for the Magazine, and above all remember the Editor, the Associate Editors, and the Office Secretary in prayer.

S. M. ZWEMER.

## A SURVEY OF THE NETHERLANDS INDIES

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The Netherlands Indies do not belong to the category of so-called well-known mission fields. This fact is due to many circumstances. In the first place, although this part of the world is full of interest for every student of religions and cultures, because of its immensely varied population and gradation of cultural and social life, yet it is not one of the outstanding political, geographical or cultural centres of the world. Economically, it certainly is very important, and in the future it will increase in importance as being one of the factors of the Pacific problem. Nevertheless, neither by its achievements in history nor by its contributions to the representative elements of world-civilizations, does it command a position of outstanding significance.

In the second place, with some very notable exceptions, missionary work in the Netherlands Indies is done by Dutch missionaries. Nearly all that is written about missionary work in this part of the world, is done in Dutch. Writing in Dutch is one of the surest ways of acquiring a small publicity, even in the event that what is written is of outstanding merit, and, of course, only exceptional circumstances induce Dutchmen to write in a second language.

In the third place, it must be said that (if we exclude the well-known exceptions that prove the rule) Dutch missionaries, generally speaking, do not fall in the group of eager writers and publicists. Most of them take to writing only if necessary or inevitable.

Mr. Paton, the Secretary of the International Missionary Council, recently paid a short visit to Java, and investigated the Christian movement in the Netherlands Indies. He left Java, if I am well informed, with the impression of having visited a very interesting mission field

with, in many respects, bright prospects and great possibilities. Although he rightly diagnosed some very marked deficiencies in strategy and method of work, yet the range of Christian activity, as covered by missionary and ecclesiastical agencies in the Netherlands Indies, exceeded by far what he had imagined and grasped from reading reports. In my opinion, Mr. Paton's experience corresponds with the facts. The Netherlands Indies is an important mission field, especially in the last six or seven years, full of opportunities and experiences, as well as full of dangers and bright hopes; because in a situation in which life is really pulsating, hopes as well as dangers appear.

The Anglo-Saxon missionary world has not many opportunities to know the Netherlands Indies as a mission field, because Dutch and German, the languages in which most is written about these Islands, do not belong to the languages widely read by Englishmen or Americans. Therefore the book of Dr. Richter, on the mission field in the Dutch East Indies, that was published some years ago, will not have contributed much to the extension of knowledge among Anglo-Saxons about the Christian enterprise in that part of the world. The World Dominion Press, therefore, richly deserves the gratitude of the missionaries working in the Netherlands Indies, and of the Anglo-Saxon friends of missions for its initiative in devoting one of its well-known volumes on the missionary fields of the world to the Netherlands Indies.<sup>1</sup>

One of the contributors, Mr. F. J. F. van Hasselt, who worked about forty years as a missionary in New Guinea, has written the opening chapter: *An Island World*. He describes the very peculiar geographical situation of this insular world, gives succinct but very interesting information about the peoples that inhabit those islands, their history, life and culture; gives the necessary information about roads, communications and economic conditions; and mentions in what parts of this widely-stretched insular world missions are working or have worked. In a short

<sup>1</sup> "The Netherlands Indies", by Joh. Rauws, H. Kraemer, F.J.F. van Hasselt, and N. A. C. Slotemaker de Bruine. World Dominion Press, 1935.

article, entitled "Three Hundred Years Ago", a description is given of the introduction of the Christian religion; first, by the Spanish and Portuguese priests of the Roman Catholic Church, later on, when the Dutch, in the seventeenth century, succeeded in driving out the Spanish and Portuguese *conquistadores*, by the efforts of the Dutch clergymen, appointed by the United East India Company. These efforts varied in effectiveness, because they depended on the interest the United East India Company showed in this spiritual work. At that time Ambon, or Ambonia, the most important island of the Moluccas, became largely Christianized. Although the missionary activity of these first three hundred years yielded other results, still the most important has been the Christianization of the better part of the Amboniese. Up until the present day this is a fact of great consequence, because at present, just as in the past, Amboniese pastors and emissaries are of great help in the expansion of Christianity.

In the third and fourth chapters, the Rev. J. Rauws, one of the Dutch missionary secretaries, describes the dawn of missionary interest in Holland and the growth of missionary societies there. With great historical skill, he narrates the very complicated ecclesiastical and religious background of Holland, and sketches also in clear outline in what perspective one has to see the puzzling so-called Indian Church in the Netherlands Indies; a church comprising Europeans as well as native Christians of different nationality, and functioning as a Governmental institution, living entirely on the financial support of the colonial government. One may safely say that it is impossible to understand many of the difficulties and problems of Dutch missionary work in the Netherlands Indies without having some knowledge of the ecclesiastical and religious background of Holland. This article reveals in a short compass the historical essentials of the situation.

Chapter five is written by the present writer, and is called: Culture, Politics and Religion. I have tried to outline the extremely varied cultural conditions in which the

many tribes and peoples of the Netherlands Indies are living; have discussed broadly the recent political awakening in the Netherlands Indies, its results and its place in the colonial situations as a whole; and told how Animism, Islam and Christianity are distributed over all the islands, how their forces and potentialities might be estimated in the present time, and how these forces are manifesting themselves in different movements and activities.

A well-organized census was carried out in 1930, the results of which have just been issued. The world economic crisis has since then greatly affected the numbers of the European population. As to the native population, however, the results of the census may be considered trustworthy; it numbered 59,143,028. The total population, however, was 60,728,733, of whom 41,717,232 live in Java and the small adjacent island of Madura, which is considered part of Java. Apart from the natives the only numerically strong group is the Chinese, who, in 1930, numbered 1,232,650, of whom 582,154 live in Java and Madura. The bulk of the Chinese still follow their ancestral faiths.

About 1,453,799 of the native population belong to the Christian religion in one or other of its Protestant forms. The number of Protestant native Christians in the various mission fields is 775,307, to which must be added those under the supervision of the "Indian Church", 678,492. The number of native Christians belonging to the Roman Catholic Church is 339,889, of whom 27,356 are in Java and 312,530 are in the Outer Provinces. Accurate statistics of pagans and Moslems are not yet available, but it may safely be said that the Moslems are certainly not far from 50,000,000. The pagan population lives on a range of small islands, namely Bali, Lombok, Soemba, Soembawa, Timor and others, or in the interior parts of the bigger islands, namely, Sumatra, Borneo, Celebes and New Guinea. The number of pagans is rapidly decreasing because of the progress made by Christianity and Islam. As acknowledged forms of religious life, the different shades of paganism are, it would seem, bound to disappear. This is the result,

at least partly, of the systematic activity of Christian missions. The Batak countries, New Guinea, the small Molucca Islands and some parts of Celebes, are particularly conspicuous as places where paganism melts away before Christianity. The unsystematic, but very effective, process of Islamization which goes on is also a very important factor. As an underlying but real power, paganism in all its varieties, with its presuppositions and consequences, will undoubtedly continue to wield an influence for long. Islam simply disguises it. Christianity can only conquer it by patient education of heart and conscience, and by transforming social life by new principles and modes of expression.

The population of the Netherlands Indies is predominantly Moslem. The Islands are destined to become one of the most important meeting places of Christianity and Islam in the world. Christianity is not only making headway among the pagan tribes, but Java, which is entirely Moslem, offers, comparatively speaking, the spectacle of successful missionary work. More than 40,000 Javanese, all Moslem converts of the last eighty or ninety years, are Protestant Christians, and in addition there are 27,356 native Roman Catholic Christians in Java. Every year the number of Javanese Christians by conversion from Islam is increasing by many hundreds. Forty thousand in the midst of forty million Moslems is, however, a very small number. Yet Java as a mission field is an exception among the Moslem countries of the world. One may safely say of the central and eastern parts of Java that wherever well planned missionary work is undertaken results will surely come. The reason for this exceptional situation in a Moslem country is that only the north coast and the western part of Java may be considered as consciously and tenaciously attached to Islam. The rest of the country is still under the process of Islamization. The old Javanese heritage and the innate Javanese psychology make the people more open-minded towards spiritual forces of different origin than is usual in Moslem countries.

When the Portuguese and the Dutch, in the sixteenth century, appeared in the waters of the archipelago, the process of Islamization was then by no means accomplished. It was still in its beginning, especially in Java. During the sway of the United East India Company (1602-1798) and even in the first half of the nineteenth century under direct Dutch administration, a different attitude on the part of the Government would probably have induced many Javanese of distinction to accept the Christian religion. However, like the East India Company in India, the United East India Company was too much absorbed in its commercial pursuits and too ignorant of the situation to be able to consider any policy involving the spread of Christianity. Again, in the first half of the nineteenth century, the Government was at once too ignorant and too afraid of Islam in Java to be able to see the significance of a foreign Government possessing a clear attitude regarding the relation of Christianity to a Moslem people.

Islam in different parts of the Netherlands Indies is marked by divergent ethnic characteristics. Although a man may be counted as an orthodox Moslem if he observes the mere minimum of duties, as in the rest of the Moslem world, only those can be regarded as zealous Moslems who occupy themselves systematically with the study of their religion, and subordinate their lives to its elaborate moral and religious discipline. Generally speaking, such people are most commonly to be found in the middle class. The higher and the lower (the rural millions of the East) classes, although clinging sincerely to Islam as their religion, have everywhere ways of their own.

The prevailing type of Islam in the Netherlands Indies has, however, some distinctive traits. A short description of these will give a sufficiently clear impression of Moslem life. Fierce loyalty to Islam is often combined with great laxity in the observance of the primary religious duties. Take, for instance, the question of the five daily prayers, one of the five pillars of Islam, a duty incumbent on every adult Moslem. It is not surprising that in Java, where the

pre-Moslem beliefs are still strong, people are, generally speaking, very negligent in performing this duty. The same, however, holds true among the Atjehnese, who live in the northern part of Sumatra. These remarkable people are Moslem to the core. Islam may be called their life-blood. They have that specific mediaeval narrowness of outlook, which for many centuries has been the peculiar stamp of Islam. They divide mankind into *kafirs* and believers. The idea of a holy war is to them not a relic of the past but a living conviction always smouldering in their hearts. Yet they are conspicuously lax in observing the five daily prayers.

On the other hand, the fifth pillar of Islam, the pilgrimage to Mecca, is, relatively speaking, much more highly esteemed by the Moslems of the Netherlands Indies than by the Moslems of other countries, even than by those in Egypt, which is so near to the Holy City. Often one half of the total number of the pilgrims who gather in the sacred month around the Ka'aba come from the Netherlands Indies. The *Jawi*, as all Moslems from the Netherlands Indies and the Malay Peninsula are called in Mecca, are a well-known type in that religious centre of Islam. They gladly endure the many hardships involved in the performance of the pilgrimage. Whole families combine in contributing to the expenses of the voyage to Mecca of one of their relatives. Many of them are ignorant people, hardly knowing what they are doing, but they derive great religious satisfaction from the performance of this duty. To them an essential, if not the principal part of the pilgrimage is a visit to the tomb of Mohammed at Medina. Many consider this visit of greater value even than fulfilling the prescribed and elaborate duty of the *hajj*. The great object they have in view is not merely to discharge one of the fundamental duties of Islam, but to acquire thereby the forgiveness of sins. Therefore, the custom of sending a substitute (*badal*) for one who during his lifetime has been prevented from undertaking the pilgrimage himself is much in vogue. Part of the inheritance

of a deceased person is often set aside for this purpose. When the *hajjis* return to their country many of them wear Arabian dress as a sign of religious consciousness. Quite a number of them remain for some years in Mecca studying the religious sciences in the Holy Mosque. The influence of Meccan orthodoxy is, therefore, a factor of much importance in their lives. The number of believers who go to Mecca has increased enormously, owing to the ease with which the voyage to Arabia can now be made, but in 1934 it was far smaller than usual because of the economic depression.

Last, but not least, the Indonesian Moslems have always shown a marked inclination towards the magical, occult and mystic elements of their Moslem heritage. This is due, on the one hand, to their innate leaning in this direction; Hindu religious lore and practice, therefore, greatly appealed to them. On the other hand, Moslem civilization, when it came to these islands, was deeply saturated with a mass of mystical, theosophical and magical elements. Popular Islam everywhere in the world is more or less colored by these three tendencies. Therefore, when Islam entered the archipelago, it appeared very congenial to its peoples. They did not so much go over to Islam as simply to add it to their previous "treasures."

Another fact in connection with mysticism must be mentioned. Heterodox mysticism of a pure monist type, originating with the famous theosophist and mystic, Ibn Arabi, who lived in the thirteenth century, is greatly appreciated by many of the people. Mixed with crude speculations and crude magic beliefs it has a vogue even among uneducated village people. In the beginning of the seventeenth century it had some able advocates in the north of Sumatra. Instigated by the orthodox party, Iskandar Muda, the king of Atjeh, persecuted them and ordered their books to be burnt. In Java today there are many people deeply interested in this type of mysticism, which they call the "Ancient Knowledge". Many Moslems, including those who loyally honor Islam and those who almost

wholly disregard it, consider this mysticism as the paramount truth to be guarded as a precious secret.

Let us turn now to the changes which the impact of modern civilization and the repercussions of Moslem life elsewhere have brought about. The many disintegrating influences of modern life, which today are affecting the lives and outlook of the people, largely work unseen, while old ideas, sentiments and habits still continue to rule the lives of the bulk of the population and most of the leaders.

The educated class, in the western sense of the word, is not religiously inclined. Many of them are indifferent to religion, especially to Islam, although they observe the numerous social practices of mixed Moslem and indigenous origin which are in foundation and intent religious. Their placid indifference makes them observe these customs if they are not too troublesome. They consider themselves Moslems as a matter of course. Their real religion is nationalism, which is the source of their inspiration and idealism. Those who are interested in religion are mostly moving in the direction of modern theosophy. European theosophy is a very well organized movement, and many modern educated native people find satisfaction for their spiritual needs within it. Amidst the many confusing influences to which they are exposed it gives them a synthesis of life which, though premature and fantastic, has the merit at least of showing them a way of life. The pervading influence and spiritual significance of theosophy cannot therefore be underrated.

In addition to these outside influences which constantly stream into Indonesian Moslem life from Mecca, and to a smaller, but gradually increasing, extent from Cairo, the Netherlands Indies have since 1924 been influenced by India. The two branches of the *Ahmadiyya* movement (the Qadian party and the Lahore party) have sent some of their missionaries to Java and Sumatra. The missionary of the Lahore group came "to stop Christianity" because he had been moved by hearing that Christianity was making rapid progress among the Moslems of Java. The mis-

sionaries of both groups are persevering and devoted men, but strongly controversial. Thus far their success has been meagre. Moslems of nearly all shades of opinion consider the *Ahmadi* doctrines heresy. It remains to be seen what their influence in the future will be. About twenty young men from Java and Sumatra went to Qadian and Lahore to be trained as messengers and reformers. The present writer met these young men when on a visit to India in the winter of 1929.

Reform tendencies have originated chiefly amongst people of the middle class, who, though generally speaking not educated in western schools, yet by their business life manage to combine with their old-fashioned religious training a wider outlook on the conditions of modern life. Theoretically they derive their tenets, though not always consciously so, from the Reform School of Sheikh Muhammad Abduh of Egypt. They are orthodox Moslems, who, without repudiating the past, still try to escape from its deadening weight by stressing the primary authority of the Koran and the Traditions as they existed prior to later historical development. Besides this, they strive to purify Islam by combating all customs (saint and grave worship) that are contrary to its monotheistic character. Seen from this standpoint this reform movement is part of the slow de-Javanizing process of Islam.

The reform movement, although divided into many sections, is chiefly organized into the *Muhammadiyah*, as the association is called. It began in 1912 in Jokjakarta, one of the centres of the old Javanese life. The promoter was Haji Ahmad Dahlan, a man of noble and courageous character. He was very broad-minded and was led to start his movement mainly in answer to the challenge which the many-sided religious and philanthropic activity of Christian missions had aroused in his mind. He felt it to be his life task to demonstrate that Islam, too, could supply the same urge for uplift and disinterested service. This movement has continuously increased in strength and significance since 1912, founding schools, small hospitals and orphan-

ages, and exhibiting great zeal in preaching, in publishing literature and in various kinds of social service. The movement has many branches spread over Java, Sumatra, Celebes and even some parts of Borneo. It includes a special department for youth and women. So much regarding the chapter on the character of Islam in Netherlands Indies and its importance.

In the next five chapters Dr. N. A. C. Slotemaker de Bruine, one of the Missionary Consuls, (well-known institution peculiar to Dutch missions) sketches the missionary occupation in the Netherlands Indies; the part that so-called "foreign", that is to say non-Dutch, missions are taking in the whole volume of missionary activity; the work of the Roman Catholic Church; the activity of Protestant missions in the field of education and medical aid; and a prospect of the task in the future. Some facts and suggestions may be culled from these valuable chapters: valuable, because this publication of the World Dominion Press is the only book thus far available where one can find a comprehensive sketch of the present missionary situation, in all its features, in the Netherlands Indies.

Of a total population of about 60,000,000 people, nearly one and a half million are Christians, or about two and a half per cent. Compared with other mission fields this is a remarkable percentage. In the last years great strides have been made in the founding of independent native churches, or, to state it in another way, many missionary fields have been converted to churches with dominion-status. Some of these native churches are striving earnestly and, in many respects, successfully towards the goal of self-support. What many of them need is vitalizing by a new spirit of evangelism, and the fostering of deeper ecclesiastical life and religious and theological thinking. Measures are being taken to attain these goals.

By the generous support of the Government, missions in the Netherlands Indies have been able to build up an extensive medical and educational work. When compared with other mission fields, the medical work may in many

respects be called splendid. Financial stringency, however, caused by financial difficulties as well of the Government as of the missionary societies, has diminished these branches of work to a very regrettable amount.

As everywhere in the world, the animistic element in the population of the Netherlands Indies is rapidly vanishing. They become either Christians or Moslems. In the Netherlands Indies, in the very near future, we shall have to face the unique fact that there will be a rather strong Christian Church of some millions in the midst of a massive Moslem world of more than fifty-five millions. Amongst these Christians are living, active churches with a total of more than 300,000 or 400,000 members. Perhaps it is not too presumptuous to consider the possibility of the Netherlands Indies becoming one of the most interesting and important Moslem missionary fields of the world.

The book closes with a series of statistical tables on different subjects (population, distribution of missionary work and results, Roman Catholic Missions, literacy, Bible-translations, etc., etc.) and is provided with good maps. I am sorry to say that the statistical computations and the deductions derived therefrom are not without mistakes. However, this defect does not detract from the intrinsic value of this book, which gives a very comprehensive survey of the present situation of the Christian enterprise in the Netherlands Indies.

*Java, Netherlands Indies*

II. KRAEMER.

## THE USE OF LITERATURE IN EVANGELISM

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In 1925 the writer was asked by the American Presbyterian Mission in Iran to act as chairman of an Intermission Literature Committee which would represent as far as possible all mission agencies at work in the country and would provide them with suitable and adequate Christian literature for their work. To a very large extent this committee has fulfilled its purpose in the years since its organization. The membership is now made up of representatives from the three main missions at work (the American Presbyterian, the Church Missionary Society, and the Christian Missionary Alliance) and the committee has also been the literature source for missionaries in Iran representing the Bible Churchmen's Missionary Society, the Lutheran Orient Mission and the Church of God. The Seventh Day Adventists have also made some use of its publications and the committee has even had helpful contacts with a scholarly Dominican at work in Iran, supplying him with many books and circulating a little tract which he wrote.

The literature available when the committee began its work was very limited in scope and much of it was out of date and badly printed. In eleven years this old literature has almost entirely disappeared. Some titles have been revised and reprinted, and more than one hundred new titles of books and tracts have been added. In the preparation of all these, the ideal has been to use the best modern Persian, a high grade of type, paper and binding and, wherever possible, illustrations and cover pictures. We have, therefore, accepted as a real, though left-handed compliment, the statement of a *mollah* in an "answer" to one of our tracts that "this book, like the other books of

the people of the Cross, attracts simple-minded children and inexperienced and uninformed young people by its beautiful print, good paper, agreeable style and forceful language". The literature has been planned to meet, as far as possible, all the needs of evangelism, church life and work and young people. A large number of missionaries and nationals have volunteered their services for translations and original productions and have spent much time and effort in this work. Aside from this, the task of production has required only somewhat more than half the time of one missionary, the chairman, with one or two national assistants. The expense budget has been provided by the American Mission, but practically all projects have been financed either by special agencies, such as the American Christian Literature Society for Moslems in the United States and the Religious Tract Society, the Scripture Gift Mission and the S. P. C. K. in England, or by generous gifts from individuals. The result of all this is a department of missionary work in Iran which has proved that Christian literature can be made to compare favorably with schools and hospitals as an evangelistic agency in its own right, and which is a mighty weapon when used in connection with direct evangelism.

Christian literature is valuable in Iran, not only as a supplement to the direct preaching of the Gospel and in personal work, but often as a substitute to these basic forms of evangelism. The work of missionaries and even of national evangelists has necessarily been confined to definite centers and itinerating districts, but our literature has penetrated to every nook and corner of the country. Again and again word has come to us from some unheard-of place that a seeker after truth has first secured his foothold on the way to Christ through reading a tract which has somehow reached him. Thus one Moslem in the Turkoman country, having secured some tracts by mail, distributed them in the bazaar in his town, where missionaries have never worked. He was eventually beaten by fanatical fellow-citizens, but some of his tracts may still be at work. Missionaries have

not been allowed beyond the gate of the national prison, but in the last two years this prison has been saturated with Christian literature given through the iron grille to prisoners of whom we had knowledge, some of whom have, after their release, followed up the Christian contact thus gained. Direct evangelistic work in the army has hitherto been impossible, though compulsory military service makes this a rich field for work with young men. But Christian literature has found its way into the army everywhere. One Christian student in a government military school returned a book with apologies for its sadly battered condition, saying that fifteen sick soldiers in the hospital of the school had read it. A young Zoroastrian had never had contact with any Christian until the day when he was converted by reading a tattered tract which had been thrown into a corner by an uninterested relative. It is fitting that after years of Christian experience he is now the chief assistant in literature work in Iran. Such examples show that Christian literature in Iran has effectively proved its evangelizing power "on its own" and without the aid of a human voice.

The evangelistic value of literature has perhaps been even greater in an indirect way by disarming prejudice and preparing the human heart for the direct Gospel message. Many lands have no knowledge whatever of Christianity before the advent of the missionary, and are virgin soil, so to speak, for Christian truth. But Iran, like other Moslem lands, has for centuries thought that it knew all about Christianity, though most of its ideas in this connection have been warped and twisted ones. It is not virgin soil for the Christian seed, but is already sown thickly with brambles. Much of this error is deeply embedded in the religious and other literature of centuries. To change erroneous ideas centuries old, to rid the minds of the Iranian people of ancient prejudices and superstitions about Christianity, is a herculean task which can be adequately accomplished only by a widespread distribution of Christian literature. The circulation of the Bible itself has of course

been immensely potent in this task and the British and Foreign Bible Society is carrying on a great work in Iran. But usually the Moslem mind needs cultivation before it can fully comprehend Bible truth, and our Persian Christian literature has been largely written with this need in mind. The modern Iranian has an open mind and is quite ready to lay aside error and prejudice if the truth is clearly presented. Very little controversial literature has been published and few books deal with Islam and its inadequacy, though those few have had telling effect when a convert needs to cut his moorings once for all with a religion which his ancestors have believed in for centuries. A large part of the literature published, however, has presented positive Christian truth in an introductory form. Who can estimate, for example, the ultimate evangelistic value of the seventy thousand copies of the fourteen tracts by Professor Levonian which have been printed in the past few years, most of which have already been circulated throughout the country? They cover such basic subjects as God, sin, the source of religious power and the relation of religion to morals, social problems and peace. An almost equal number of beautiful little tracts prepared by the Scripture Gift Mission and comprising Bible verses selected for Moslem readers have been scattered abroad everywhere in Iran. Undoubtedly in the last decade Christian literature has enormously influenced the whole thinking of the Iranian people as to the Bible, the person of Jesus Christ and the Christian idea of God, sin and salvation. The writer has never heard a more significant statement as to the implicit evangelistic appeal of properly chosen Christian literature than came from the lips of the government censor a few months ago. He refused to authorize the publication of two books on the ground that they were Christian propaganda and harmful to Islam. When challenged to pick out objectionable passages for deletion he floundered a bit, then blurted out: "The trouble with these books is not in any special passage but that every one who reads them wants to become a Christian."

What has been said in preceding paragraphs should not minimize in the least the vital assistance to direct evangelistic work which our Christian literature in Iran has afforded in recent years. The writer has just read over many of the reports of the members of his mission for the past year, and again and again reference was made to the missionary's effective use of literature in his routine work. One of the real accomplishments of the literature committee in Iran in the last decade is that a large proportion of the workers have become "literature-minded", whereas once they depended entirely on their own sermons and arguments. Often a tract written expressly to answer a stock question from an inquirer secures better results than a discussion, and has the additional advantage of quietly stating its message with no opportunity for the inquirer to answer back, if he is in an argumentative frame of mind. Scores of missionaries have learned this and made constant use of books and tracts in schools, hospitals, Bible classes, evangelistic meetings, on tours and in personal one-by-one work. At least one missionary in Iran never seems to go anywhere without tracts in his pocket, and it is almost unheard of for the recipient of a tract to refuse it or fail to read it when accepted. Unquestionably Christian literature has made a secure place for itself in every phase of evangelistic work in Iran.

The present wide use of Christian literature in evangelism in Iran has not been accomplished without special stimuli, and the work of the literature committee has been partly an educative one. From the beginning, a series of occasional bulletins was instituted, and to date nearly fifty of these have been sent out in the form of mimeographed letters advertising all new publications, suitable pictures and other phases of literature work. At the present time about a hundred names are on the list of those receiving these bulletins, comprising not only missionaries but a number of national Christians as well. In addition to the bulletins, the committee has issued catalogs and price lists of its publications from time to time which have greatly

stimulated distribution. To supplement these, a committee member prepared in English a careful digest of each book and tract, with suggestions as to its use and an index enabling an evangelist to refer to the suitable literature on a variety of subjects important in Moslem work. This manual of literature was mimeographed, bound and distributed, and has been of great value, especially for those not personally thoroughly acquainted with the literature available. For example, several years ago a missionary of experience was transferred from an Arabic-speaking field to Iran and, though alone in a pioneer post, was able to do telling evangelistic work with the help of this manual, even during the first years when he was learning Persian. A supplement to the manual, covering new publications, is now being prepared.

Formerly a free sample of new publications was sent to all those receiving the bulletins, but for the past three years another plan has been tried which has immediately scattered copies of new books and tracts much more widely throughout the land. Sustaining memberships in the committee, for a small annual fee, have been solicited, and one year more than two hundred missionaries and Iranians subscribed. In return for the fee, copies of each new publication, as they come from the press, have been mailed to subscribers, and care has been taken that each year the total value of the samples sent out has exceeded the subscription fee. The idea of a bargain has resulted in many subscribers who would not otherwise be sufficiently interested to buy the books. One missionary teacher, for example, secured subscriptions from twelve of her girls who now eagerly await the appearance of each new book. The resulting widespread circulation of new books and tracts has brought in large orders for them and thus each fresh publication has immediately found a good sale.

The policy of the committee as to the price of publications has been to sell them at cost, and sometimes at less than cost, in order to bring the literature within the purchasing power of the average reader. Since publications

are financed by special grants, there has been no need to make a profit, and the receipts from sales have constituted an ample fund for reprints and the purchase of books and pictures purchased elsewhere. The result has been that Christian literature is not only of finer quality but cheaper than publications of the Iranian press.

No attempt has been made to sell everything, but the general policy has been to confine free distribution to the cheaper tracts and sell or lend all major books. In order to stimulate the wise free distribution of literature, the committee arranged some years ago that part of an annual grant from America earmarked for evangelistic expansion be allocated to the various stations of the American Mission specifically for evangelistic literature. This small fund has given evangelists a stock of literature available for their work, has enabled the committee to pursue a policy of circulating its literature through sales only, confining free distribution to local centers, and has in every way expanded the use of literature in evangelism. Our experience in solving the problem of free distribution by this method has thus far been entirely satisfactory and we do not feel that we have in any sense pauperized our literature clientele.

The ways of using Christian literature in evangelistic work in Iran have been legion, and only a few of them can find special mention here. As a permanent method, bookshops and reading rooms in the local centers have proved most fruitful. In one city the major part of the evangelistic contacts are made through a fully-stocked bookroom in which the publications of the literature committee have a prominent place. No school or hospital seems needed in this center to promote evangelistic work. In several other cities book rooms or reading rooms on prominent thoroughfares offer our publications as their chief drawing card. In the capital, where a Christian bookstore has as yet proved too expensive, an attractive window display at the gate of the mission compound, in which the books and pictures on display are changed

frequently, has resulted in thousands of passersby stopping to familiarize themselves with our literature and in a large amount of sales by the gatekeeper. During the past year a fine young man in a responsible position came to confess his faith in Christ, stating that he passed the window every day and finally bought a book which resulted in his conversion.

The lending of major books has proved a valuable method of evangelistic work and has been especially useful in schools, hospitals and young people's groups. One missionary writes: "I have a keen little group who have read all we have which is at all suitable and, wonderful to relate, they are quite good in returning books they get on loan." Doubtless the most fruitful method of all has been the loan or gift of a book or tract in one-by-one work, and inquirers can often be put through a whole course of reading in this way. In evangelistic services it has sometimes been found profitable to make free distribution of a tract germane to the subject discussed, and such tracts often clinch the argument advanced in the meeting. Nowhere has literature been found more effective than in touring, where the villagers are avid for reading matter and those who are literate read books and tracts to others for months after the evangelist has passed on. With the large variety of literature now available, evangelists have been able to multiply their own efforts enormously by this method, and have been able to keep in effective touch with outlying districts by mailing literature to interested groups and individuals between itineration visits.

After these years of experience in literature work, the writer is convinced that in most mission fields the value and possibilities of Christian literature as an evangelistic agency are far underestimated, and that great strides could be made in its publication and distribution if the task is properly centralized and a reasonable amount of funds and missionary time is allotted to it. The voice of the evangelist must continue to ring out, but his written word often does its silent work much more effectively, and

can penetrate to points in space and time far beyond his mortal powers. For good Christian literature is in a sense immortal; in Iran today there are still in circulation a few copies of a powerful Christian book printed more than seventy years ago, and a new edition will carry its message on into future generations. For several years the motto of our literature committee, emblazoned on our letter-head, has been an apt quotation from the pen of Dr. C. R. Watson of Cairo: "No other agency can penetrate so deeply, abide so persistently, witness so daringly, and influence so irresistibly as the printed page", and we believe that statement to be literally true. As we send out book after book, written to win Iranians to Christ, and commit them to the church in Iran, we do so with certainty as to their lasting influence and usefulness, and we have the same joy in our task as did Cassiodorus, who fourteen centuries ago did literary work which kept the torch of learning alight through the Dark Ages, and who said of it: "What happy application, what praiseworthy industry, to preach unto men by means of the hand, to bring quiet and salvation to mortals with pen and ink! Thus, though seated in one spot, the scribe traverses various lands through the dissemination of what he has written."

*Teheran, Iran*

WILLIAM N. WYSHAM.

## ISLAM IN THE BALKANS

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There are about 1,600,000 Moslems in Yugoslavia, or ten percent of the population. Of these, 750,000 are in Bosnia Herzegovina, all Servians in language and origin; the rest are in Southern Serbia, where the majority is Turkish, and especially Albanian. The Turks and the Albanians are on a social and economic plane very inferior to that of the Servian Moslems, and are not at all assimilated with the national Yugoslavian life as are the Servians, of whom we shall speak shortly. They were Islamicized after the Turkish conquest, and have excellent relations with their fellow-citizens, of whom the majority had remained Christian. They form a religious, not an ethnical, minority, which is not distinguished by the patriotism of the other Yugoslavians, and from a social point of view are in full evolution. The present government includes two Moslem ministers.

As for religious duties, the fast of the month of Ramadhan is very well observed, but other duties less so. There are only a few scores of pilgrims who make the annual pilgrimage to Mecca, because of the difficulties of all kinds which the journey entails. Religious fraternities are on the wane. By a decision of the court of the Ulemas of July 11, 1931, the Yugoslavic Islamic corporation has forbidden all fraternities contrary to the prescriptions and the spirit of Islam. This corporation, governed in accordance with a very liberal law of 1930, has its own budget supplied in particular by the income from the vacant properties, the subsidies of the government and the taxes levied on the faithful.

From a political point of view, the Moslems are, of course, citizens. They enjoy their personal status as

Moslems, and judicial matters of this nature are brought under religious jurisdiction. But we shall see that this is not at all extraordinary, since the Christians do not have any advantage in personal laic and civil law. They are ruled in these regions by Christian religious law. Moreover, the state of affairs from a social point of view is very satisfactory in this respect. Among the Serbian Moslems polygamy is almost unknown. On the other hand, the *imam* is not authorized to solemnize the marriage of a polygamist, unless the latter certifies that his financial situation is sufficiently good and also alleges valid reasons for his decision. Also, they try to obtain the consent of the first wife. For example, a woman in Skoplji, (Uskub, Southern Serbia), where I was visiting, was about to prosecute an *imam* before the courts for having solemnized the second marriage of her husband. As for the marriage of impubescents, this has also practically disappeared.

According to the Hanefite rite, which is that of Yugoslavian Islam, the bride must herself consent to her marriage, and in the cities it is often customary for her to present herself before the *imam*. At the time of the celebration sometimes this officer presents himself at the home of the bride for the ceremony. In the country, on the contrary, it is usual for the bride (and sometimes the groom) to give a commission to one of her near relatives to represent her at the time of the celebration of the marriage. In the great majority of cases, the young people know each other before their marriage; formerly this was not so.

Repudiation is very rare, and is severely censured by public opinion. It is a little more frequent today, but more and more, the judge who should receive the declaration of the husband refuses to register the repudiation, if it does not seem to him sincere; it tends thus to transform itself into a sort of judicial divorce.

Finally, among the younger generation, the wearing of the veil is disappearing rapidly. The most advanced Moslems favor the suppression, pure and simple, of these

ancient institutions. In the first place among these we find our colleague, Professor Mehmed Begowitch, laureate of the Faculty of Algiers, disciple of the late Doyen Morand, and, like his master, a teacher of Moslem law. He is a convinced partisan of the modernization of Islam.

At Belgrade we were very agreeably impressed by the intellectual activity of the Moslem students. They have at their disposal a fine house of one hundred fifty beds, founded by the Moslem Association Ghairat (signifying in Arabic *zeal, emulation*), whose president is also a retired orthodox Christian general. Some non-Moslems live there too in brotherly fellowship. It appears to be the most beautiful students' quarters in Yugoslavia. Near by, the Ghairat has rented a villa where about fifteen women students are living. We had the pleasure of taking tea with a certain number of these young men and young women; the latter were frankly horrified at the situation, so different from that of their sisters in Algeria.

In short, we received the impression that Yugoslavian Islam was making, at least among its élite, a very great effort to adapt itself to modern life; moreover, that friendly relations among the different religions are very remarkable. These are examples which Algerian Islam might very profitably follow.

Bulgarian Islam is very different from Yugoslavian Islam. Out of almost six million inhabitants, there are about 800,000 Moslems in Bulgaria. The proportion is, then, greater than in Yugoslavia, but this religious minority is for the greater part ethnical. Three-quarters of the Moslems in Bulgaria are Turks; they are found especially in Northern Bulgaria, the region of Choumla; there are, on the other hand, about 100,000 *tzigane* Moslems, whose religion is, to tell the truth, somewhat vague. Only in Southern Bulgaria, the region of the Rhodopes Mountains, do we find Bulgarians, converted to Islam in the seventeenth century, whom we call Pomaks.

None of these Moslem elements are in any way assimilated with the Bulgarian nation, as is the case among

the Servian Moslems; their social and intellectual plane is inferior to that of the rest of Bulgaria. As for the Turks, they are in a somewhat difficult situation, for they enjoy in Bulgaria, a country in which they have not become assimilated, a far better religious situation than they would have in Turkey, their native land—a country which the religious element does not consider very favorably at present. On the contrary, the elements which are intellectually the most advanced among the Turks of Bulgaria look toward Angora, and the majority soon expatriate themselves.

As to the Pomaks, they do not enjoy the benefit of an active part in the national Bulgarian life, although they speak only the Slavic language.

The number of Moslem students at the University of Sofia is very large; there was even a young Moslem *woman* student there some years ago. However, in other respects, the Bulgarian Moslems are more advanced than those of North Africa. As for the headdress, the Turks of the city of Plovdiv (Philippopolis), which we have visited, have renounced the fez and are putting on caps, which gives them a patibulary look. The women are also unveiled. It goes without saying that it is not yet the same everywhere. It is worthy of comment that in the schools, boys and girls study in the same classes until the age of ten or eleven years.

The Bulgarian Moslems, an ethnical and religious minority, enjoy an unusually liberal treatment in legal matters. They are citizens on a par with orthodox Bulgarians, and like all other citizens are governed in their personal law by the Moslem code. Bulgaria does not recognize civil and laic marriage.

A minimum of forty Moslem families is sufficient to establish, in any center whatever, a Moslem Bulgarian section of the community, whose religious officers are paid from the revenue of unoccupied estates. The Moslem community has its own schools (with 50,000 students), in which the language is Turkish; but Bulgarian is taught.

These schools are supported by revenues from the unoccupied estates, by government subsidies, by revenue of certain community properties, and by taxes levied on the faithful. There is a *mederra* at Choumla.

Only the officers of justice, the *mufties*, and their vicars are paid directly by the state. Temporarily there does not exist a court of appeals, for so far no candidate has possessed the desired qualifications. At Sofia, where there are almost no Moslems, there sits a High Tribunal, presided over by the Grand Mufti of Bulgaria, Hussein Ahmedoff, who does not know one word of the Bulgarian language! The center for the administration of the Harbour is found in the offices of the Grand Mufti.

From the point of view of Moslem law, we do not observe those tendencies toward advancement that we noticed in Yugoslavia; it is the Hanefite rite that is applied without great alteration. The only thing of general interest here is, that by virtue of the decisions of a commission of *mufties*, after the war, it was decided that the minimum age of marriage should be eighteen years for boys and seventeen years for girls. Below this age limit the *imam* (who celebrates marriages by virtue of a commission from the *mufti*) is not authorized to perform it unless the contracting parties have obtained a dispensation from the *mufti*, having given a satisfactory reason for the request for a dispensation.

Summarizing, Bulgarian Islam is comprised principally of an ethnical and religious minority, which enjoys the greatest tolerance on the part of the majority; but it does not appear to wish to incorporate itself into this majority. We cannot see that any other course will lead to a prosperous future.

Albanian Islam, in its turn, differs much from the two other Moslem communities that we have thus far studied. It is the religion of the majority of Albania, a little country, extremely poor, about the size of Belgium, with a little more than a million inhabitants. Of these, about 100,000 are Catholics (in the north), 200,000 orthodox (in the

south), and 750,000 Moslems. Conversion to Islam took place late, and often in a very superficial fashion. Thus, in the regions of the northern part we found marriages of Moslems with Christians; there still subsisted, principally among the Catholic Mirdites, but also among their Moslem neighbors, the customary civil and penal Middle Age law of Ick Dukagini. I have the impression that not even in the other districts has Moslem law been able to impose itself.

Another peculiarity of Albanian Islam is the very great number (about one-third) of Moslem officials in the 'Alide fraternity of the Bektachis, a sect little enough orthodox, whose central *tekki* is taken from Tirana. We visited their leader (*baba*) a kindly old man, very venerable, who received us most cordially. The Bektachis drink alcohol, and eat all kinds of food except rabbit.

The Moslem community was organized by a text of the law of September 24, 1929, based on Article V of the constitution which says: "Religion and beliefs should never serve political ends". This is an excellent principle, which, at least outside of Albania, would be easier to decree than to put in practice. The corporation administers unoccupied estates and watches over the exercise of culture. According to the law of organization (Article 30) the duty of the *muf ties* consists: " . . . 3) in encouraging national brotherhood among Albanians of all beliefs; 4) in inciting Moslems to become informed concerning modern civilization."

From this, one sees the tendencies that the very energetic government of His Majesty Zog I intends to have prevail in his domain. These aims have triumphed especially by means of the complete laicization of Albanian law. Albania possesses today a Code of Commerce (the plan of the Italian Code of Professor Vivante, except for the Maritime Law); a Penal Code, founded on the Italian Penal Code; and a Civil Code. A code of Civil Procedure is in process of elaboration. This Civil Code is a very curious work, in that it is not a simple adaptation of one single foreign code (such as Turkey has made for the Swiss

Civil Code), but rather the elaboration principally of the French Civil Code, of the plan of the Franco-Italian Code of Obligations, of the Italian Code, with borrowings also from other codes. Besides, there are certain purely Albanian articles (e.g., as to the breaking off of betrothals, and where the sterility of one of the parties is a cause of divorce. Thus Albania, with Turkey and Rumania, is the only country where the whole system of Moslem law has been set aside.

The question which is naturally the most important is to discover how these reforms work out in practice. It is extremely difficult for one who does not know the language of the country, and who makes only a brief visit there, to reply to this question. Opposition comes on the one hand from the Catholics, because of divorce. In the mountains, where there are no roads, and where the Mirdites live, the central administration has only a feeble authority. On the other hand, there is opposition from the pious Moslems of the country; but their resistance has been broken without difficulty.

In the country, civil marriage takes place before religious marriage, and in the required forms the civil officer of the state always presents himself, by means of the indemnity, at the home of the bride. But have morals really changed, in earnest? I doubt it. I remember a conversation with a young officer who told me that he would not allow his sister to make the slightest claim to the inheritance of her father.

At all events, the laicization of Albania is being carried on with energy; in this respect the experience of the Albanians is of the greatest interest for the comparative study of Moslem peoples, and it is, like Bosnian Islam, at the very antipodes of Moslem Algeria.

*University of Algiers*

G. H. BOUSQUET.

## CHRIST IN THE CHINESE KORAN

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For the short period that I have been specially interested in the evangelization of the Moslems in China I have been anxious to know their attitude towards Christ the Savior whom we have come to present. A cursory glance at the Koran and other literature seemed to show that there was much similarity between the Koran and Bible that could well be utilized in our presentation. But, after having had contact with a few Moslems and after more careful study, I have felt that great caution must be used in emphasizing these similarities. One of the first remarks usually given by Moslems, when we enter into conversation with them, is to the effect that our faith and theirs are very similar, and that they also know about the *Ehr-sah* (Jesus) that we preach. The second remark might bring out the difference known to all, that they consider him a prophet and not the Son of God. But the difference does not lie only in this one point. Their Christology differs diametrically from the accepted Christian teaching of Christ, the Savior of the world.

The Christ of the Koran breathes of the earth and carnality. He is robbed of His great mission on earth. He is robbed of His divinity and His glory. The names for Christ are robbed of their Christian significance. What similarity is apparent in the Koran is usually explained away by the commentators, with the result that the opposition of the natural man to the true Christ is strengthened. The Moslem religion is the only non-Christian religion to present a teaching of Christ, but as it is non-Christian it has no room for Him as a Savior, otherwise Mohammed would be supplanted by Christ as the center of their book and their creed. Similarly, we have not come to present the

Moslem view of Christ, and recognize that the two view points are essentially opposed to each other and irreconcilable. If a Moslem accepts the Christian belief in Christ he loses his identity as a Moslem and becomes a Christian. Likewise we cannot surrender our tenets of faith for the sake of neighborliness without compromising our stand as Christians and thus losing our message and usefulness. If we have no other Christ to present than the Moslem Christ, then we no longer have a mission.

But, for the sake of more intelligent work among them, and for the purpose of finding some thoughts that might serve as an introduction for a presentation of the Christ of the Bible, I have been interested in making an examination into the Chinese translation of the Koran, that is printed with explanatory notes, to see what they believe about the Son of God. The Koran I have used is the official translation into Chinese made by their own press in Peiping.

Christ is mentioned in the Koran a great number of times, and is referred to more frequently. The annunciation, the virgin birth, Jesus' sinlessness, His divine commission, His revelation of the Book, His special relationship to God, some of His miracles, His "supposed death" on the cross, His ascent to heaven, and his future return to earth on judgment day are taught. With so much space given to Jesus in the Koran, one is tempted to wonder that the readers do not truly desire to accept Jesus as their Savior. If some of the statements of the Koran were permitted to stand and were accepted at face value it might be easier to present the Christ to the Moslems. But where a passage becomes dangerously similar to Christian teachings it is sapped of its direct meaning by the explanations given by zealous commentators. Thus it is not enough to compare the words of the Bible with the words of the Koran; but one must also consider the commentators of the Koran, for the flavor and significance that a passage is to have lies largely with them.

The most common name for Christ in the Koran,

*Ehr-sah*, (Jesus) is used twenty-six times, once more than in the English translation of the Koran (See Dr. Zwemer's "The Moslem Christ", pp. 24ff.), being inserted in Surah 3:48 (English translation 3:43).<sup>1</sup> It appears even more frequently in the explanatory notes throughout the book. There are various interpretations of this name. Some say that it is the name of Jesus inverted to show contempt, others, that it is the name of Esau given as a caricature, and still others say it has no meaning at all. In any case it does not bear with it the Biblical meaning of salvation to a sinful world. The name Messiah is used eight times. This must have had the significance of "The Anointed One" at the time of its introduction into Moslem thought, and seems to have a special bearing on his office as an apostle and his close connection to God. Surah 3:44 (Eng. 3:40) "Then the angels spoke to Mary saying, verily, God has a word from himself which is good tidings to you. His name (the name of the word) is Messiah, Jesus the son of Mary, honorable in this world and the next, being among those who are nigh to God". Surah 4:157 (4:156) "Also saying, we truly have killed the son of Mary, the Messiah, Jesus, the one sent of God, but they really did not kill him (Jesus)". There are some of the commentators that realize this special significance. Razi says he was called the Messiah because "he was kept clear from the taint of sin", and Baidawi says it was because he was "possessed of a spirit proceeding from the Almighty not mediately, but direct, both as to origin and essence". But the most common interpretation is that he was so called because he was a wanderer and had no place to lay his head. The Arabic root which signifies the idea of "being anointed" is not known to the average Chinese Moslem. The terms as used by them are devoid of special reference to his office, as explained to me also several times most carefully by *Ahungs* that I questioned. This must be taken into consideration when we mention him by his name before Moslems.

<sup>1</sup> The numbers in parenthesis refer to the Surah and verse in the English Koran corresponding to the verse in translation from the Chinese Koran.

Twice in the Koran Jesus is spoken of as a Word from God. Surah 3:44 (3:40) "When the angels spoke to Mary saying, verily God has a word from himself which is good tidings to you. His name (the name of the word) is Messiah, Jesus the son of Mary." Surah 4:171 (4:169) "O ye people of the book, do not exceed your religion nor say anything outside the truth about God. Messiah, Jesus the son of Mary is the one sent of God, a word cast into Mary, and a Spirit coming forth from him. Believe in God!"

The translation of "Word" into the Chinese, "Yu" and "Yen", corresponds to the *Tao* used in the first chapter of the Gospel according to John, and would perhaps be a better translation of the Greek *logos*. Because of the similarity of the two terms John's Gospel is a favorite with the Moslems. To Moslems who are acquainted with the Arabic terms used in the Koran, this name for Christ has a special significance. The term used for the spoken or written revelation of God to man is Kalam Allah. Here the personal term Kalimet Allah is used, thus indicating that Christ is a personal word from God coming as his messenger to man. However, a common interpretation given by Chinese *Ahungs* is that the "word" here is not given in reference to Christ, but in reference to the word used by God when he created Jesus. In this case there would of course be no significance whatever in the name.

The above reference in Surah 4:171 also speaks of the Christ as a Spirit from God. This same term is used in telling of the conception of Christ in Surah 21:91 "And she who guarded her virginity, I have put my spirit into her (Gabriel the angel breathed a spirit created by God into Mary) <sup>2</sup> I made her and her son (Jesus) to be a sign to the earth". The passage here testifies that Christ's conception is caused by God, through Gabriel, placing His own,—or, as the explanation says, a spirit specially created by God,—into Mary. Though the Moslem teaching regarding Christ will not permit this passage to be interpreted to show his divinity through sonship of God, yet it gives a special

<sup>2</sup> The text in parenthesis is the explanatory reference as given in the Chinese Koran.

significance to the manner of Jesus' birth that is not found in references to the birth of Mohammed.

Some commentators explain this last term used for Christ in such a way that it somewhat approaches the New Testament presentation of Christ. Imam Razi says he is the spirit of God because he is the "Giver of Life to the world in their religion". Baidawi says that he is "Possessed of a Spirit proceeding from God, not mediately, but direct, both as to origin and essence", and "Because he giveth life to the dead, and to the hearts of men". I do not believe, however, that these interpretations are common among the Chinese *ahungs*. They often speak of the spirit here mentioned as being wholly and entirely causal, as coming from God to perform the work of God in creating Christ, and not as being something inherent in the very nature of Christ—or as being His divine nature received from God.

Even though interpretations are widely divergent, these last two terms for Christ seem to lend themselves most easily as terms introductory to the Bible teachings of the Christ. They are used least of all by the Moslems themselves when they speak of Christ, and this very fact will be in our favor and it will be more easy to give the true Biblical explanation of such terms when we use them.

The great stumbling block to the Mohammedan in reference to Christ is his Divinity, including his Sonship, the efficacy of his mediatorial office, and the doctrine of the trinity. On these points they will not yield. Some have argued that the reason for the strong opposition of the Koran to these points is because of Mohammed's misconception of the doctrine of the trinity. This may be true. Of the origin of this opposition the Chinese know little or nothing, but the denial of Christ's divinity remains a cardinal point with them whenever they discuss Jesus. Surah 2:116 says, "They say God has begotten a son. Praise His holiness! No. (True God has no progeny)." Surah 9:30, "The Nazarenes say Messiah is the Son of God. That is what they say with their mouths imitating

those who formerly disbelieved. May God curse them. O how they pervert things!" Surah 3:58 (3:52) "The form of Jesus, in the sight of God, is verily as the form of Adam, created from the earth, then saying BE, and he was. (The Nazarenes do not consider Adam, who is without father and mother, as Lord, but speak of Jesus, who alone did not have father, as Lord. Is not this most ridiculous?)" In referring to the doctrine of the trinity, Surah 4:171 (4:169) says, "Do not say three. (Do not say that God is divided into three persons in one body.) They should stop! (Stop saying three.) It is best for them. (To forbid saying God is divided into three is of benefit to them). Allah is only one God. Praise his holiness. How could he have a son?" Not only does the Koran deny the divinity of Christ but it asserts that he is no more than other prophets. Surah 3:83 (3:78) "You say, We believe in God, and what has been revealed to us (the Koran), and what was revealed to Abraham, and Ishmael, and Isaac, and Jacob, and each tribe, and what was given to Moses and Jesus and the prophets from the Lord. We will make no distinction between them."

Thus on the most basic teachings of Christianity we find that the two religions are irreconcilable. There can be no compromise on this point, or both have lost their essence. If Christ's divinity is admitted, his supremacy is granted, and Mohammedanism loses its identity.

We shall now consider some of the Bible claims for Christ that are admitted in some form by the Koran. We will from this be able to know what teachings will not be entirely new to the Moslem in our proclamation of Him. Though these points differ in essence from the revealed Word of God they may at any rate serve as introductory remarks to a fuller teaching of Christ as our Saviour.

1. *Sinlessness of Christ.* Surah 6:84 (6:85) calls Him and a group of other prophets "pure", "*ching lien (ching chieh)*". In Surah 19:19 the angel Gabriel says, "I am only a messenger of your Lord. The true Lord has sent me so that I should bestow upon you a pure boy". Tra-

dition, which is regarded as authoritative by the Moslems, is even more clear in declaring the sinlessness of Christ. Mishka t-ul-Masabih says, "Every child of Adam is touched by Satan the day of his birth, with the exception of Mary and her son". Ghazali says, "When Jesus, son of Mary, on whom be blessing and peace, was born, the devils came to Satan, saying that in the morning the idols were found all hanging down their heads. Satan could not understand this, till, in his rounds, he discovered that Jesus had just been born, and that the angels were rejoicing thereat. So he returned to the devils, and told them that the day before a prophet had been born, and that never had a mortal been born before at whose birth he had not been present, but only this". Sinlessness is not claimed for Mohammed, in the same sense, nor for any prophet with the exception of Jesus. In this way Jesus holds a unique place in the Koran.

2. *He is a prophet from God.* This is demonstrated by passages of the Koran already cited. Surah 2:87 also says, "I have given Moses the book, and after him in order sent other apostles. I gave Jesus the son of Mary many manifest signs and helped him with a clean spirit (namely, the angel Gabriel). When I sent apostles to you with what your heart does not like, should you then proudly not believe the one (not believe Jesus), and kill one (namely, Zacharius)". Surah 19:30, "Verily I am a servant of God, he has given me a book and has made me a prophet."

3. *He has a revelation from God.* The above passages give proof to this statement. Surah 5:46 (5:50) says, "I followed up the others (prophets) with Jesus the son of Mary, confirming the law which was before him. I gave him the gospel containing guidance (guiding men to confess God is one) and light (by means of this men can find the right way) verifying the law which was before it, guiding and admonishing all who fear (for this kind of people can by means of it receive the blessing of the Koran)". The explanation here tries to divert the statements referring to the Gospel, but the statements in the Koran itself are

plain. Ordinarily the Moslems will concede that the law and Gospel are inspired of God, but declare that the Bible as we have it in the present form is a corruption of the revelation as given by God, and thus not trustworthy. The Koran is considered to be the last revelation from God, and thus it also supplants all former revelations.

4. *He performs miracles.* Tradition reports Mohammed as saying, "there has been no prophet but has given miracles, in order that people might believe him". Chinese *ahungs* with whom I have spoken mention this as proof that Jesus was in truth a prophet. They were careful, at the same time, to enumerate some miracles of Abraham, Moses, etc., to show their equality with Jesus in prophetic office. All admit, however, that Jesus performed greater miracles than Mohammed. He spoke just after he was born, to proclaim his prophetic office, made birds of clay and made them come to life, caused a well-filled table to appear from heaven, etc. Many of the miracles attributed to him are extremely crude, and do not bear the lofty significance of the "signs" as recorded in the Gospel of John, but are nevertheless considered as signs given him from God. Surah 5:110 (5:109). "Formerly God spoke to Jesus the son of Mary saying, Remember my favor toward thee and your mother. At that time I helped you with a pure spirit. You spoke to men in the cradle and when grown up." Surah 5:111, "At that time I taught you the book, wisdom, law and gospel. At that time with my permission you made the likeness of a bird from clay and breathed upon it. With my permission it became a bird. With my permission you healed the blind and the leprous. At that time you brought forth the dead with my permission . . . .". Cf. Surah 5:110-116. Mohammed says of himself that he was not a miracle worker, but only a warner. Surah 29:50 (29:49) "They say, why does he not show us some signs from the Lord (miracles)? You say, all signs are with God (only the true Lord can freely show forth miracles). I am an obvious warner". This truly seems to show the supremacy of Jesus as a prophet over

Mohammed, but that is not admitted by the Moslems. All they admit is that it proves him to be a prophet.

5. *Virgin birth.* Surah 3:44-48, "When the angels spoke to Mary saying, Verily, God has a word from himself which is good tidings to you. His name (the name of the word) is Messiah Jesus the son of Mary, honorable in this world and the next, being among those who are nigh to God. He shall speak to people from the cradle and when of age. (Speaking to people from the cradle is a special miracle. Speaking to men when of age is according to the command he received to preach and convert the people of the earth). He is one of the incorruptibles. She (Mary) said, My Lord, how can I have a son when no man has touched me? (Not having a husband, how could she give birth to a son?). He said, (Gabriel the angel), Thus God creates what He pleaseth (what hardship is there then to give birth to a son without a husband?) . . .". The birth of Jesus is thus considered as miraculous, being caused by a special act of God whereby he caused Mary to conceive and bear a Son in her virginity. They are very careful, however, to deny any implications of sonship of God that this miraculous birth may arouse in the hearts of the readers.

6. *Christ is still alive.* The Koran teaches that Christ is now in heaven, having been taken up there by God. They do not, however, admit his death and resurrection as taught in the Bible, but they say that he did not die. When he was to be crucified God caused a criminal to resemble Christ to such an extent that he was crucified in the stead of Christ, who was taken up to heaven alive without having gone through death. The Koran is contradictory on this teaching, according to the English translation, where Surah 3:48 says, "*When God said, O Jesus! I will make Thee die and take Thee up again to me and will clear thee of those who misbelieve*", and where Surah 4:155 says, ". . . and for their saying, 'Verily, we have killed the Messiah, Jesus the son of Mary, the apostle of God', . . . but they did not kill him, and they did not crucify him,

but a similitude was made for them". The Chinese translation very nicely eliminates this contradiction by rendering the first portion, Surah 3:53-54, thus—"They used schemes (i.e., the revolters among the children of Israel who kill men, and laid plans to murder Jesus) may God punish them (that is, he caused an evil man to change into the likeness of Jesus who was nailed on the cross, but raised Jesus to heaven). At that time *God called Jesus and said, I will surely protect your life* (protect it so that evil men could not kill you, and cause you to depart from them and from the earth), *and take thee up to me* (the place where my angels dwell), cause you to be clean, separated from the non-believers, waiting for the day of your return . . . .". (Compare the italics, which are mine, that point out the varying translations of the same portion of the Koran). They believe that Jesus is to come again to earth, live, marry, have children and then die to be buried as other men. There are also other passages that refer to his escape from death, and his death being denied, his present continued life is of no special victorious significance to the follower, since he must return to earth to die as other men.

7. *He is an intercessor for the people.* Surah 3:44 (3:40) says of Jesus, His name (the name of the word) is Messiah, Jesus the son of Mary, honorable in this world and the next, being among those who are nigh to God". This has been interpreted by some commentators to show that Jesus is an intercessor for the people. Baidawi says, "The illustriousness in this world is the office of a prophet, and that in the next world the office of intercessor." Zamakhshari says, "The office of prophet and supremacy over men in this world, and in the next world, the office of intercessor and loftiness of rank in paradise". The majority of commentators do not agree with this interpretation, however, and this belief does not seem to be common among the Chinese Moslems.

8. *He will come again.* I have been told that in other parts of the Moslem world the closed "door" in front of the Mosque that the worshippers must inevitably face when

facing Mecca in worship has no reference to Christ. In China, however, several *ahungs* and other Moslems have mentioned that the door now closed refers to Christ's ascent to heaven. It is to be closed till his return to earth. Then it will be opened as proof of his return. Thus in the very seat of Moslem worship there is testimony to the return of Christ to the earth. The Koran in Surah 3:54, cited above, shows that he shall return to this earth again. One tradition recorded by Muslim says, "There is no doubt that the Son of Mary, on whom be blessing and peace, shall descend in the midst of you as a righteous judge". This tradition goes beyond the teaching of the Koran and of the general belief of the average Moslems, but the belief in his return to this earth seems universal.

The comparisons made of the teachings of the Koran with those of the Bible in reference to the Christ are not made with the purpose of producing points of value for argumentation with the Moslems. Religious argumentation with followers of another faith will seldom win converts. At times it may be necessary, and then we must be sure to know our ground, but the way of salvation for the Moslem as well as for all people of every faith is the same. When through the law they become convicted under sin they will be willing to turn to Christ the Saviour, "for neither is there any other name under heaven, that is given among men, wherein we must be saved". (Acts 4:12). Neither are the passages of the Koran given with the idea that we should use them, except in occasional reference, in presenting Christ to the Moslem. By referring to the Koran without extreme caution we are apt to give the impression that we consider it an authority that is worth following. We must not forget that it is "the bulwark of a false religion and the vaunted charter of an erroneous system". Reference to the testimony of the Koran, has before now provoked the retort that the missionary himself acknowledges its authority. Therefore the point must be made quite clear that although we may have occasion to quote the Koran, yet it is only for our op-

ponents' sake that we do so, and that we do not acknowledge its authority for ourselves, nor seek its aid to establish the truth of the Christian religion". (W. A. Rice in "Crusaders of the Twentieth Century".) This paper has been written that we might know the Christ of the Koran, and knowing, be able more intelligently to present the Christ whom we have come to preach. It has also been written with the hope that while considering these borrowed teachings of the Koran we may be encouraged to greater zeal to present to them the Christ the Son of God as the Way of eternal salvation. Christ is the light of the world. When this light has been turned into darkness, how great is that darkness!

*Lutheran Bible School  
Hsuechang, Honan, China*

ROLF A. SYRDAL.

### A Prayer for the New Year

**A**LMIGHTY GOD, our Heavenly Father, Who hast made of one blood all nations, and hast promised that many shall come from the East and sit down with Abraham in Thy Kingdom: We pray for Thy two hundred and fifty million prodigals in Moslem lands who are still afar off, that they may be brought nigh by the blood of Christ. Look upon them in pity because they are ignorant of Thy truth.

Take away their pride of intellect and blindness of heart, and reveal to them the surpassing beauty and power of Thy Son Jesus Christ. Convince them of their sin in rejecting the atonement of the only Saviour. Give moral courage to those who love Thee, that they may boldly confess Thy name. Hasten the day of perfect freedom. Make Thy people willing in this new day of opportunity.

Send forth reapers where the harvest is ripe, and faithful plowmen to break furrows in lands still neglected. May the pagan tribes of Africa and Malaysia not fall a prey to Islam, but be won for Christ. Bless the ministry of healing in every hospital, and the ministry of love at every mission station.

Strengthen converts, restore backsliders, and give all those who labor among Mohammedans the tenderness of Christ, so that bruised reeds may become pillars of His Church, and smoking flaxwicks burning and shining lights. Make bare Thine arm, O God, and show Thy power. All our expectation is from Thee. Father, the hour has come; glorify Thy Son in the Mohammedan world, and fulfill through Him the prayer of Abraham Thy friend, "Oh, that Ishmael might live before Thee." For Jesus' sake. *Amen.*

## THE HEBREW PHILOSOPHICAL GENIUS<sup>1</sup>

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All who have read "The Hebrew Literary Genius" by the same author, will welcome this companion volume. In this review, a number of important points of the book will be briefly presented with the hope of awakening interest and a desire to read in its entirety this excellent book; furthermore, in many places we shall let the author speak for himself.

The theme of the first chapter of the book is the Absolute as a Personality. The Old Testament and such a purely Palestinian product as Ecclesiasticus are untouched by Greek philosophy. Professor Macdonald's thesis is that Hebrew philosophy was original and that it grew up on its own soil in Palestine. The philosophically abstracted deity of Philo has nothing in common with the vigorous personality of Jehovah of the Old Testament. The Hebrews believed that there is an all-dominating supreme Personality behind life. God is a personality and not a mere ethical Absolute. He needed no intermediaries to work among men. Since Jehovah was anthropomorphic, that conception made a religious attitude possible and an abstract philosophical Absolute exceedingly difficult. Jehovah is an ethical God; on the contrary, in Greece the religious inheritance was a positive handicap in philosophy. The hope of Israel lay in the dominating personality of Jehovah. The Hebrews never had a conflict between religion and science, but they considered a conflict of God and man.

The second chapter discusses a Philosophy of Becoming. Professor Macdonald maintains that in spite of the absolute personality behind life, man possessed free will. The Hebrews had no word for conscience, and so they used the expression "knowing good and evil." First, man has a moral sense of his own, which he can freely exercise. Secondly, the Hebrews had a sense of the "beyond" and ultimate reality, which was the personality of Jehovah. The Hebrew language has no verb to denote the idea of existence or the copula; that is expressed by syntax. In the words of the author (page 16): "They had no need of Being, for to their minds everything was Becoming;" (page 20): "Jehovah was the metaphysic of the Hebrews and their metaphysic was not of being, but Becom-

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<sup>1</sup> The Hebrew Philosophical Genius: A Vindication. By Duncan Black Macdonald. Princeton University Press, 1936. pp. 155. \$2.50.

ing." In the third place, there is in the world a mysterious and ultimate reality called Life, or rather physical life. This united God and men, but ceased when the human being died; accordingly, God is the God of the living and not of the dead. The writer maintains that because of the importance the Hebrews attached to personality, they were masters of the science and art of living. In the fourth place, the source of evil in the individual was essentially stupidity. This makes morality a matter of intelligence.

The prophets, on the other hand, followed a different course; they depended upon mystical revelation, but were positive and confident in their statements. They used argument, rhetoric, and emotion, but behind their system was, in the words of Macdonald, "the leap of the mystic."

In Chapter III there is a discussion of Reason among the Hebrews. They never questioned the existence of Jehovah, and a primary object of their philosophy was to determine His nature. They recognized three separate entities which gave them room for thought—the human race, Jehovah, and the physical world. Their philosophy from its beginning was a study of Nature and of Man. In the Psalms, we do not have cold intellectualism, but eternal realities tinged with emotion. Thus there is a groping toward a philosophy of life.

The Hebrews had no word which could be applied exclusively to reason; *hokhmāh* means both "wisdom" and "reason." Reason, while it should be subordinate to the Will of God, may even criticize that Will. This conflict between Reason and the absolute Will of God, however, was not discussed and clarified. The anthropomorphism of the earlier Hebrews began to be a different problem to their descendants, and so Jehovah was removed farther from His world. The need of intermediaries was, accordingly, developed, and thus probably originated the theological phrase "Son of Man". Macdonald says (p. 39): "Once admit a need for some intermediary between Jehovah and mankind and the step is not great from a Messiah who is Son of David to a heavenly Messiah who is the son of Jehovah Himself."

From this subject, the book proceeds to the Eternal Reason, in Chapter IV. While much of Hebrew Wisdom is utilitarian, we also meet a subtle and lofty doctrine of an analogy of Nature, Man, and God. In this connection, there is a personified Reason, which speaks of her own authority, even apart from Jehovah. Accordingly, the world is good and consistent, because it is the creation of Reason. This conception practically regards Reason as a coeternal Being beside Jehovah. This personification of Reason in the Old Testament appears in the Book of Proverbs and the twenty-eighth chapter of Job. In reference to Ecclesiastes, Professor Macdonald says

(page 58): “. . . . certainly there was no place in Ecclesiastes’ scheme for a Reason speaking ultimate truth to man out of the original and abiding constitution of the world.” To Ben Sira, God was the All; to him the Torah is divine legislation, and wisdom is the practical application of the Law and the Commandments to daily life.

In Chapter V, the writer gives his own translation of the Book of Ecclesiastes. Qoheleth as a thinker is compared to a primitive, skeptical, hard-headed Arab. He is positive that behind life there is a Personality, and everything depends upon the Will of this Personality. But while God is in absolute control, it is clear that He rules on amoral rather than on moral principles. So a man who wishes to be successful, must be flexible, but while amoral, he cannot be immoral. On page 90 we meet the interesting statement: “And so there comes the paradox that Ecclesiastes, who by his own nature and code was thoroughly moral, sympathetic, honorable, was driven by the fear of God to a possibly amoral attitude.” In this book, we have a religion for the living and not for the dead.

The theme of Chapter VI, the Hebrews under Greek Influence, is of special interest to the student of the Septuagint; reference is made to the softening of the Hebrew anthropomorphisms in that version. On page 95, a very sensible question is asked: “How did the very sane and realistic Hebrew mind, when worked upon by the equally sane and realistic Greek mind, produce such a mass of what can only be called insane and non-realistic speculations as those of Philo and other Alexandrine thinkers?” The answer is found not simply in the academic doctrine of Plato and of the Stoics, but in a whole environment of spiritualized mythology and realistically expressed metaphors. The Palestinian Jews remained free from these extravagances, but the Alexandrian Jews were by necessity driven into allegory.

The Book of Wisdom of the Apocrypha is considered by Macdonald as good Greek literature.

The author of this book wrote and thought in Greek, but he introduced the Hebrew idea of Wisdom into Greek. Macdonald’s studies in which the usage of various words in Homer, Plato, and Aristotle is compared with that of this book, are all very interesting. On page 112, he makes a very good point, when he speaks of the effort of this author to remove from the minds of his Greek friends the idea “that the Hebrews were a race, strange, hostile, inhuman and uncivilized, enemies to all other peoples. They were apart in that they had received divine guidance from the very beginning, but that guidance had been the very Wisdom and divine Reason that the Greek philosophers had tried to find and follow.” Macdonald main-

tains that the thinking of Ben Sira and of Ecclesiastes can be explained as a legitimate development of old Hebrew ideas and thought. On the contrary, the writing of the author of the Book of Wisdom is replete with Greek conceptions. Even Wisdom is transformed into a beautiful and wise Greek nymph.

Chapter VII deals with Plato's Laws, Ecclesiastes, and Ben Sira. In Plato's Laws, the idea of a fostering, protecting, and guiding Divinity undoubtedly exists, but it is either vaguely diffused or split up among a number of gods. Macdonald well says (page 132): "The driving force and soul-grappling power in the realization of the personal Jehovah which the Hebrews had are unknown to these speculations." Plato visualized a state built upon theocratic principles, and so he accepted the origin of Cretan law from Zeus and that of Lacedaemon from Apollo; this state was preserved under a system of penalties; (page 132). "The Hebrews, so far as they secured their state, did it under the fear of Jehovah." In connection with Plato's penalties, including that of death, the author writes this trenchant sentence (page 133): "As has often been shown, religious intolerance began with the intellectual arrogance of philosophers who were sure that they were right, and not with theologians."

Ecclesiastes was interested in the individual, while Plato was occupied with the construction of the ideal state. Plato makes Reason the source of Law; both he and Ben Sira agree that Reason is the possession of God and not an entity separate or separable from God. It was the Neoplatonists that removed Plato's God to metaphysics and unknowable aloofness. The chapter closes with this sentence: "The Hebrews had always been Platonists and now the old age of their thinking came together with the old age of Plato's."

In the Epilogue, we find a thread of derivation and development of Trinitarian doctrine which too often has been neglected. In the apocryphal Book of Wisdom, Wisdom is a personality which manifests Jehovah to all mankind. Macdonald thinks that the nearest conception of this idea in Christian theology is the Holy Spirit. The Logos of the Fourth Gospel, which is Wisdom, is identified with the incarnate Christ. Thus he finds that the doctrine of the Trinity has its roots in Hebrew philosophy.

This work by the veteran Arabist of Hartford should be read by students of religion, theology, and philosophy. Much of the book cannot be read rapidly; a number of his profound statements have to be pondered and weighed carefully. Many avenues of thought have been opened, and new points of view are revealed. The book is stimulating and shows that there is more philosophy in the Old Testament and the Apocrypha than many scholars had supposed.

## BOOK REVIEWS

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**Iraq from Mandate to Independence.** By Ernest Main, M.A., with a foreword by Lord Lloyd of Dolobran, P.C., G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., D.S.O. London: George Allen & Unwin, Ltd., 1935. pp. 267.

This is as good a book as possible from the pen of a person who accepts as "holy writ" the words of Cromer that "the Englishman as an imperialist is always striving to attain two ideals which are apt to be mutually destructive—the ideal of good government, which connotes the continuance of his supremacy, and the ideal of self-government which connotes the whole or partial abdication of his supreme position." It is this supremacy of the Englishman which both Mr. Main and the Hon. Lord Lloyd lament in the pages of this book. That outside England self-government may result in good government and that mutual cooperation between His Britannic Majesty's Government and His Iraqi Majesty's Government or any sovereign government in the Near East would be a surer guarantee to the safety of the Empire than all its armed forces do not occur to either the author or the noble Lord.

After devoting one chapter to historical introductions and another to the land and its people, the author takes up what is perhaps the most important question, British Imperial Communications, and it must be admitted, treats it both ably and candidly. He then discusses Lawrence and the Arabs of Iraq, Anglo-Iraqi relations, the League of Nations and Iraq's independence, the R. A. F. and the New Iraq and the problems of defence and foreign relations. These are all discussed from the standpoint of the Cromer dictum of British supremacy. One wonders where Iraq comes in.

The question of minorities and the conflict between the Sunnites and Shi'ite Moslems are dealt with at length with a fair degree of comprehension. In the case of the minorities, the author comes very close to the core of the problem but, again the victim of the British supremacy complex, fails to condemn the stupidities of his government which he himself describes.

Internal administration, finance, justice, and the *awqāf* receive casual treatment while railways, roads, and rivers, agriculture and irrigation, and trade and industry are more carefully treated. Like the introductory chapter on historic origins, Chapter XVII on antiquities and ancient history, is among the weaker sections of the book.

Finally there is the chapter on education and "the *effendi* problem" of Iraq. The author pays little attention to the problems of education and to recent educational developments. Of the *effendi* he creates a problem and offers a solution. The fact, however, remains the same, the *effendi* as an individual may exist, but

as a class it is the creation of uninformed students of Near Eastern society.

Appended to the book are two very useful documents, the text of the Anglo-Iraq treaty and Faysal's Damascus Diary of July 1920. The notes on marriage customs are not typical even of the south of Iraq, the part of the country to which they are supposed to pertain.

Princeton, New Jersey

NABIH AMIN FARIS.

**Tamerlane or Timur the Great Amir.** Translated by J. H. Sanders, I.S.C. (Retired). From the Arabic Life by Ahmed Ibn Arabshah. Luzac and Co., London, 1936. pp. xviii, 340. 12s.6d.

This book is a faithful, though perhaps somewhat pedestrian, rendering into English for the first time of one of the four chief contemporary sources concerning this greatest of Asiatic conquerors. Throughout, the translator has used freely Samuel Manger's Latin version, *Ahmedis Arabsiadæ Vitæ*, Leovardiae, 1767-72, and refers also to another contemporary account, Sherif ad-Din's *Zafar Nama*, translated from Persian to French to English about 1722, but nothing is said as to the origin and transmission to our time of the actual work which is here translated. There is a valuable sketch map, a useful chronology and a names-index, and notes on the Muslim Calendar, Laws of Jenghiz Khan, and Tribal Names. The strength and weakness of the civil service mind is apparent throughout.

Ahmed Ibn Arabshah, captured and exiled to Samarkand, was a devout Moslem and secretary to the conquered Sultan Ahmed of Baghdad, but the translator finds "no injustice in the account" save "vague depreciation" of Timur's birth. He seems not to have noticed the 144 chapter headings, in certain of which Timur is called, *inter alia*, despot, tyrant, deceitful one, villain, intrepid one, wanderer, demon, viper, faithless, bastard, impostor, covetous one, wicked one, traitor, obstinate one, owl, lame one, hunter, vainglorious one, evil one, who "had his constant seat in the lowest pit of Hell", and "was cast into the pit of pollution", etc., etc. A modern reader is reminded of the "keynote speeches" of our political partisans when out of power. The book gives a perfectly naive picture of the helpless and wordy wrath with which a sedentary scholar regards the ruthless soldier who has overthrown the scholar's homeland.

Arabshah's account really begins some twenty years after Timur's birth in 1336 and continues perhaps thirty years after his death in 1405. As history it is disorderly, unbalanced and repetitious, abounding in detailed descriptions of horrid outrages, bloody personal incidents of no particular consequence and garnished throughout with the verbose metaphorical rhetoric familiar to readers of Burton's Arabian Nights. The skillful use of propaganda, the subtleties of fine-spun Oriental intrigue, man's incessant craving to be right with God, his longing for broader and more peaceful human relationships despite his incessant and insane resort to violence, as revealed here, are all of vital significance for our own day. Timur's wonderful gifts of nature and character are vividly described, as is the anarchy into which his empire fell after his

death. But trade, Asiatic-European relations, the technique of Timur's administrative organization and of his amazing military system, a combination of feudal principles with efficiency methods under Asiatic personal despotism, are out of the author's (and of the translator's) ken.

We of today need no fifteenth-century wisdom to assure us that "war is hell" but that dreadful lesson is here made impressively plain once more.

*Princeton University*

W. L. WHITTLESEY.

**The Folklore of Morocco.** By Françoise Legey. Translated from the French by Lucy Hotz. Preface by Marshal Lyautey. Allen & Unwin, Ltd., London. pp. 277; 12/6 net.

Dr. Legey has spent thirteen years in pioneer medical work under the French government among the natives of Morocco. She was already on the scene before the French Occupation, as an agent of the Government in their policy of peaceful penetration. She was appointed one of the doctors attached to the *Assistance Publique*, and for many years was Head of the Hospital for Women and Children at Marrakech. With the cooperation of Madame Lyautey, she helped to found the *Goutté de Lait*—an institution which has done incalculable good to starving babies. Madame Legey has saved innumerable lives by her devoted work among the women and children of Morocco, and has won the confidence and respect of high and low among the natives, who fully appreciate her sympathy and understanding of Morocco, and her interest in their traditions. She is still the valued physician to the wives and family of the Pacha of Marrakech.

We have a number of recent works on the folklore of Morocco including the standard work by Westermarck. Nevertheless, there is much that is new and even startling in this intimate revelation of the superstitions that prevail and persist, in spite of Western impact. The author gives a vivid picture of the rites and traditions which still form the mainspring of their daily life, despite the encroachments of French civilization. Divination and fortune-telling; ghosts and demonology and traces of black magic, mingled with bastard Moslem legends; extraordinary cures for extraordinary ills; bird, beast and plant lore; the propitiatory ceremonies and traditions which accompany each step from birth to death, fill the pages of this fascinating book.

It is unfortunate that the translator has made a mess of the Arabic transliteration for the English reader by following the French text. The result is that ordinary Arabic words are scarcely recognizable, for example: "*qarina*" becomes "*grine*" and "*qudus*" becomes "*kouddouss*". The sections that deal with birth, childhood, marriage, and death throw light on many customs which are due not to superstition but to Moslem tradition. The result of superstition is evident in the home-life of the people. "The whole life of woman in Morocco is dominated by love. The common practice of polygamy and the promiscuities in the harems, the toleration of prostitution, which is not condemned, and the facilities accorded for it, all give rise to violent jealousies. In order to get the better of a favoured

rival, women abandon themselves to the most extraordinary practices of sorcery. In consequence, witches and sorcerers and blacksmiths occupy quite an important position in Moroccan society."

This book is not only a valuable contribution to the folklore of a nation but of absorbing interest to those who desire to understand the life of the people. It is unfortunate that the Index is so incomplete. Z.

**A Search in Secret Egypt.** By Paul Brunton, author of "A Search in Secret India", "The Secret Path", etc. E. P. Dutton & Co., Inc., New York, 1936. 75 illustrations. pp. 287. \$3.50.

The search, which has led the author to various countries, is, as stated in the dedication to Prince Ismail Daoud of Egypt, for "unusual spirituality or strange magic". The author's method is illustrated in his account of his own nocturnal vigils in front of the Sphinx and in the interior of the Great Pyramid and within the shrines of the ruined temples of ancient Egypt. By means of a trance-inducing technique, learned in the East, the author enters into communion with the spiritual presences which linger within these shrines and is thus able, he believes, to discover the nature of the ancient Egyptian mysteries. He believes that they were passed on to the Egyptian high-priests from the more ancient civilization of Atlantis. The variety of the author's search appears further from his record of interviews and experiences with a noted modern magician of Cairo, whose name he withholds for various reasons; with a French hypnotist of Cairo; with Tahra Bey, whom he calls "Egypt's most famed fakir"; with Moussa, "Egypt's most famed snake charmer"; and with Sheikh Abu Shrum, who conducts a Dervish "zikr". He touches modern Islam more particularly in giving his impressions, rather casually, in Chapter VIII, and in his account in Chapter IX of his interview with Sheikh Al-Maraghi, Rector of Al-Azhar University, whom he calls "the spiritual head of the Muhammedans". In this interview this noted liberal leader is permitted to state in his own words his conception of the principles and requirements of Islam. The statement, as was to be expected, follows the familiar lines of the modern Islamic apologetic. The author's views and experiences are presented throughout in entertaining fashion. How convincing they are will depend largely upon the reader's estimate of the soundness of his methods.

*Union Seminary, New York*

C. C. ADAMS.

**Matteo Ricci's Scientific Contribution to China.** By Henri Bernard, S.J. Translated by Edward Chalmers Werner. Henry Vetch, Publisher, Peiping, China. pp. 108. \$2.50.

This is a book of extraordinary interest to the student of early missions in China. Ricci's task was to fulfill the prophecy of Leibnitz, and build the bridge "between two worlds separated by an enormous distance that they may mutually instruct and enlighten each other." For two centuries, from 1583 to the French Revolution, the Jesuit missionaries had intellectual contact with China. Their scientific leader and most brilliant example was Father Matteo Ricci, although he had predecessors. This volume is an account

not of missions but of the scientific approach to the mind of the Chinese. The legacy of Islam (as the author points out) had prepared the way. It was through Islam that China became acquainted with Greek science, including the *Almagest* of Ptolemy. When at Nanking, Ricci saw the astronomical instruments made by Moslems in the Mongol dynasty. In the year 1374 there were in the Palace library of Peking hundreds of Persian manuscripts. Ricci's thorough scientific training gave him an advantage at the Court. He taught the Chinese higher mathematics and astronomy almost from the day he arrived at Macao (1582). He made clocks and astrolabes, and a map of the world; he translated Euclid and calculated eclipses. He solved some of the problems of Chinese astronomy and the Chinese calendar. His spirit rested on his successors, later scholarly missionaries, but "Ricci well deserves to be considered the scientific initiator of modern China." The volume has six illustrations, a full bibliography and an excellent index. The letter-press is superb.

Z.

**Al-Adillah al-'Ilmiyah 'ala Jawāz Tarjamat Ma'āni al-Qur'ān ila al-Lughāt al-Ajnbīyah.** By Muḥammad Farīd Wajdi. Cairo, 1936. pp. 79.

Is it *permissible* to render the meaning of the Koran into foreign languages? Moslems are divided on this question into two hostile camps. The one would rather phrase the question: Is it *possible* to render the meaning of the Koran into foreign languages? They have only one answer, a big NO. It was revealed in Arabic, a copy of the archetype preserved in the seventh heaven (Surahs xliii:1-3; lvi:76-9; lxxxv:21-2). To this group it is not a question of permissibility, but one of possibility. They hold that it is impossible and any attempt in that direction they consider as insolent and sinful.

Foreign scholars, however, did not consult the Moslem theologians, but proceeded to translate the Koran into such "profane" languages as English, French, German, etc. The last "outrage" being a translation into Czechoslovakian by A. R. Nykl (Prague, 1934).

Faced by an accomplished fact and, for no good reason, dissatisfied with the existing translations as well as desirous to have an authorized translation of the Koran which would present the Moslem point of view, modern Moslem scholars who form the other camp have made up their minds that while a translation of the Koran is not possible, the rendering of its meaning into foreign languages is. But what about the theologians? To placate them and convince them of the permissibility of the undertaking the author invokes all the paraphernalia of mediaeval scholasticism. The whole thing is sheer waste of time but is of extreme interest because it shows the kind of obstacles the modern Moslem scholars have to face.

*Princeton, New Jersey*

NABIH AMIN FARIS.

**Bulletin of the Faculty of Arts.** University of Egypt. Vol. 3, Part 2, December, 1935. 10 P.T. Faculty of Arts, Giza, Egypt.

We are glad to receive a copy of this interesting Bulletin, worthy of the University. There are several articles in English and French on Archaeology, and in the Arabic section an important study on

the Economic History of the reign of Muhammad Ali, Part 1, Monopolies and the Agricultural System by Ahmad al Hitta.

Z.

**Revolutionary Turkey.** By H. Malik Evrenol. Librairie Hachette, Ankara et Istanbul. pp. 148. \$1.50.

Here we have a brief account of new Turkey by a Turk who happens to be an alumnus of Columbia University. The contents cover too wide a range of topics to expect scholarly accuracy. When the author treats of the origin of the Turkish race and its migrations, he claims far too much. They are said to have been in North China "7000 years B.C. and to have settled north of the Baltic Sea in Europe, as well as in Egypt and Central Asia." The account of reforms in education, culture, literature, art and finance is extremely interesting. The bibliography is meager and the statistics of imports and exports are not recent. Railway construction is proceeding at a rapid pace; seventeen Turkish women have now been elected to Parliament, and Sunday has become the weekly holiday instead of Friday.

Z.

**Précis élémentaire de Droit Musulman** (Malékite et Algérien). By G. H. Bousquet. Librairie Orientaliste, Paul Geuthner, Paris. pp. 213. 25 fr.

An excellent manual for students on Islamic law according to the Maliki rite, by the Professor of Law at Algiers, who is not a stranger to readers of our Quarterly. The work is based on Arabic authorities with reference to earlier and larger works by Western scholars such as Juynbol. The material is well classified and a concluding chapter tells of the conflict of Moslem laws with the Code Napoleon and Western law in Algeria. Of special interest to all missionaries is the section on Change of Religion. A glossary of Arabic terms is given as an appendix.

Z.

**Archiv Orientalni.** Journal of the Czechoslovak Oriental Institute, Prague. Edited by Bedrich Hrozny. Vol. VII, No. 3. Orientalni Ustav, Czechoslovakia. pp. 277-532.

We are glad to call the attention of our readers to this oriental quarterly which from time to time contains articles of importance to students of Islam. The present issue has only two of this nature: one by A. Grohmann, "*Texte zur Wirtschaftsgeschichte Agyptens in arabischer Zeit*," which contains a number of facsimiles on Papyrus from Fustat; also an article by F. Tauer giving the Persian text of an anonymous manuscript dealing with "*Soliman's Wiener Feldzug*".

Z.

**Die Stunde des Islam.** By D. Gottfried Simon. Missionsverlag, Stuttgart, Germany, 1936. pp. 135.

This pamphlet is one of a recent series on the missionary situation in the Church of Germany. Dr. Simon makes a plea for missions to Moslems by pointing out the debt of the Christian Church and its long neglect; the spread of Islam from Arabia as a challenge to the

Church; and finally, the progress of the Gospel and the work of God's grace in our day.

We note a mistake on page eleven; prayer is not made toward Medina but toward Mecca. Z.

**The Fatherly Rule of God.** A Study of Society, State, and Church. By Alfred E. Garvie. The Abingdon Press, 1935. pp. 256. \$1.25.

This book contains eight chapters dealing with the following topics: the relation of God to man, the necessity and the nature of society, the functions of the state, the mission of the Church, the conflict of church and state, the cooperation of church and state, conscience and law, and universalism, ecumenicity, and internationalism.

The writer believes that the ethical monotheism of the Old Testament was expanded into the conception of the one God as Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, as men experienced the love of God as Father through the grace of the Lord Jesus Christ in the communion of the Holy Spirit. He maintains that the Church must inspire the motive and standard, and the state provide the means and method of building the New Jerusalem; the Great War let loose a dangerous fanatical nationalism which makes peace difficult. The Church must be the counselor and helper of the state. While Dr. Garvie detests the motives and methods of anti-Semitism, he regards the Jews as a menacing problem in most Continental countries (p. 138): "Many of them are *in* a country to get all they can *out* of it, and not *of* that country to give what they can *to* it." He regards the totalitarian state an anachronism, a reversion to earlier and lower types of the state now out of date, and not an advance in the way of progress; in his opinion the Church should always have the courage to say: "Thus saith the Lord." Interesting observations are made upon the different branches of the Christian Church and upon the situation in modern Germany.

HENRY S. GEHMAN.

**Ein Leben für Abessinien.** By Martin Flad. 2te Auflage, Brunnen-Verlag, Giessen and Basel, 1936. pp. 228+portrait of Haile Selassie I, and map of Abyssinia+18 full page illustrations.

There is a brief introduction on the geography and the political and religious history of Ethiopia, together with the work of missions in that land written by Pastor Frederick Flad, the son of Martin Flad, the missionary to Ethiopia. Much of the book is an autobiography of the father, but portions of the diary of the mother are also included.

Martin Flad was born in 1831; in March, 1850 he entered St. Chrischona, where he prepared himself for the mission field. He accepted a call to Abyssinia. When he arrived in 1855, Theodoros II, was king. His description of the country, the manners of the people, and his experiences are quite vivid. The excellent pictures add much to the value of the volume. The causes and details of the English invasion of Ethiopia and General Napier's victory at Magdala in 1868 are well portrayed. Flad had been an emissary of the Abyssinian King to Queen Victoria in 1866.

Friedrich, the son, wrote the conclusion before the victorious end of the Italian invasion. He expressed, however, the opinion

that Islam and the Roman Church will be the winners, when the last African people with its old church shall have lost its independence.

HENRY S. GEHMAN.

**Onder de Arabieren.** By Paul W. Harrison. Hollandsche Bewerking van Dr. C. Easton. H. P. Leopold's Uitgevers-Maatschappij, The Hague. pp. 183. Fl. 4.50.

This is a translation, (whether authorized or unauthorized is not indicated) of Dr. Harrison's book, "The Arab at Home", published by Thomas W. Crowell, New York, in 1924. The translation is excellent but the Preface explaining the author's position as a missionary is omitted as are also six chapters in the original work entitled: The Rule of the Turk, The British Regime, The Mohammedan Faith, An Appraisal of Mohammedanism, The Religion of Western Heathenism, and The Arab and Christianity. By the omission of these chapters the book has been secularized. The illustrations are not the same as in the original work but are excellent photographic reproductions of Arab life.

S. M. ZWEMER.

**School and Society in the Valley of the Nile.** By Amir Boktor, M.A., Ph.D., Professor of Education, The American University at Cairo. Elias' Modern Press, Cairo. pp. 269.

**The Effects of Centralization on Education in Modern Egypt.** By Russell Galt, Ph.D. The Department of Education, American University at Cairo, Cairo, Egypt. pp. 134.

In these two volumes the student of modern Egypt will find much food for thought. While both are of value to the reader interested in educational developments along the Nile, the volume by Dr. Boktor is far more satisfactory for the casual inquirer into Egyptian affairs of the present day, especially since it contains a careful index while the other does not.

Interestingly enough, although both of the authors of these volumes are on the faculty of the American University of Cairo, neither treats the subject of missionary education with any great thoroughness. One might well ask after reading Dr. Galt's well-organized and succinct treatise just what the place of mission schools would be in his proposed reorganization of Egypt's educational system. One wonders whether the general arguments for private schools as institutions which "having met the standards of the externa required by the Ministry would thus have freedom in the interna" implies freedom for evangelistic work among students or not.

Dr. Boktor calls attention to the sad fact that "owing to a lack of funds, a large percentage of foreign and mission schools have not kept pace with the times. As a result the Government schools have surpassed them in staff, equipment, and organization." Fitting recognition is given to the pioneer work in the education of women done by missionary educational institutions.

The author's observations to the effect that Egyptian teachers of the English and French languages are more effective than English, American, or French instructors is one which might evoke considerable argument. Since Dr. Boktor considers "correct pronuncia-

tion and accent a luxury which could be dispensed with" perhaps he is correct.

In making recommendations on general educational policy for the Egyptian government one is glad to see that private education, in the opinion of this author as well as of Dr. Galt, should be encouraged and that cooperation should exist to the fullest extent between government and private schools. It also is cheering to note that Dr. Boktor feels mission school "graduates are on the whole distinguished from those of Egyptian schools by their ability to adjust themselves, their initiative, self-reliance, and conscientiousness."

Missionary educators in the Near East should read both of these volumes at their earliest opportunity. The authors are fully competent to deal with Egyptian education, thanks to their thorough study and long experience on the Valley of the Nile. The problems discussed are to a great degree common all through the Moslem World. It is of special interest to note the trend in Mohammedan theological education, for instance.

HERRICK BLACK YOUNG.

**The Way of Partnership.** With the C.M.S. in Egypt and Palestine. By S. A. Morrison. C.M.S., London, 1936. pp. 87. One shilling.

In this little book of seven short chapters Mr. Morrison has succeeded in giving a graphic account of the work of the Anglican Church in Egypt and Palestine.

Speaking first of Palestine, he tells of the religious rivalry that has existed there for centuries between the followers of the Prophet and the orthodox Jews. For economic and political reasons also, the Moslem bitterly resents the present influx of Jews. In its problem of trying to bridge the gap between these two opposing communities and bring about a relationship of cooperation and good-will, the British Government has been greatly helped by the faithful efforts and sacrificial service of all missionaries in Palestine.

With swift and telling strokes the author paints the picture of the varied work of the C.M.S., in its ministry of healing, of preaching, of teaching, of fellowship and worship, and of the printed word. The results of a century of missionary endeavor, if measured only by the number of Jews and Moslems who have openly avowed their faith in Christ seem pitifully small, for "it is estimated that in the whole of Palestine today there are only between seventy-five and one hundred converts from Islam, of whom about one half are members of the Anglican Church". But, "in countless ways, great or small, the Anglican Church is bringing the spirit of Christ to bear upon communal relations . . . and has been in the forefront of all movements for progress and reform".

In Egypt, there is a conflict between the old and the new in every aspect of affairs. Here, as in Palestine, the C.M.S. has taken the lead in all kinds of social service. Hospital and welfare work, Ragged Sunday Schools, children's clubs, boys' and girls' schools, instruction of the blind, literature work—in these and many other ways the C.M.S. workers are bringing Christ into lives where He is sorely needed.

Thirteen illustrations and two maps add to the attractiveness of the book.

M. S. B.

## CURRENT TOPICS

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### Across the Sahara

In *The Geographical Journal*, London, a letter appears, written by Mr. G. I. Jones of the Nigerian police, who crossed the Sahara on his way home in 1935. The interesting point of this correspondence is that the desert has become an international highway:

"The trip proved a great success and I am resolved to repeat it each time I go on leave. The scenery especially in the Hoggar is magnificent, but all of it is good; you cover about 200 miles a day or so, and as you are proceeding from south to north practically each day you pass through a different type of country. There is no difficulty about finding the track and wherever the country gets broken the French have constructed a good road. If one fits super balloon tires one has no difficulty with sand. If you are in a hurry you can get from Kanto to Algiers in ten days, stopping every night except the first at a hotel of sorts. If you break down you wait for the bus or until they send out a breakdown car from the next post. Of course one sees nothing of the people living in the country, but one never does unless one lives amongst them and can speak to them in their own language. As far as we were concerned after eighteen months spent amongst people crowded as many as 1000 to the square mile it was the almost complete absence of people that appealed most to us. My camera let me down, as I employed a cheap German exposure meter which couldn't cope with the brilliance of the light.

"Picturesqueness and variety were applied at most of the stopping places by the Europeans we met there. Two English girls at Agadez driving a motor cycle and side-car to the Cape and stranded there with a big end gone. Three Frenchmen driving a Hispano-Suiza to the same destination stranded at In Guezzam with a broken gear-box. A French girl at Tamanrasset, with a 10-horse-power Renault and a bulldog, come out to see her lover at Kidal and refused permission by the authorities to proceed farther alone. She defied them and left at midnight and got to Kidal the next day—fortunately for all concerned. Three Swiss with a cracked cylinder head at Arak intent on climbing the Pic Liman and armed with ropes, crampons, hammers, nails, hooks and all the latest rock-climbing devices. We heard later that they got most of the way to the top on camels. Two Germans a little farther on who irritated us beyond measure by watching us with great interest while we made a stone causeway across the riverbed (which still contained water) and when we had finished calmly started up their car and drove across it. The family chauffeur of the Hispano-Suiza owner speeding in another

car hired from the Bus company to his master with a new gear-box and held up at In Salah because of the rain in the Arak valley; and last an English girl and man in a Riley bent on making a new car record to the Cape and stuck in the snow at Djelfa behind Algiers."

### The Cross in Islam

In a recent book, *La Croix dans l'Islam*, by Habib Zayat, published in Harissa, Syria we find interesting information. The well-documented brochure, which deals with the symbol of the Cross in Moslem times, is full of suggestive matter. The explanation offered by the author of the persistence of the cross on coins of the Ommayyads is that Moslems were already familiarized with the sign on Byzantine money. It is possible, however, that the sign was not regarded at this time as purely Christian. The discovery during recent excavations at Samarra of a crosslike design in some stucco decoration of a Moslem building seems to confirm this theory. The cross as magic sun symbol was in use before Christianity, and, although the word *salib* is not used, the cross is often used in curative tattooing today amongst Moslems in 'Iraq. Herzfeld, in his *Euphrat und Tigris-Gebiet*, gives an illustration of a cross on a vase which, like the most popular form of tattooed cross, has a dot in each quarter, and states that the vase is, in his opinion, pre-Christian.

### Hindu and Moslem

A very heavy responsibility rests upon the Hindu and Muslim educated leaders who permit the continuation of the fancied differences between the two groups. One of the most striking examples of this is the presence at the various Railway stations of Hindu and Muslim water vendors. These men go up and down the line of Railway carriages calling out the religious sect of the water they are distributing. A man will call out *Hindu pani*, another will call *Muslim pani*, and this simply means Hindu water and Mohammedan water.

Recently one of these vendors was asked if he was carrying Hindu water. He replied that he was and the questioner asked him how it had become Hindu water. He was asked to explain whether the water came from some different source than that which was given to the Muslims. He replied frankly that the water was all the same. It had been taken from the same water-tap or well. When he was asked to explain how it came to be Hindu water, he admitted that there was really no difference in the water, there was merely a difference in the men who distributed the water. So the popular notion that there is any difference in the water is merely a delusion. The whole thing rests entirely upon the Hindu notion of touch and pollution. If a Christian or a Mohammedan touches the vessel in which water intended for Hindus is carried, the water thereby becomes defiled and cannot be drunk by Hindus. It is the touch of man on the vessel or to the water itself that defiles it for Hindu use.

Here we have a popular Hindu notion that holds millions of people in its grip. It is absolutely disregarded by a large number of

educated Hindus and is considered more or less a joke by many more. When reference is made to this practice of having separate water vendors it generally calls forth laughter from almost any group. And yet the practice is stubbornly persisted in and so far as we know not a voice is raised against it by the educated leaders in India.

—*The Indian Witness*

### A Brief Summary of Statements by Representative Moslems regarding Religious Movements in India

While there is no widespread religious movement today which interests Moslem Youth in India, still there are many of them who are turning again to the Islamic Religion with new interest. Such an association as the Intercollegiate Brotherhood of Lahore is an encouraging sign of this among the college students, who meet for devotions on Fridays and for religious lectures and discussions on Sundays. In the Near East the Young Men's Muslim Association, (the Jamiat Shabban-ul-Muslimin, which began in Egypt) is spreading quite rapidly, but it has not yet come to India. (See Chapter in Prof. H. A. R. Gibb's book "Whither Islam?").

The *Group*, or communal spirit is strongly in evidence among youth throughout the world today and Muslim youth are also affected by it. They are not thinking in a truly international sense these days. One result of this is a profound distrust, as well as dislike, of western civilization and influence,—because of its imperialistic and dominating character.

The Ahmadiya Movement is steadily losing its hold on the allegiance of thinking Moslems in India.

The strongest religious influence among Moslems is their loyalty to and affection for the Prophet Mohammed. It is a *common* link among Moslems all over the world.

There is a tendency for Moslem students everywhere to emphasize religion as a form of social organization, rather than as a direct inner individual experience of God. In fact there is a widespread revolt among them *against* the intolerance, fanaticism, divisiveness and unsatisfactory leadership, which have hitherto largely characterized all religions including Islam.

So also there is a deep interest among them in studying Socialism and Communism, as they are keenly conscious of the need for finding a solution of the present economic and social problems, which are perplexing the whole world today; e.g., one Lahore student has seriously suggested to a professor the need of preparing a book on "Islam and Communism", similar to Dr. Stanley Jones' book on "Christ and Communism; and a big landowner in the United Provinces is writing a book entitled: "Communism *Is* Islam".

There is quite a widespread and general tendency nowadays to think and to say that "All religions are alike in their fundamentals". Also that "The different religions are simply various pathways, all of which lead to God". The result is a superficial and indiscriminating tolerance, which is not based on a real knowledge of the teachings of the history of the various religions. But it produces a sort of satisfaction, that this is a large-hearted, liberal and "scientific" attitude to take. Back of this position lies the

concept of the need of maintaining one's loyalty to the religious group into which one was born,—often for political or social reasons.

*Y. M. C. A., Lahore*

DR. WILSON M. HUME.

### Indian Outcastes

(A letter from Sayyid Ahmad Muhammad Iqbal to the Sheikh of the Azhar)

We have already referred to the movement of the outcastes of India and the intention of communities of them to change their religion. The reader will remember that the Very Reverend the Sheikh of the Azhar desired that Islam should take advantage of this movement, and consider the sending to India of delegations of 'Ulama from the Azhar to spread the doctrines of Islam. This proposal he submitted to Professor Khalid Latif Jâda and Maulvi Shaukat Ali and the Sayyid Muhammad Iqbal so that he might learn their views on the matter.

Some days ago his Reverence received a reply from the world-famous poet, Sayyid Ahmad Muhammad Iqbal, president of the Society "Anjuman for the Defence of Islam" of Lahore.

We print below the text of this reply:—

"Your Reverence: I received your esteemed letter and ask to be excused for the delay in answering it, since it involved some necessary enquiries on my part before writing. I have applied to some of the Islamic societies and some of the more important educational societies of India, and I am now in a position to reply to you on the points on which you consulted me.

"It was a noble thought of yours to propose sending an Egyptian mission to India. For Islam in India moves on with hastening footsteps. And I have no doubt that the embracing of Islam by the outcastes will be an exceptional opportunity in Indian history and one with a great influence on the future history of Islam throughout Asia. It is not only outcastes who are entering Islam; there is also a movement, even if it be slow, on the part of the higher ranks of Indian society. No doubt you read in the Indian newspapers that the son of Mahatma Gandhi has actually become a Muslim. Never a week passes but some member of the higher castes of India enters Islam in some Indian mosque.

"It is very clear to me that a great opportunity is before Islam in India. And it seems as if this opportunity is calling out hitherto undreamed of powers in the Indian Muslim community.

"As for the matter of the outcastes, there is one hindrance almost impossible to overcome, which is that the greater number of these outcastes live in the south of India and speak six different languages, none of which are really capable of expressing the highest religious thought. Hence your Reverence will understand the difficulty of finding interpreters able to pass on the message of your delegation in the language of the outcastes. So far, our Indian Islamic societies have not found a solution for this problem, and it would of course be impossible to make a success of evangelistic work except through the help of our Indian Muslim societies.

"I have taken the advice of two of the largest Islamic societies

in India, who assure me that they would do everything in their power to help such a mission from the Azhar, but this does not dispel the difficulty I have already explained.

"My opinion, then, is that the visit of an Egyptian mission to India would be beneficial to the Islamic movement in India and would quicken the activities of Muslim societies in this land, and would reveal to the higher classes the true spiritual brotherhood of Muslims, and the spread of Islam into all parts of the world. If, in spite of the difficulties which I have mentioned, you still think of sending a mission to India, I should like to make the following proposals:—

"1. The mission must consist of 'ulama who are well informed and able to set forth Islam in the light of modern ideas and modern experience. They must have information and figures showing how Islam has raised the pagans of Africa to a civilized status.

"2. It is necessary that during their stay in India and their travels in the country the mission should live in a manner which benefits the good reputation of the Muslims in Egypt.

"3. It is necessary that a secretary should be attached to the mission who would secure invitations for its work in different Muslim towns.

"4. On its return to Egypt the mission should take with it a number of young converts to Islam from the outcastes to be trained in the Azhar, and to spend sufficient time there to become really capable exponents of Islamic life and thought, thus fulfilling the saying of the converts of old, 'I was once a Kurd, now I am an Arab'. These, as you will have perceived, will be leaders in Islamic societies on their return to India, as we have seen in the case of non-Islamic societies.

"5. I consider that it would be wise before the mission leaves Egypt to get into touch with Maulvi Sayyid Ghulum Balûg, the lawyer in the city of Amyâl. He is a member of the Indian parliament and secretary of the principal Islamic society of India, and has written to me that he is willing to help the mission to the best of his ability.

"It is not necessary for me to tell you that if you do send a mission to India they will have a warm welcome from their Indian Muslim brothers. The Muslim community everywhere, as your Reverence knows, is waking up to the spiritual brotherhood which distinguishes Islam. The Muslims of India are deeply concerned to bring the outcastes into Islam and are bound by the orders of their religion so to do. Alas, the rich among them, unfortunately, for various reasons which I need not specify, care very little for the affairs of Islam."

—*Al Ahram*, Cairo, July 26, 1936.

### By Air down the Persian Gulf

One of the most picturesque of the world's flying routes is that section of the Australia service of Imperial Airways which follows the Arabian shores of the Persian Gulf. Until towards the end of 1932 the air-liners flew along the Persian side of the Gulf. Then, however, the service was transferred to the Arabian coast, flying via

Koweit, Bahrein, and Sharjah. And already the Arabs have learned to take the coming and going of air-liners just as much for granted as they do the arrival and departure of mail steamers; while divers out on the pearl-banks just glance up idly as one of the big aircraft moves swiftly above.

Koweit, a typical Arab town, lies on the edge of a shallow bay, surrounded on three sides by desert. It is governed by a Sheikh in traditional Arab fashion. He administers justice himself, dealing personally with all matters that arise. Several times the Sheikh of Koweit has been a passenger in air-liners up and down the Gulf. A journey from Koweit to Bahrein can be made in three hours by air. It takes a couple of days by steamer. On the largest of the Bahrein islands is Manama, the bazaars of which provide a picturesque spectacle. During the pearl season they are thronged with Arabs, Iranians, Indians, and Iraqis—who are either buying pearls or spending the money they have earned on the diving banks. Air-liner passengers alighting at Bahrein are soon made aware that pearl-fishing is the chief local industry, seeing that the pearl-sellers come hurrying forward to offer their wares; while in the saloons of aircraft flying up and down the Gulf pearl merchants are often seen sitting together, examining their respective collections with critical eyes.

A few hours by air from Bahrein, on what in old days was known as "the pirate coast," lies Sharjah. Nowadays, however, these shores have lost the evil reputation they once possessed. It is at Sharjah that Imperial Airways maintain a full-equipped rest-house in which—though it lies on such a remote coast-line—passengers enjoy all the amenities of a first-class hotel. This rest-house is guarded by retainers of the local Sheikh, who does everything in his power to assist the air officials, and who sometimes invites distinguished air passengers to visit him at his neighbouring fort. Here they are served with Arab sweets and coffee, and honoured by a salute of guns from some ancient cannon. Sometimes, too, for the further entertainment of such visitors, there is a thrilling exhibition of Arab horsemanship.

—*Great Britain and the East.*

## SURVEY OF PERIODICALS

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### I. GENERAL

ARABIC MAGIC BOWLS. T. Canaan. (In *The Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society*, Jerusalem. Vol. 16, nos. 2-3. pp. 79-127).

Describes the numberless varieties of "fear cups" used since early times by Arabs and also by Oriental Christians and Jews in their dabblings in black and white magic.

CONSIDÉRATIONS SUR LA COLLABORATION SCIENTIFIQUE ENTRE L'ORIENT ISLAMIQUE ET L'EUROPE. A. Zeki Validi. (In *Revue des Études Islamiques*, Paris. Cahier III, 1935. pp. 249-270).

Discusses the predominance of Germano-Russian sources in the formation of many present-day Turkish savants; the importance of French and English science in Turkey's intellectual development; and the growing force of the newly established French Institute of Istanbul.

MEN AROUND THE GAZI. Melvin Hall. (In *Asia*, New York. September, 1936. pp. 607-610).

Sketches the careers and personalities of four outstanding Turks—Tevfik Rüstü Aras, Minister for Foreign Affairs; İsmet İnönü, Prime Minister; Fevzi Çakmak, Chief of Staff; and Abdulhalik Renda, Minister of Finance.

### II. ARABIA

A PEEP INTO THE ANTIQUITIES OF ARABIA. Prof. S. Muzaffar Uddin Nadvi. (In *The Calcutta Review*, Calcutta. September, 1936. pp. 345-352).

Presents the geographical history of ancient Arabia from Biblical, Greek and Moslem sources.

UNEXPLORED REGIONS OF THE HADHRAMAUT. W. H. Ingrams. (In *The Journal of the Royal Central Asian Society*, London. July, 1936. pp. 378-412).

Gives an account of the Sei'ar country and Wadi Maseila leading from Tarim to the sea.

## III. HISTORY OF ISLAM

CONTRIBUTION À L'HISTOIRE DE L'IFRIKIYA. H. R. Idris. (In *Revue des Études Islamiques*, Paris. Cahier III, 1935. pp. 273-305).

A picture of the material and religious life at Kairouan under the Aglabites and Fatimites during the first four centuries A. H., after the Riyād En Nufūs of Abū Bakr El Mālīki.

OUR PRESENT SITUATION IN THE WORLD AND ISLAM. Sir Jalal-ud-Din Lauder-Brunton. (In *The Islamic Review*, London. July, 1936. pp. 258-262).

The idealism of Christianity, typified by present-day Europe, is too weak to stem the evil currents threatening the universe; while the lively faith of Islam practising "divine morals" is the hope of the world, in the author's opinion.

## IV. KORAN. TRADITIONS. THEOLOGY.

THE MINISTER IN ISLAM. John Kingsley Birge. (In *The International Review of Missions*, London. October, 1936. pp. 470-479).

Detailed account of Mohammedan religious education past and present.

PEACE PROGRAMME OF MOHAMMAD. Maulvi Aftab-ud-Din Ahmad. (In *The Islamic Review*, London. July, 1936. pp. 247-258).

Christianity is becoming weakened in Western civilization by the worship of scientific progress and economic well-being, while Islam, with its all-important religious foundation, is attaining a position of wide influence.

THE POEMS OF SURÂQAH B. MIRDÂS AL-BÂRIQÎ. I. M. Husain. (In *The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, London. July, 1936. pp. 475-490).

Arabic text, with introduction, of the work of an Umayyad poet who lived in the first century A. H., and was esteemed for his satirical ability and his prowess in "flytings".

## V. RELIGIOUS AND SOCIAL LIFE

LA CRISE DU CHÔMAGE EN EGYPTE ET AILLEURS. Dr. A. El Emary. (In *L'Égypte Contemporaine*, Le Caire. Mai, 1936. pp. 455-483).

Discusses the causes and remedies for unemployment throughout the world and particularizes on the situation in Egypt where the young intellectuals are most seriously affected.

EDUCATION PROBLEM OF BENGALI MUSLIMS. Rezaul Karim.

(In *The Calcutta Review*, Calcutta. August, 1936. pp. 191-196).

Criticises the Madrassah system of education for its insistence on the teaching of Arabic, Urdu, English and Persian to children and urges their instruction in Bengali, the language of the land they live in.

ISLAM'S SOLUTION OF BASIC ECONOMIC PROBLEMS. M. Hamidullah. (In *Islamic Culture*, Hyderabad. April, 1936. pp. 213-233).

In Mohammedanism, religion first touches the science of economics because one of Islam's fundamentals is the abolition of poverty by sharing and the assurance of everyone's opportunity to work for his livelihood.

"NOTRE FEMME DANS LA LOI ET DANS LA SOCIÉTÉ". Tâhir al Haddâd. (In *Revue des Études Islamiques*, Paris. Cahier III, 1935. pp. 201-230).

An analytical translation of an ultra-liberal work on the status of Moslem women, by a Tunisian.

TURKEY GOES INDUSTRIAL. Harry N. Howard. (In *Current History*, New York. October, 1936. pp. 98-104).

Traces the industrial progress made since 1929 in Turkey's planned economy, operating under an experiment in state capitalism.

## VI. POLITICAL RELATIONSHIPS

A DREAM OF UNITY STIRS THE SCATTERED ARAB PEOPLE. Claire Price. (In *The New York Times Magazine*, New York. August 9, 1936. pp. 6-7:17).

The end of each mandate is hailed as a step toward independence in all the nationalistic Moslem countries which have so long been submerged under Turkish, British and French rule.

INSTALLING THE ASSYRIANS IN THE ORONTES VALLEY. Maurice Bérard. (In *The Journal of the Royal Central Asian Society*, London. July, 1936. pp. 477-485).

Outlines a plan of the French government in Syria for the improvement of the Ghab area to render it habitable for Assyrian refugees from Irak.

## VII. PALESTINE

ENGLAND BETRAYS THE JEWS. Albert Viton. (In *The Nation*, New York. September 19, 1936. pp. 327-328).

Perhaps the somewhat inexplicable conduct of Great Britain in handling the Palestine situation is due to a plan to establish a strong military base there.

ISMAEL OU ISAAC? Marcel Lobignac. (In *Études*, Paris. 5 Août 1936. pp. 311-323).

Without attempting a solution for its baffling difficulties, the author presents the various phases of the Palestinian puzzle.

THE JEWISH POSITION IN PALESTINE. Dr. Chaim Weizman. (In *The Journal of the Royal Central Asian Society*, London. July, 1936. pp. 433-452).

The president of the English Zionist Federation strives to show the rightness of Jews and Arabs working for the common good of a country beloved by both. An animated discussion by Arabs, Jews and British government officials followed his address.

THE TRAGEDY OF THE PALESTINE MANDATE. Kenneth Williams. (In *The Fortnightly*, London. July, 1936. pp. 53-62).

The strained relations in Palestine present the most serious problem the British Empire has ever faced and unless great caution is displayed the upheaval will spread to other quarters.

ZIONISM IN PALESTINE. Sir Ernest Bennett. (In *The Nineteenth Century and After*, London. September, 1936. pp. 333-344).

The author recommends cantonisation and restriction of Jewish immigration as a temporary compromise, pending a permanent solution, of the antagonism between Jews and Arabs.

## VIII. MISSIONS TO MOHAMMEDANS

DAS CHRISTENTUM IN ÄGYPTEN. Dr. Alexander Böhlig. (In *Zeitschrift für Missionskunde und Religionswissenschaft*, Berlin, Heft 7/8, 1936. pp. 233-252).

Sketch of the Coptic church in Egypt, its literature, monasticism and traditions.

CHRISTIANITY AT THE COURTS OF AKBAR AND JAHANGIR. Ernest F. Allnutt. (In *The Indian Historical Quarterly*, Calcutta. June, 1936. pp. 294-307).

Both these rulers suffered Jesuits to preach in their domains and attended gatherings at which Hindu pundits, Persian magi, Buddhists and Jesuits disputed.

TRAINING CONVERTS. Abdul-Fady (Mr. Upson). (In *Blessed Be Egypt*, London. October, 1936. pp. 61-65).

Finds the convert's greatest needs are for protection; training in earning a living; baptism; evangelistic work; social companionship; marriage provision; and opportunities for further study.