

THE MOSLEM WORLD

VOL. XXIX

JANUARY, 1939

No. 1

ISLAM AT THE MADRAS COUNCIL

In the preparation for the meeting of the International Missionary Council at Madras the subject of Islam has been fortunate. One could hardly choose two writers more worthy to be listened to on this theme than Miss Constance E. Padwick who writes in the special number of the *International Review of Missions* and Dr. Kraemer whose treatment of this problem in his "Christian Message in a non-Christian World" is one of the most valuable aspects of a book which in the whole march of its argument is of outstanding value and significance. Miss Padwick's article, entitled "North African Reverie", is full of charm and insight and concludes with a moving appeal for patience and faith and joy in "keeping vigil over Islam". "For the motive of missions is not their successful issue but the surrender of love to God as revealed in Jesus Christ". Miss Padwick's challenge is one that cannot but find a response from a Church which, whether it be young or old, is always the Church of "the Master of the Impossible".

It is, however, to the fuller study that is to be found in Dr. Kraemer's volume that we would draw attention here. No one who reads this book can fail to be profoundly impressed by his mastery of the whole subject with which he deals. He writes with an authority which is derived from an intimate and detailed knowledge of the teaching of the great world religions. (His omission of Zoroastrianism is, however, to be noted). We know, at the same time, that his authority is at its highest when he is dealing with Islam,

and it is for that reason that we urge that everyone who is concerned with the Moslem problem should study the account that Dr. Kraemer gives of this faith and of the method of approach to it by the Christian messenger.

In his classification of the religions Dr. Kraemer groups together Christianity, Judaism and Islam as in a special sense "religions of revelation". They all belong, he holds, though in the case of Islam "in a very reduced and qualified sense", "within the periphery of Biblical realism". To express this otherwise, Islam is one of the "theocentric" religions, all others than these three being anthropocentric. But he goes on to point out that in Moslem theology "there is hardly anything that could be reasonably called anthropology" (p. 218). This is a consequence from its "hyperbolic" or "superheated" theocentricity. That is to say, a religion in which God is central and supreme, if He is central to no living souls and supreme over no kingdom of living spirit, is no religion at all. Religion means relation. As a matter of fact Islam exists and is so powerful, not as a religion in the proper sense of the term, but because it is "the symbol of group-solidarity" (p. 276). "A very pertinent way to define Islam would be to call it a mediaeval and radically religious form of that national socialism which we know at present in Europe in pseudo-religious forms" (p. 353). It is in this latter aspect that Islam has demonstrated its authority and exercised its powerful grasp of men. If we view it as a religion pure and simple we find that it approximates in its religious effects to its diametrical opposite, Vedantic Hinduism. They both, travelling in opposite directions, meet as naturalistic monism. But we cannot dispense with either a living God or a real world, if room is to be found within a religion for moral effort and spiritual attainment.

That is why it is to the mysticisms that appear within Islam that the Christian missionary is most attracted, for there he finds something that is near akin to that communion of the soul with God that is so precious to the Christian. Here Dr. Kraemer has things to say to us that

are among the most valuable in his book. His central theme is that the Christian revelation, that is, the Christian message to the world, is something unique and unparalleled, and that it must be proclaimed to men everywhere as such, as a message that must be made central to the life of man. He finds that every other religion, as a religious system, is constructed around a centre that is wholly different from the Christian revelation, and that therefore they are wholly hostile to it. That is so in the case of Islam as in the case of the others, and therefore in Islam "the real missionary problem is just this system and not the exception that is embodied in mysticism" (p. 358). Here we have something of the first importance which has to be recognized in regard to Islam and every religion. We must not avoid the real problem it presents to us. At the same time if, as he says, "the mystics have in this case removed the axis from group-solidarity to communion with God", then this provides a valuable way of approach to the individual Moslem in whom a change of axis has come about.

Dr. Kraemer has performed an invaluable service by his summons of us all to recognize the radical difference that divides the ethnic religions from "the decisive word" that God is speaking to us in Jesus Christ. He has called the Church to a religious re-orientation which, we cannot doubt, is grievously needed. We have been pursuing "wandering fires" that have led us away from the central challenge that the world's need brings to the Christian messenger. But everywhere individuals are to be found—and not least among Moslems—to whom God has spoken. Especially among the mystics of Islam may such individuals be found, men who, just because the religion of the Koran is so hostile to all mysticism, have been driven by the Spirit of God moving in their hearts to seek through these mysticisms that fellowship with God which only the word of the Cross makes fully possible for sinful man.

There remains still, however, before the Christian Church its main business of finding a way to the heart of that Islam "which is the sacred treasure of the Moslem com-

munity and the Moslem individual". Dr. Kraemer is as conscious as Miss Padwick of the qualities that this task demands. "Through all the ages Islam has been, in relation to the missionary efforts of the Christian Church, the teacher of patience". Its function has been to remind the Church that it is called in all circumstances to nothing less than "faithful and grateful witness to Christ". Of the messengers is demanded "faith, hope, love and endurance"; of the Church that stands behind them in this difficult field "prayer and loving remembrance to a degree quite different from what is practised now" (pp. 353, 355).

Edinburgh

NICOL MACNICOL.

A Pathan Convert Ordained to the Ministry

Miss M. Rasmussen, now working in Peshawar, writes:

"April 3rd, 1938, became a great day in the history of my old Danish Mission, Mardan.

"Tayab Khan, a Pathan convert from Islam, was ordained to the ministry by Bishop Sandegren, of the Swedish Lutheran Church in South India. Besides the Rev. Jens Christensen of our Danish Mission, two Anglican ministers took part in the service, which was very solemn."

The service, conducted mainly in the Pushtu language, was held in a chapel belonging to a British military division and which the Mission is allowed to use once a month. It is the first time an ordination service has been held in Pushtu, the native language of the Pathans (Mohammedans of the Northwest Frontier and border tribes) though a few Pathans have been ordained in other provinces. The candidate received a certificate, having passed examinations in Greek, Hebrew and Latin.

DR. KRAEMER ON ISLAM

The book recently published by Dr. Kraemer, at the request of the International Missionary Council, and entitled "The Christian Message in a non-Christian World",¹ contains many very valuable suggestions in regard to missionary work among Moslems. These will be found in three different chapters, commencing at pages 215, 268 and 353, and include (1) a brief description of Islam, (2) the present situation in the Islamic world, and (3) methods of approach in order to reach the Moslem. In order to emphasize the important statements made by Dr. Kraemer, they are brought together here, and briefly condensed so as to be more easily remembered.

(1) *Islam as a System of Life and Thought*

Islam is a branch from the prophetic stem of Judaism and Christianity, and is thus distinguished from the naturalistic religions; but from the outset it has had a self-consciousness quite independent from those two more ancient religions.

Notwithstanding the simplicity and brevity of the creed, the remarkable and puzzling thing about Islam is that in spite of its superficiality in regard to the most essential problems of religious life, it has an extraordinary grip upon its followers, so that they are willing to die for the tenets of their religion, even though they may be, and often are, very lax in the observance of them. (p. 216.)

The superficiality of Islam appears in the unsatisfactory way in which the crucial problems of religious and moral life are dealt with—(1) Revelation. Islam emphatically claims to be a religion of revelation, but it is the mechanical revelation of the uncreated, pre-existent and celestial Koran.

¹ Published by Harper & Brothers, New York and London, 1938. pp. 455. \$3.00; 8/6.

The foundation is not, The Word became flesh. It is, The Word became Book. (p. 217.)

(2) Islam has a purely external conception of sin and salvation, speaking in an exceedingly facile and unconvincing way about the *tabula rasa* of the human mind at birth and about God's grace. Obedience in surrender to the God of omnipotence is the core of Islam. (p. 218.)

(3) The moral problem of faith and works took in Islam the aspect of the relation between an inward and outward conformity to Islam as a community, and so lost touch with the significance of faith and works in the problem of salvation. (p. 219.)

The riddle that this shallow and superficial religion should have a grip on its adherents greater than that of any other religion, may perhaps be explained by the fact that the two great religious aims which possessed Mohammed were

(1) To proclaim Allah as omnipotent and supreme, and

(2) To found a community ruled by the law of Allah and his Apostle.

First of all then, Islam is theocentric to a hyperbolic or extravagant degree—Allah is everything, and is so exalted that there can be no fellowship between Him and man, for man is a mere slave (*abd*), who has merely to do the arbitrary will of Allah, and so man has no real place in the relation between Allah and man.

Secondly, the community established by Islam is at the same time religious, political and social, and because of this theocratic character, the religious law (*shari'a*) is absolutely central in Islam, so that Islam cannot be modernized without changing the mediaeval rules of society on which the *shari'a* is based. But a more crucial problem is that from the very beginning, in order to gain a more powerful position, Mohammed claimed that Islam is the sole power divinely entitled to rule the world, both in the religious and secular spheres. In other words, "Islam in its cradle was already a specimen of religious imperialism, which is another name for secularized theocracy." (p. 223.)

“Islam being a civilization and being also, as every religion is, an historical growth, comprises many other elements. To mention two only, it comprises a system of ethics and especially a many-colored body of mystical religion.”

As to mystical religion, Dr. Kraemer considers that “the core of Islam is thoroughly anti-mystical and unmystical”. But “the Christian populations which were Moslemized naturally took their religious propensities and tendencies with them”; the Christian emphasis, however, was on joy and adoration, whereas the Moslem emphasis was on the awe of God. Al-Ghazali gave the law (*shari'a*), dogma (*kalām*) and mysticism each its proper place in Islam; for him mysticism is religion as an affair of the heart, and by “its warm breath” gives life to the other aspects of religious life. But in spite of al-Ghazali’s “religion of the heart”, he remained bound to the mechanical Islamic conception of revelation in the immutable words of Allah in the Koran, and thus for him tradition (*naql*) is the criterion of religious life, rather than the living reality of God, and he has sanctioned the legalistic religion contained in the *shari'a*. (p. 225.)

The Present Situation in Islam

Islam is the only non-Christian religion which is now making any great advance among the “primitive” peoples. The primitive tribal religions in Africa and in the Netherlands Indies are losing their hold upon the people, and Christianity and Islam are taking their place. In these regions the spread of Islam began in the Middle Ages, when Islam came with the prestige of political power, being one of the many instances demonstrating the universal fact that political, social and cultural factors are in most cases the determining causes in large scale extensions of world religions. (p. 269.)

In the modern age the extension of Islam results from three main reasons—(1) The impact of the West is breaking down the tribal religions, and the people feel the need of a new spiritual home. (2) The self-assertive mission-

ary attitude of the Moslems wins many who are not satisfied with their own tribal religion. (3) Islam demands very slight changes in the moral or religious life of these primitive people. (p. 269.)

In order to understand the reaction of Islam to the modern situation in which it finds itself, we must keep in mind that Islam is not only a theological system, but at the same time a complete civilization in the mediaeval sense, and also an intensely political religion. Therefore the two elements which dominate the modern situation are the clash of Islam as a unified body of civilization with modern civilization, and its present political predicament. There is no inferiority complex in Islam, and so the clash with victorious Western civilization was a bitter experience, and as the political power of Islam waned, there was a double reaction—(1) the conservatives rejected European culture altogether; and (2) the liberals said that European ideas corresponded with the essence of Islam if separated from retrograde traditions, so they pleaded for reform. This was and is still in the main the attitude of many apologists of Islam. Such reform began in Turkey in 1774, after the humiliating peace treaty with Russia, and was followed by Mehemet Ali in Egypt, and led unexpectedly to westernization. (pp. 270, 271.)

Since the World War the situation has undergone a radical change—The Arabic-speaking people have recovered their political independence, and Turkey and Iran, under two strong-willed men, have become independent powers. The whole religious problem of Islam has been set on a new basis by these startling political changes, which is strong evidence of the eminently political character of Islam as a religion. The main results have been that European political supremacy has come to an end; the pressure of Western civilization is now more irresistible than ever; and in Turkey and Iran the change has been the rise of a radical nationalism and secularism. (p. 272.)

Among Moslems under foreign rule—in North Africa, India, Netherlands Indies—there are different situations;

though there are signs of modernism, the people in religious matters are more conservative than in the independent Mohammedan lands. In India nationalism is largely Hindu, and therefore Moslems put Islam before Indian nationalism. But in all lands which are under foreign rule, the Moslems identify Christian missions with the foreign rule. In public life they defend Islam as the symbol of group-solidarity. (pp. 274-6.)

Egypt, Turkey and Iran are here given special attention, because the problem of Islam in relation to the modern world is treated in different ways.

In Egypt the Wafdist party belongs to the Westernizing group, who wish to adapt the country to the modern world and are only mildly interested in Islam. The more conservative politicians have not closed their minds to European thought, but their emotional emphasis is on the restoration of Islam to its religious and cultural supremacy. Egypt has the ambition to become the center of Moslem consolidation for the whole world. (p. 276, 277.)

In Turkey Islam has been reduced from the position of dominating the life of the people to a complete subservience to a radical nationalism and secularism. The Turkish policy towards Islam is two-sided—Islam is starved in every possible way; but on account of its value as a uniting force in the secularist state, it has a distinctly privileged position. The power of Islam as a theocratic civilization has been annihilated, and so it has been forced to start its career as a religion pure and simple. (pp. 277-280.)

In Iran the religious policy has been gradual, whereas in Turkey it has been spectacular. The power of the clergy in Iran was far stronger than in Turkey, and the task of Riza Shah Pehlevi was to undermine their seemingly impregnable position. In 1925 they prevented him from making Iran a republic, yet he has succeeded to a very great extent in crushing the power of the *mujtahids* within one decade. Islam is still the State religion, a committee of *ulemas* has an official position in the legislation, and religious freedom is not guaranteed; but Islam is weakened very

much by changes in the law, the emancipation of women, etc. (p. 281.)

The Missionary Approach to Islam

The secret of the stubbornness of Islam in the face of the Christian approach is that they look upon it as an essential part of their religion to hold together as a group, somewhat in the same way that the national-socialists are now doing in Europe. (p. 353.)

In Islam's relation to Christianity there is another factor of importance, namely that at first there was a friendly attitude towards Christianity, but this changed to antagonism, and the rejection of some of our cardinal teachings was incorporated in the Koran, and therefore became part of the Moslem creed. In the face of this stubborn rigidity of Islam, it is clear that the first condition of approach must be that the missionary have faith, hope and love in an unusual degree; and the second is that the Christian church must support its ambassadors in this difficult field in a way quite different from what is practised now. (354, 355.)

To present Christian teachings about Jesus and the Holy Spirit as the enrichment of the half-truths taught in the Koran will not help to reach the hearts of men who are taken up with the idea of the solidarity of their own group. What the missionary should do is to explain patiently what those elements which have been borrowed from historical Christianity really mean according to the teachings of the Bible; and it will generally be found that the Moslem will listen attentively to a positive and restrained religious witness. The best method undoubtedly is direct personal contact with Moslems, and a study of the Bible in a spirit of human sympathy, the Moslem being treated as a fellow-man with the same fundamental needs and aspirations as one's own. (pp. 355, 356.)

To present Christianity as a set of doctrines is the most awkward way conceivable, for Islam itself is creedal and doctrinal to the core, and this method would only arouse a

controversial spirit, which would be entirely outside the sphere of religious experience. (p. 356.)

Islam in the past has always lived in contact with "the Eastern churches, which are the most appalling instances of petrified doctrinalism and ritualism". In the Eastern churches and in the Moslem world men need to be taught that doctrinalism is not the genuine aspect of religion in the highest sense. Missionaries to Moslems should "abjure all doctrinal approach, and invite the Moslem to penetrate into the living world of Biblical realism." (p. 357.)

"Biblical realism" is a term which Dr. Kraemer uses very freely throughout this book. He has written as follows: "By Biblical realism I mean that the Bible presents the witness of prophets and apostles to the sustained creative and redemptive activity of God towards mankind and the world, which activity reveals its real purpose in the person and work of Jesus Christ; the term is used in order to exclude the propensity to conceive and propound the Gospel as a body of teachings".

A missionary must himself have "a direct and vital contact with Biblical realism, and real knowledge of Moslem ways of thinking and living, and of the religious vocabulary of Islam" in order to make use of such an approach to Moslems. Until Mission Boards require such knowledge in their missionaries, appreciable results cannot be expected. (p. 357.)

An approach to Islam through mysticism has been suggested, and as Moslem and Christian eastern mysticism have much in common this is intelligible, and also among Moslem mystics many individuals may be found with whom religious intercourse is possible. Nevertheless mysticism in Islam is an alien growth, and is complicated by an admixture of heterodox elements. (pp. 357, 358.)

The similarity in the universal mystical attitude must not be explained by a similarity between the fundamental conceptions of Christianity and Islam. This is a fallacy, and would lead to confusion. (p. 360.)

Comparing the present situation with the past, it is

very difficult to say whether the prospects of the missionary to Moslems are brighter or not. In the past the work of the missionary has generally been done under the protection of great political powers, for in lands such as Turkey and Iran preaching to Moslems was forbidden and conversion meant ostracism or death. Today in politically dependent countries there is a growing irritation against foreign supremacy, and also an effort to defend Islam and attack Christianity. In politically independent lands (Turkey, Iran) though religious propaganda may be forbidden, the opportunity to witness to the Gospel is greater than ever before. The present stir in Islam has unmistakable advantages. (p. 361, 362.)

The rivalry between the quarrelling Eastern churches is a great stumbling block, and also the lack of unity between missionary agencies. There is no reason why these hindrances to more effective evangelistic work should not be removed. (p. 363.)

The production of Christian literature elucidating the essential character of Christianity is much needed for the cause of missions, and also for the benefit of humanity; but religious terms and thought forms must be properly used in such literature. (p. 364.)

The time is approaching when Christianity will have to meet Islam face to face. In Africa and the Netherlands Indies paganism is disappearing, and in the near future Christianity and Islam will be the only two religions which will occupy the field. Islam has no race problem, no long catechumenate, but has leniency to the current standard of Negro life, and to magical practices and polygamy. Christianity is more progressive and affords a moral foundation. But as there is no rule that men must choose what is best for them, the Christian churches are called upon to demonstrate real Christian unity and solidarity, and to face race problems not as Europeans, but as Christians, who represent that all men have an equal place in Christ, irrespective of race. (pp. 364, 365.)

Hartford, Conn. Condensed by W. G. SHELLABEAR.

A PHILOSOPHY OF MISSIONS FOR NORTH AFRICA

The title of this article may be misleading; it will be wise therefore to make some specifications.

The term philosophy is used to express fundamental goals and principles of action, as distinguished from the detailed mapping out of projects. Some suggestions as to projects may be made at the end of the article, without any attempt at reducing them to details.

By North Africa we mean French North Africa, Algeria, Tunis and Morocco, with special emphasis on the first two.

This statement is written from a personal standpoint. It is well understood that in any undertaking of such vital importance as a Christian missionary enterprise, wherein so many human problems and personalities are involved, no statement of basic principle can be definitive, unless it represents a pooling of many opinions and points of view, and must even then be elastic enough to adapt itself to particular circumstances. Nevertheless the necessity of formulating such a philosophy cannot be over-emphasized. The meaning of the old adage, describing one who is lost in the woods as unable to see them for the trees, was never more clearly illustrated than in missionary work. The daily details and routine tasks often loom so large as to obscure the larger purposes and hide the goal. A basic philosophy is a veritable lodestar, in relation to which one may re-orient oneself. Needless to say it should ever be a guide, never an unbending and relentless master.

For the field in question, this seems to be a propitious time to formulate basic ideas and fundamental principles upon which the detailed structure of individual projects may be erected. The only Church Board at work in this

area has for nearly three decades been directed by a very definite philosophy. Faced by a great reduction in personnel and funds, and in the light of changing scenes in Moslem lands, it has deemed it wise to revise some of its policies. It is now hopefully looking forward to a period of renewed expansion. At such a time it is essential that it be guided by a carefully formulated philosophy.

As one vitally interested in this field, although at present occupying a position on the side lines, I would like to attempt a statement of basic philosophy. It is to be hoped that others will do the same.

There are several successive steps in the formulation of a philosophy in relation to any given project: gathering of facts, analysis of facts and their implications, formulation of basic principles of action in the light of those facts.

In this particular case, the first step involves a survey of the field, its population groups, their respective stages of development, the prevalent trends of thought and the organized movements which suggest the direction in which the country is moving.

We should first recognize that North Africa cannot be studied as an isolated unit. It must be considered as an integral part of the world of Islam and especially of the Arabic-speaking world. In his chapter on North Africa in "Whither Islam?", M. Massignon has made some very accurate observations as to the shift in axis of population movements from the East and West plane to the North and South and the consequent influx of ideas from France into North Africa. I venture to say, however, that his final conclusion is too sweeping and absolute, namely that North Africa, in the future, will be influenced more and more by Paris and less by its eastern neighbors. My observations would indicate that the influence of the rest of the Moslem world, and notably of Egypt, is in the ascendant rather than on the decline. Political disturbances which have occurred within the last five years in Tunis and Algeria—in the latter after decades of comparative quiescence—the waves of indignation or sympathy which are aroused by

events affecting other Moslem populations in Tripoli, Syria, Palestine or Egypt; the avidity with which the Tunisian and Algerian literati read the newspapers and other publications which come from Egypt; all these are symptomatic of a feeling of solidarity with the rest of the Moslem world, a solidarity which has always existed, although dormant at times, and is now being forcibly revived. Even in the most westernized types, under the outward varnish of French customs and thought molds, the heart of the North African Moslem beats in unison with that of his coreligionist, who is heir to the same socio-religious culture as himself.

Having duly noted this close relation with the Moslem world as a whole, we dare not minimize the distinctive features which set North Africa off as a problem in itself, especially from the missionary standpoint.

For over a hundred years Algeria has been under complete French control. Tunis has been virtually governed by France for more than fifty years. This means that these countries have lived under non-Moslem jurisdiction for a longer time than any of their sister countries, and have constantly felt the impact of active penetration by western ideas.

Strangely enough—and this is a fact worthy of note—despite this influence, they are less progressive socially than are some of their neighbors to the east, who have not been under western tutelage for so long a time.

In view of missionary strategy in other countries, it is important to remember that Christianity disappeared entirely from the North African scene after the Moslem conquest. It is one of the few distinctly Moslem areas without Christian minorities. As we shall see, this has a definite bearing on missionary policy. The predominant form of Christianity which the present-day Moslem sees in North Africa is Roman Catholicism, and, above all, it is the religion of the conqueror who has held his country for generations.

Broadly speaking, there are two racial groups in North Africa, the Berbers and the Arabs. The Berbers are

aboriginal tribes of mixed racial descent showing Hamitic and Nordic characteristics in greater or less proportions. Some of the tribes, notably the Riffs in Morocco, the Kabyles and Beni M'zab in Algeria, have kept their Berber dialects, with Arabic admixtures, especially in the religious and legal vocabularies. The rest of the Berbers are completely Arabic-speaking. The Berber languages have not been reduced to writing; there is therefore no literature. When removed from his distinctly indigenous life and atmosphere, the Berber seems to be capable of rapid assimilation. This may partly explain his adoption of Arabic in the plains, his renunciation of Christianity for Islam after the conquest, his present tendency to adopt French culture. It is to be noted, however, that only after prolonged separation from his ancestral social setting does he make this newly acquired culture his very own. Kabyles, after years spent in the cities of Algeria and France, on their return to their mountain villages readily shed all these new acquisitions, to smother themselves once again in the social habits of their race.

Although there is no purely Arab population—except, perhaps, among some of the nomadic tribes—there is a population in which Arab blood, culture and traditions predominate. I have known several aristocratic families who trace their lineage back to the founders of the advanced and flourishing civilization of Andalusia. They are descendants of the first invaders, who were men of superior learning, of good family and high culture. These are numerous in and around Tunis and also in the cities of Morocco such as Fez and Tetuan. They are naturally proud of this heritage and are conservatively inclined; they are much more impervious to assimilation than the Berbers. Heirs to a literature of amazing wealth and a remarkable history, they are much less inclined to adopt in full the Western customs and methods introduced by the French. Intellectually keen, they take full advantage of every opportunity for learning, and will, therefore, flock to French schools both in North Africa and France, but they never seem to lose their

identity or allow their traditional heritage to be completely obliterated. In religious matters, they are less likely to abandon the faith of their fathers than to use newly acquired scientific knowledge and methods to revise, reform or develop their religion along new lines, more adapted to modern days. Rather than adopt *in toto* the social habits of the West, they will adapt their own social habits to the demands of a so-called enlightened age, preserving for them, despite great changes, something of the flavor of their past culture.

In addition to these literati and the Arabic-speaking Berbers mentioned above there are two other Arabic-speaking groups: the nomadic Bedawi, and the great mass of sedentary and all but illiterate Arabs to be found in the villages and among the poorer classes in the cities.

The country Arab or Berber is essentially an agriculturist. For the most part desperately poor, he is unable to compete, even in the local market, with his prosperous neighbor the big French farmer, who uses all the modern methods. Intellectually, socially and religiously he is under the sway of the village Shaikh and his entourage, composed of the *qadi* and *mufti* and a few other literati, trained in the higher schools, notably in the Djama' Zeituna in Tunis. The peasant rarely thinks for himself; he will submit any subject or problem of an intellectual or religious nature to these leaders and will invariably accept their decisions. This strict authoritarian socio-religious system is only just now, and only in a very few places, being undermined by the authority of the schoolmaster in the French school, who may or may not be a native, but who invariably has been trained in the French normal schools. This new authority rarely functions in the realm of religion, unless it is by implication, and then, in most cases, in the direction of scepticism or out and out atheism.

We have dealt very briefly with the organic divisions of the population. For a more complete picture we must consider more recent groupings of a functional or ideal nature, which, at times, cut across the natural divisions.

There are two distinct groups of educated Moslems: those who are educated according to the best Moslem tradition in the classical curriculum of the mosque and university, and those who have followed the scientific curriculum of the French secondary schools and universities.

The former are not all conservative and fanatical. There is, no doubt, the doctrinarian and dogmatic group, whose outlook is legalistic and hide-bound, represented largely by the older shaikhs, teachers in the Koranic schools, professors at the Djama' Zeituna, and some of the older graduates of this university, scattered throughout North Africa. But there is a growing circle of younger men, lawyers, newspaper editors and teachers, who are progressive in outlook. The outstanding products of this class are, in my opinion, the finest group of men that we have to deal with. Progressive but cautious, they are anxious to preserve the real values of their former culture while liberating it from the hampering shackles of a rigid legalism, and an outmoded social organization. Among them are to be found the leading advocates of emancipation for women. Their plans in this direction are sane and sensible, free from the very real dangers presented by the more hasty, impulsive policies of some of their contemporaries, educated in French schools. Men of this class have a dignity of bearing and a poise which mark them as having their roots grounded deep in the finer things of life. They show none of the feverish nervosity of the "déclassés" as many of the French-trained youth are called. Among them are individuals with deeply spiritual inclinations, with minds set free from the iron mould of legalism, yet not given to the hypersensitive emotionalism of the ecstatic mystics. I am convinced that the hope for the future of the country is with men such as these.

The younger generation of students trained in French schools presents a peculiar problem. For generations the North African populations have accepted with more or less apathy the jurisdiction of a foreign government, and

have been exposed to the cautious but definite effort of France to absorb them. Now, however, out of the East and the greater world of Islam come rumors of a great renaissance of Arab culture, coupled with a strong movement toward self-determination. If it is to succeed, this movement must compete intellectually and practically with the West on its own grounds. The forward-looking youth of North Africa is anxious to have his share in this movement. If he is to do so, he must acquire knowledge and techniques of a more scientific nature than those offered by his own schools. Moreover, it is a matter of pride for him to make good in competition with French boys in the regular curriculum of the French secondary school and university. In many cases he has done so at the price of tremendous effort.

The majority of these young students have been reared in homes where the social and intellectual outlook is medieval, not to say primitive. In their studies they are suddenly carried into a realm so far removed from the natural atmosphere of their homes and social culture that they are inevitably thrown into severe inner conflicts of ideas and loyalties. They live two lives. In school they find themselves in an atmosphere of scientific quest, they read and sometimes memorize (in true oriental fashion) text books on physics, chemistry and philosophy, which take for granted a world totally unheard of and unthought of in the society from which they come. They return home to find themselves immersed once again in ideologies and customs that have hardly changed since the middle ages. Fiercely nationalistic (in a sense that only a Moslem can understand or experience) the young student, while absorbing this new knowledge, is always on the defensive, lest in this non-Moslem environment his deep inward mentality, his religious and cultural loyalties be in some way weakened or impaired. The conflict is intensified by the fact that the mental habits of his race lead him to recite rather than reason; although he may succeed with a certain degree of brilliance in his studies, when it comes to the practical

application of this knowledge to life he is too often deficient. When he enters into competition with Europeans in the struggle for life, position and employment he is usually thwarted, partly because of this incompetency and partly because of preferential treatment given to his competitors. He lives in two worlds and belongs in neither; to a degree he has forfeited his sheltered position in his traditional setting, and has not yet found his place in the active, individualistic, free-for-all competition of the modern world.

This lack of security has undermined his moral stamina. From early childhood he is guided in his conduct by social control and religious prescriptions. He has not, except in a few rare cases, been taught self-control. In his unstable state of conflict he tends to throw over what moral sanctions his religion offered, with the result that there is a general lowering of the moral tone of his life. Indulgence in excesses of drinking and drug-taking is common among this class. One cannot span several centuries in one brief life-time without doing oneself real injury. Perhaps the most tragic phenomenon is the prevalence of nervous disorders and mental diseases among young men of this type. The leading psychiatrist in the city of Tunis ascribes the tremendous increase of mental cases in this particular group to the tension created in their minds by these two irreconcilable worlds in which they live, and from which there is no escape.

If these young people have any real loyalty to Islam, it is the expression of a defense mechanism, rather than a spiritual experience. They will defend it vociferously and violently whenever it is menaced or criticized, but they are totally unable to give a positive statement of their faith. Islam is identified with their budding nationalistic aspirations, and their sense of solidarity with that particular social body and culture which have been fostered by Islam.

A factor of great social significance is to be found in the forthcoming rise of an emancipated and increasingly educated womanhood. If conducted by cautious, sensible

leaders, and if it comes gradually, it will be a stabilizing factor. It will provide the modern emancipated man with a social unit that is really a home, and make possible a home atmosphere more in keeping with his newly acquired knowledge. If it comes too suddenly it may be disastrous, for it will only accentuate the present state of tension.

In the religious realm we must make note of an element whose significance cannot be overestimated. The particular philosophy and world view of Sufism, the enthusiasm and emotionalism of the *dhikr*, as practiced in the gatherings of the mystical brotherhoods, found a fertile soil in North Africa. The mystical orders have flourished; their influence spreads to all classes of society; their ascendancy over the masses is so great that the French government has found it wise to bestow favors and distinctions on the leaders in order to insure their loyalty, and thus the spread of friendly feelings toward France. This policy, let it be noted in passing, is not quite effective; some of the brotherhoods are still hot-beds of fanaticism and dissatisfaction.

The orders vary greatly in the nature of their *dhikr*, some falling into orgies of ecstatic emotionalism and self-hypnotism, and some partaking of the nature of corporate meditation, stimulated by liturgical chanting. The tremendous extension of these associations is an evidence of a deep-seated need among North Africans for a more spiritual and emotional religion than that offered by the mosque and the formal legalistic Islam of present-day orthodoxy.

Briefly, what are some of the implications for missionary work of the facts brought out in this analysis?

It should be said at the outset that I consider the changes in policy suggested in the following paragraphs as changes in method. The fundamental purpose and message, as well as the motivation of Christian missions have not changed.

It is quite evident that a broad missionary policy, to be adequate, must be multiform; it must adapt itself to the various groups, each with its own particular needs and prejudices. It stands to reason that one cannot approach

the Berber of Kabylia as one would the Tunisian intelligentsia; nor can one use the same methods to reach the student of the Djama' Zaituna and a graduate of the University of Algiers or Paris.

The dual orientation of North Africa, toward Paris and toward the East, complicates the question of missionary equipment. It is incumbent on a missionary to have an acceptable knowledge of French language and literature, some familiarity with the curriculum of French schools, primary, secondary and University, and some acquaintance with French institutions.

On the other hand, he should know the spoken dialects of the area in which he works, either Berber or Arabic. If he is working in Arab territory, and especially if he is dealing with the educated classes, he should also have a good reading knowledge of classical Arabic, some acquaintance with the classics of Arabic literature, especially in the fields of theology, philosophy and mysticism. He should make a point of studying the current trends and movements of the Moslem world at large. Active participation in missionary work should be preceded by at least two years of study in a mission school and in some important center like Cairo, where he can steep himself in the lore and ideologies of the Arabic-speaking world. This equipment can only be secured by consistent habits of study throughout his active ministry in Moslem lands.

The question of the relation of missions to government is a delicate one. France depends greatly on its North African territories. On the whole, her policies have been tolerant and liberal, but they partake of the defects and abuses of any colonial and imperialistic policy. While fully appreciating what France has done for North Africa, it is hard, at the present juncture, not to sympathize with the political aspirations of the native populations. Any evidence of bias either way, however, is disastrous. Disturbed by the ambitions of fascist dictators, as formerly by the propaganda of communist agents, the government is not in a mood to tolerate any show of sympathy with native national-

ism, on the part of missionaries from foreign lands. On the other hand, to show bias in favor of France will only add to the disrepute in which many Christian missionaries are held in all Moslem lands. To maintain a neutral position is the ideal. Is it possible?

Certain specific regulations imposed by French law affect the scope of activity for an organization which draws its personnel from other lands.

For the protection of her own educational system and medical profession France has established certain laws requiring French training and diplomas from secondary school up, for any who would teach or practice medicine in French territory. These regulations have curtailed those two stalwart methods of Christian missionary expression, educational and medical missions.

The lack of indigenous Christian churches precludes any approach to the evangelization of the Moslems through the agency of revitalized churches which are essentially native. It is to be noted that in the Jerusalem report, as well as the statements of various Boards at work in Moslem lands, the approach through indigenous churches is taken for granted as a fundamental one; the hope is widely expressed that indigenous Christian communities would provide a social home for converts from Islam. Whether this hope has as yet been realized in such countries as Egypt, I am not competent to say, but the fact remains that native Christian communities have been considered an asset. It is reasonable to expect that those Churches and communities will in some way create for the convert from Islam a social setting where he will be received with love and brotherhood. Lacking this expectation, how can a mission hope to replace in the experience of a convert that strong sense of security and support which he has known within the brotherhood of Islam?

Anyone who knows the deep-rooted aversion the average Moslem has toward Christianity and the hatred and contempt which he feels for Christians generally must realize what a tremendous emotional upheaval necessarily

takes place in a Moslem when he becomes a Christian. In addition to this inner disturbance, the social pressure brought to bear on him is almost inconceivable. 'Only a very independent and very strong nature can satisfactorily withstand it, and then only if he has persistent and loving backing from Christian friends. Were this pressure to express itself openly in physical persecution it might be more easily borne, but it attacks the convert subtly at two vital points: in the realm of his affections, because the members of his family, out of self-defense, are usually the most bitter in their reviling and persecution; and economically, for he is systematically cut off from any means of livelihood. For the typical Moslem of a city like Tunis, for example, who has always experienced the sustaining power of a closely knit society, to be suddenly thrown out, to find himself isolated, execrated, systematically ignored and persecuted by the same society, is in itself a psychological experience of shattering significance. In compensation for this, what has he found socially? Sympathy? Yes; in a few rare instances, real understanding, but almost never a social home, a sense of belonging, the at-homeness and at-oneness which he has formerly experienced in the "Brotherhood of the Faith". The Christian community is almost exclusively made up of foreigners, whose ways of thinking, temperament and habits are so fundamentally different that despite loving efforts at brotherliness, no vital bond of fellowship has been established.

Deprived of means of livelihood within their community, the converts turn to the mission expecting employment. The desire to build up a native leadership encourages the mission to give them employment within its own home work. They become helpers, bible men and women, evangelists and pastors. They are expected to show qualities in keeping with these positions. When they prove unable to live up to these standards, sympathy all too soon gives way to criticism, understanding to misunderstanding, and the convert, having voluntarily relinquished the comparative security of his former social surroundings, too frequently

finds himself the object of mistrust, suspicion and blame on the part of those in whom he may have expected to find real brothers. In more than one case of which I have known personally, highly sensitive youths have broken nervously, mentally and morally under the strain. The psychiatrists mentioned above, when consulted, could only suggest politely, but none the less firmly, that conflicts of an emotional, religious or social nature were no doubt responsible for these mental collapses.

It must be constantly borne in mind by us that we are not dealing with the individualistic mentality of the West. The lives we are touching have been cradled too long in an organic society in which the individual has been submerged. They cannot achieve overnight the initiative, courage and independence which we might expect of a westerner. It is worthy of note in this connection that those who are the most apt to be drawn toward Christianity are the sensitive natures, delicately strung emotionally and morally. If we are to face facts realistically and in absolute sincerity, we must know that we are handling an extremely delicate and complex problem, when we actively push an evangelistic program that aims at the conversion of individuals, their baptism and incorporation into a separatist Christian Church.

In this present period of transition, where minds are restless and disturbed by conflicting ideas, the policy of a Christian mission should be to promote projects and assume attitudes which will help stabilize people intellectually, emotionally and spiritually, rather than add to their present instability. Although we may be convinced that ultimately a growing awareness of and response to the fundamental spiritual claims of Jesus Christ may be the greatest stabilizing factor these peoples can know, it would seem unwise, at this stage of mental and social development to promote these by direct and increasing efforts to build a Christian Church.

These people are on the eve of a great awakening. After generations of comparative apathy, wherein they

were willing to bear the yoke and pervading influence of a non-Moslem people in a true fatalistic manner, they are awakening to the realization that they are about to lose their identity as a Moslem people which has worthy historical antecedents. Looking to the East, they see sister nations achieving a national life of their own, experiencing a renaissance of culture and religion. They are all the more humiliated and incensed at their own subjugation and lack of importance. It is no wonder that they are bristling with defense mechanisms. Even apart from the danger of persecution which has always existed and has, at times, assumed the form of refined torture, there seem to be, today, other deterrents to an acceptance of Christianity. However much he may be drawn to it as a spiritual way, the young North African Moslem of intelligence and sensitiveness is kept from declaring it by a conflict of inner loyalties. To be a Christian, he must cut himself off from his cultural heritage, which has but recently taken on a new meaning for him. He must become a traitor to his people in their just struggle for self-determination, since Christianity is identified in their minds with the foreigner and ruling people.

Having expressed myself as strongly as I have, let me retract a little. These statements spring from my experience with Arabs and especially Tunisian Arabs. They may not apply to the same extent to the Berbers. Social customs and solidarity are strong among the Berbers. A convert is exposed to severe persecution, but the condemnation which he experiences is not the solid, massed condemnation of a whole society on the defensive. The Berber has not always been a Moslem. There were Christian Berbers in large numbers before the Moslems came. To the Arab, Islam represents not only his religion, but his history. His emergence as a united people originated with the birth of Islam. That history was forged by the fervent blows and conquering thrusts of hardy and fanatical peoples, burning with a sense of mission and filled with the conviction that their faith and culture were of universal significance. The

pure Berber has no share in this history. It means little if anything to him. For some centuries he has been partially identified with it, although still retaining his tribal habits and characteristics. The claims of the West as represented by France, and those of Christianity, may very well supplant those of Islam. If this is true, direct evangelization among Berbers may be more readily engaged in and may bring early results. Even here, however, it should never promote a separatist movement. If a Berber cannot be an effective Christian in his mountain village and still maintain his rightful place within the life of that village, I question the wisdom and value of his becoming a member of a Christian church. There have been some outstanding examples where this has been accomplished, which leads to the hope that a Christian Church may before very long spring up again among the North African Berbers.

A study of the way in which movements of any importance take place in a Moslem community will reveal that they brew for a long time under cover and then break out openly as the expression of a communal rather than an individualistic growth. I am convinced that if there is ever to be a Christian Church of any significance among North African Arabs it will spring up in this way. It would be an economy of time, effort and personality for successive generations of missionaries to live in the midst of these people, identifying themselves with all their finer aspirations, sharing in their struggles and living with them through the stress and strain of a renaissance, offering advice and help of a practical nature in the reorganization and rehabilitation of their social structure, without any aggressive effort at evangelization, but through it all radiating the spirit of consecrated and sacrificial Christian living. The missionary would be set free for a greater spontaneity of service and natural expression of brotherhood were he always to look upon his Moslem acquaintances as men, and not as potential Christians or rather prospective members of a Christian church. I covet for every man the supreme spiritual experience of communion with God

in Christ, but I do not necessarily covet for him the label of "Christian" or membership in a Christian church as we think of it. It makes a tremendous psychological difference in my approach to a man whether I regard him as fellow-man and son of God, or as a prospective convert to my way of thinking and living.

To reduce these ideas to more precise terms let me suggest briefly some principles of action.

We have already spoken of the equipment of missionaries. The primary object of missionary activity is to promote the spiritual and material welfare of the individual within his social contacts. A comprehensive social program should be developed, including rural reconstruction along practical lines in the villages and the small towns around which radiate thousands of villages. In large cities, social and cultural centers might be established which would provide recreational and educational facilities similar to those of a Y. M. C. A. From these centers should proceed an intensive program of social rehabilitation, involving a careful study of the origins of prevalent vices which are undermining the health and morals of youth, and coordinated plans for their eradication. One of the main efforts of these foundations would be to preserve and promote the finest forms of native handicraft and cultural expressions, such as the collection and transcription of old Andalusian tunes, as well as samples of typical North African illumination of texts and manuscripts. Attempts could be made to relate this local culture to the total world culture. Scientific research could be done jointly by Moslem and Christian into the interrelation of Moslem and Christian civilization and ideas. Nothing could be more effective in breaking down barriers of mistrust and hatred than fearless research into this interweaving of two cultures, facing of facts together and recognition of the achievements and failures of each.

The study of an experimentation in cooperatives would be of immense value.

For the sake of the group educated in French schools, attempts could be made through sympathetic and carefully

planned lectures to bridge the gap between the traditional concepts and the data of modern science.

Organized athletics and team games have been already actively promoted with very good results.

The hostels, which are an important part of the present plan, should be developed, and supplemented by hostels for older boys and girls. I believe they would gain in effectiveness if they were not considered primarily as feeding units for Church membership but as centers of character formation destined to radiate their influence in the community at large.

The more distinctly religious approach should be fostered among two of the groups mentioned: the progressive spiritually minded literati, trained in Moslem schools, and the more advanced and thoughtful mystics.

As an approach to the first I would favor some organization on the order of an *ashram*, where for periods of several weeks one could bring together into intimate fellowship a picked group of men, who would work, read and meditate together, and share in utter frankness their religious experience. I have tried such a thing on a small scale with real profit to myself and one or two friends. At such times the greatest passages of Scripture of the Old and New Testaments and the Koran could be read and meditated on in common. In such gatherings the only conditions laid down would be a call for absolute sincerity, frankness and good will with no attempt at argumentation and debate. Not in any case should the Christian missionary urge or expect any commitments on the part of his Moslem friends.

A good start has already been made in the study of the philosophical and devotional literature of the Sufi sects. This work should be carried on actively in an effort to discover what are the dynamic elements behind these organizations which affect so profoundly the life of the masses. The mystical literature is not intolerant of Christian ideas. It emphasizes the spiritual as over against the formal and legalistic. A Christian missionary would

find instant response among those who are versed in Sufi lore, if he were to consecrate an evening a week to responsive reading of beautiful pages from the devotional literature of the Christian mystics along with the best devotional passages from Moslem mystics—and there are some of rare power and beauty. If intermixed with the readings he could use devotional chants of an antiphonal nature, he would approach, in his service of worship, the more controlled forms of *dhikr* which are observed in the fraternities. By this method some of the distinctive ideas and precepts of our faith would gradually penetrate into the consciousness of the mystic, preparing the soil for a more complete understanding of the central message of Christianity.

The moderate Sufi brotherhood might be a suggestive model for the Christian Church of the future rather than the formal activistic, mechanized forms of our own western churches.

The importance of literary projects cannot be minimized. The production of cultural literature and books dealing with social questions is of extreme value, if produced in editions cheap enough to be available to all. A careful study of the use of the newspapers for the spread of ideas is warranted by successful experimentation along this line in Syria and Egypt.

This program would not bring tangible results for a generation or more. I am convinced, however, that it would lay the foundation of a strong, spontaneous movement toward Christianity.

Hartford, Connecticut

HAROLD BOYT SMITH.

CHRISTIANITY AND THE ARABIC MIND

I recall that at the end of the World War one of the relief organizations in Syria received a great consignment of clothes and shoes to be given to the naked and the needy. A few days after that shipment had arrived, the entire section of the town took on a most gruesome aspect. One could see people walking in the streets, but was impressed by the fact that they were not altogether themselves. There was something borrowed, something alien, something incongruous and grotesque about their appearance.

It did not take long before this exterior environmental factor began to express itself in their character. Persons who had been known for their integrity and praiseworthy behavior, began to show signs of dishonest and questionable trends. Individuals who had been characterized by their unselfishness and self-sacrifice, became greedy and self-centered. The tragedy of the whole situation centered in two factors: the people were being given something for nothing, and they were wearing things that had not been designed by them, but by others, and for other people than their ultimate recipients.

I have recently concluded a tour of the different ecclesiastical communities in Syria and Palestine. I have visited churches, interviewed church-going people and attended religious meetings. I am struck with amazement at the similarity between the demoralized state of the beneficiaries of the relief, and the devastated Christian communities in these lands. The Christian churches and the Christian theology which prevail in our Arabic world are completely alien and strange to the Arabic genius. These were imposed upon the Arabic world from without, and have been designed for other than the Arabic mentality.

From the day that St. Paul reached the great decision to turn west to spread his message, Christianity itself has turned west, and the Arabic East has never had a chance to see it face to face. Those forms of Christianity which prevail in the Arabic world come to us in the garb of Greek, or Latin, or Syriac, or English, or German. They are the echoes of Greek and Latin and Germanic thoughts, but never can we trace in them a mere whisper of an Arabic note.

It has often puzzled Christian scholars to find out why Christianity took no root in the Arabic countries. It has been a constant problem for people to explain the meteoric spread of Mohammedanism in the seventh century among the Arabs, when Arabia seemed to have been soaked with Christian communities. This wide problem will cease to puzzle us when we realize that in the days of Mohammed and many centuries after, there was not to be found in all the Arabic world an adequate translation of the Bible. The first dependable Arabic translation appeared less than a century ago, and even that was made by an American! It is when we realize this that we begin to understand the stupendous implications of Mohammed's "Book in Arabic."

Christianity as we have it today is the outcome of tremendous suffering; it is the daughter of gigantic mental efforts; it is a fruit of years of struggle and thousands of saints and martyrs. This most valuable achievement of the human race and particularly of western genius was offered free of charge to the Arabic world. Now it is in the nature of the Arab to be suspicious of anything that is given freely. He is lavish when he gives, but very suspicious of anything when he receives. He has not been trained to expect or to accept free gifts. Nature itself has been extremely stingy with him. To acquire anything has meant for him sacrifice, suffering, struggle and often death. Anything of value, whether material or intellectual or social or spiritual, to the Arab, must be extremely costly. To offer him anything freely is to invite his suspicions.

Christianity fought its glorious battles in the West.

Christian victories have been paid for very dearly and very nobly. But when Christianity was given to the Arab, it was not required that he should offer all that he had to own that precious pearl. By the time Christ reached the Arabs, He had become a mere movement, rather than a Master. Christianity was destined to live side by side with the Arabs, but never to touch their life. They suspected it, avoided it, and scorned it.

The Christian message in its essence is simple, but the very genius of it is that it is creative. It comes directly from the Creator, and as such gives him who accepts it the power of creation. To dogmatize it and stereotype it is to render it sterile and ineffective. This is to doubt its power and curb its force.

Although Christianity in its essence is one, yet the forms that it creates are infinite. Man in his finite nature has overlooked this very important phenomenon. He has tried to chain Christianity down to some limited forms. He was never content with presenting the message in its simple, life-giving form, leaving it free to create its own self in accordance with its infinite possibilities.

The outcome of this is that the Arabic world is dotted with Christian incongruities. It is extremely ridiculous, even disgusting, when one drops into the various churches to see how, throughout the centuries, the churches in the Arabic lands have insisted that Christianity ought to be not a way of life, but a Greek dress, or a Roman ornament, or an Anglo-Saxon garb. Services have stubbornly refused to Arabicize themselves. Even the Protestant ones speak in Arabic, but think and sing in Anglo-Saxon.

These dresses, magnificent as they are, and glorious as they may appear to be, do not appeal to the Arab. The Arab demands a simple, unassuming robe. He desires that he should make it himself. He does not mind if it is coarse or shabby. He demands that this dress should serve him for all the circumstances and occasions of life. He does not have the necessary facilities to carry around more than one article of attire at the same time. His dignity and

his pride are within him. He shuns forms and hates, in particular, anything that is not done primarily for himself.

I fail to find one form of Christianity which is the product of Arab genius. In fact, Christianity has never had the ghost of a chance to pass through the Arabic mind. The Arab has never been challenged to think Christianity out. He has been supplicated to wear Christianity. Those who have made the attempt have always been out of touch with their society and their own people. They have become outcasts rather than heroes.

Protestantism could have solved both these problems. Had the apostles of Protestantism been far-sighted and broad-minded, they probably could have set aright the greatest blunder in the history of the Near East. They could have made Christianity for the Arabs that costly challenge which it ought to be, and they could have sown the seed, and left the task to the Holy Spirit to do the work. But even they fell short.

To be a Protestant, has come to mean to the overwhelming majority of the Arabic peoples, to have a chance to settle down in some comfortable job and secure adequate education for one's children. To be a Protestant, is to receive favors and protection. No moving of the heart is necessary, no sacrifice is involved. Protestantism seems to say, "Follow me and get a job," and not "Follow Christ and suffer."

I know that this is putting the case a little harshly, but it is the truth, and the truth often hurts. The missionaries are over-anxious for numbers. Very often they have been unscrupulous in getting those numbers. Perhaps the home base demanded that, but this is hardly an excuse.

Furthermore, one is inclined to feel that the total harm done by Protestant missionaries, outside the field of education and medical work, far exceeds the benefit. This was especially true at the beginning of their work. The coming of the missionaries to the Arabic countries, happens to coincide with an Arabic Renaissance. The nineteenth century ushered in a period when the Arabs began to think

out their own destiny. The missionaries, instead of trying to help the existing Christian communities to work out their own destinies, helped to withdraw from within these flocks those progressive elements that might have taken up that task. They picked out from the Christian communities their most promising individuals and "made them over" into Protestants. They increased the problem rather than solved it. We find all over the land at the present time spineless communities that live under foreign religious mandates and think anything but Arabic thoughts. These are the Protestants of the Arabic world. This is the child of the church-building efforts of a century of missionary endeavor. They have deprived the land of a possible religious Reformation and have given it a wardrobe of foreign dresses.

What is the solution? This may be the next logical and legitimate question. The answer may have become clear to the reader. I feel that the only way out is through the establishment of a native community to be known as the Arabic Christian Church. This is a mere name. But it is much more than that. It indicates a great determination and strikes at the root of the trouble.

The word Arabic will take away all the suspicion and fear that we have of anything which is of foreign production. Arabic means that the simple and original Christian message is to pass through the Arabic mind and form its own theology and draw its own implications. Arabic means a virgin ground of thought, altogether free from the dust of the ages. Arabic means a fresh view and a modern interpretation. Arabic means toil, and suffering and struggle. Arabic means a new call to apostleship and to martyrdom.

The Church is to be a Christian one, not Roman, or Syriac, or Greek, or English. It may benefit by the experiences of these, but it is much bigger than any of them. It is Arabic, but not by any means limited to the Arabic genius. It is infinite and universal. It is just one manifestation of the infinite forms that Christianity chooses

to take in many lands. It is Christian in that it recognizes the one and only headship of Christ as Lord and Master. It is not episcopalian, or papal, or patriarchal, or Anglican, but *Christian*, and is able to have communion and fellowship with any Christian community in any part of the universe.

It is a church. Its members are called out. They are going on a mission for which they are selected. They do not happen to be born into a community. They are conscious of the fact that they are in the community but not of the community. They have been called out for a divine mission, and life has no meaning outside that mission. The word *church* no more indicates an organization, but a determination and a life.

Christianity has taken no root in the life and society of the Arabic World. This is due to the fact that Christianity has been presented to the Arabs free of its central thought of the Cross, and because it came disguised by foreign attire. The chief and only way out of this situation is through the establishment of an Arabic Christian Church.

*American University of Beirut,
Beirut, Lebanon.*

MOUNIR R. SA'ADAH.

MUHAMMADAN TEACHING ABOUT JESUS *

A single paper cannot do justice to such a comprehensive title, but it is possible to indicate the main points, so I shall attempt to do this without treating any one part of the subject in detail. The paper deals first with the references to Jesus in the Qur'ān, as this is the natural starting-point. Next comes a brief account of stories regarding Jesus in the works of the Qur'ān commentators and the traditionists. A few of the Muhammadan Agrapha are given, and the paper concludes with a brief account of some of the arguments used by Muslim controversialists. The purpose of this paper is to describe rather than to criticise.

The Qur'ān has twenty-five passages, some of which speak in more or less detail of Jesus, others of which merely mention his name in passing. Six of these are attributed to the Meccan period of Muḥammad's ministry; the remainder belong to the Medina period, when Muḥammad had more opportunity of coming in touch with different communities than he had had in Mecca. When one compares these two groups of passages, it becomes clear that Muḥammad gained information in Medina which he did not have in Mecca, and that he developed a hostility towards Christians which he did not show in the earlier period.

The longest passage in the Meccan period (xix:16-36) happens to be the one which is commonly dated the earliest. It tells of God sending His spirit (who is generally said to be Gabriel) to announce to Mary the birth of Jesus. Mary protests that this is impossible, as she is unmarried, but Gabriel assures her that nothing is impossible to God. During the period of childbirth God puts a stream beneath her feet to provide drinking-water, and nourishes her with dates which fall from a palm when she shakes the trunk.

* We retain the authors' spelling in this and the following article.

After Jesus is born, Mary takes him to her people, and is reproached for immorality. She points to Jesus, and he answers for her, telling the people that God has made him a prophet and commanded him to observe prayer and almsgiving and to show piety towards his mother. He ends by saying, "Peace be upon me the day I was born, and the day I die, and the day I shall be raised up alive." These words are important, as the word translated "die" is the word which means physical death. The point of this remark will be seen later when we come to consider another passage. The passage ends by saying that God cannot have a son.

The next passage (xliii:57-65) says that Jesus was only a servant, and is to be a sign of the last hour. He brought manifest signs and said, "I am come to you with wisdom, and will make clear to you some of that about which you differ; so fear God and obey me. God is my Lord and your Lord, so worship Him." Muḥammad was evidently unaware that the teaching of Jesus differed in any fundamental sense from his own. In xlii:11, another Meccan passage, Jesus is mentioned among other prophets, all of whom are said to have taught the same religion.

The only other Meccan passage which need be mentioned is xxi:91, where it is said that God breathed of His spirit into Mary. Al-Baiḍāwī interprets this as meaning either that God breathed some of the spirit which comes into existence by His command alone, or that He breathed into Mary through the medium of Gabriel. Whichever interpretation one accepts, it should not be assumed that Muḥammad is here teaching that Jesus is essentially different from other human beings. The only difference is that he was born without a human father. Similar language is used in xxxii:8 of Adam.

The Meccan teaching says that Jesus was a servant of God who was born in a miraculous manner, and who called men to worship the one true God. He is not different from other prophets in this latter respect.

In the Medina period there is another account of the Annunciation (iii:37 ff.), where the angels are said to

have told Mary that her child would be eminent in this world and the next, and would be one of those who are brought near to God. Mary is then told (presumably by Gabriel, for there is now, in verse 40, only one speaker) that Jesus will be a prophet to the Children of Israel, will bring a clay bird to life, will cure the blind and the leprous, and will raise the dead by God's permission. He will tell people what they do in their houses. He will confirm the previous law with some modifications, and will summon men to fear God. Then the passage goes on as narrative, and we are told that the apostles believed in and supported Jesus. Later the Jews schemed against Jesus, but God was craftier than they. God said, "O Jesus, I will take you to myself (or, cause you to die), will raise you to myself and will cleanse you from those who are unbelievers." The interpretations of these words are interesting. I mentioned in connection with a Meccan passage that the word which means physical death is used of Jesus. In this passage the word translated "take you to myself" may mean "cause you to die", as it does in ordinary usage. This, however, does not suit the viewpoint of many commentators, so they explain it in the sense of God taking Jesus to Himself. They have justification for this, for in xxxix:43 the same word is used of God taking the souls of some at the time of death, and of those who do not die, in their sleep. It can thus be used without meaning physical death, so commentators argue that this verse says that Jesus was taken up to God without being put to death. As an alternative, they say that if the verb does mean to take in death, it refers to the period after the second coming. That is how they deal with the Meccan reference to the death of Jesus; but the order of events in that passage, birth, death and resurrection, suggests that Muḥammad was using the same language about Jesus as he uses about all men. The passage ends by saying that in God's sight Jesus is like Adam, who was made of earth. Al-Zamakhsharī remarks that Adam's creation was more wonderful than that of Jesus, for he had neither father nor mother.

The remarkable statement that Jesus spoke of the coming of Aḥmad is made in lxi:6. This name comes from the same root as Muḥammad, so Jesus is said to have foretold Muḥammad's coming. Some confusion must have arisen through hearing that Jesus told his disciples that the Paraclete would come.

An important passage is found at iv:155-57, as it denies the Crucifixion. It says, "They did not kill him, and they did not crucify him, but one was made to appear to them like him (or, the matter was made dubious to them) They did not certainly kill him. On the contrary, God raised him to Himself." This passage gives great scope to the commentators. One of the stories told in explanation is that Jesus asked the disciples which of them would assume his likeness and be crucified, in return for a guarantee that he would go to Paradise. One of them agreed, and was crucified in place of Jesus, whom God took up to heaven. Another story says that a disciple who had agreed to betray Jesus was changed into his likeness and was arrested and crucified. This passage clearly presents the doctrine which is so ardently believed by Muslims, that Jesus did not die, but was taken straight up to heaven. This, taken along with the passage already mentioned, in which Jesus is said to be a sign of the last hour, gives ground for the belief that he will come again.

In iv:169-70 it is said that Jesus is only an apostle of God, His word which He cast into Mary, and a spirit from God. The use of "word" and "spirit" should not be given a Christian interpretation. The context shows that Muḥammad did not take these titles to mean what a Christian interpreter might read into them.

In the 9th and 5th sūras which, in that order, are probably the latest two, we meet with denunciations of Christian doctrine. In ix:30-32 Christians are denounced for calling Jesus Son of God. In v:19, 76 we read, "They have disbelieved who said, 'Verily God is Christ, the son of Mary.'" "If God wished, He could destroy Jesus, his mother, and all who are on the earth" (v: 19). Jesus did

not teach that he was divine. His message was, "O Children of Israel, worship God, my Lord and your Lord." Jesus was only an apostle. Both he and his mother ate food (v:76-79), a fact which proves that they were human and not divine. Further on in the same sūra (116-18) God is represented as asking Jesus whether he had taught men to worship his mother and himself. Jesus denied this, saying that his message had been, "Worship God, my Lord and your Lord."

Finally, mention should be made of a very curious passage in the same sūra (114 f.) in which the disciples are said to have asked whether God could send down a table from heaven. Jesus warned them against such a request, but when they persisted he prayed, asking that it might be a festival for the first of them and the last of them, to which God replied, "Verily, I am sending it down to you, so whoever of you disbelieves afterwards, I will punish him in a way in which I will not punish anyone in the worlds." The commentators are not quite sure what happened. Sometimes it is suggested that when God made this reply, the disciples declared that they had no further doubts and did not require to have the table sent down. But the more popular story is that it was sent down, and details are given of the kinds of food which appeared on it. The story seems to be a confusion of the incident of the feeding of the multitudes and the institution of the Lord's Supper, an association of ideas which is perhaps not altogether absent from St. John's Gospel. But Muḥammad 'Alī, who will be mentioned later, connects it with the petition for daily bread in the Lord's Prayer.¹

From this brief summary it is clear that, while Muḥammad had more to say about Jesus after he went to Medina than he had had while still in Mecca, from the beginning he taught that Jesus was a man like other men. He teaches the doctrine of the Virgin Birth, and shows that he knows of Jesus as a miracle-worker, but he has very little knowledge of his teaching. The Crucifixion was evidently a

¹ Commentary, note 750.

stumbling-block to Muḥammad. Whether he was aware of heretical teaching on the subject, or whether he took the story of the Resurrection to mean that Jesus was taken to heaven without dying, we cannot tell. Whatever the source of his teaching, he insisted that Jesus had not been crucified. He gives no indication of having heard of the death of Christ as an atonement for sin, so it cannot be held that he denied the Crucifixion in order to counteract such teaching.

His purpose was most probably a desire to do honor to Jesus. In the Qur'ān Jesus is given the highest titles, but time and again Muḥammad insists that he was simply a man whom God had chosen as a prophet, even if he was a very favored prophet.

If the Qur'ān knows little of the life of Jesus, the same cannot be said of the traditionists. They tell many extraordinary stories. Some are obviously based on the Gospels, others on apocryphal Gospels. Others may be due to oral tradition, or to a lively imagination.

Jesus and Mary are said to have been the only ones who were untouched by the devil at birth. Al-Bukhārī² represents Muḥammad as saying, "None of the children of Adam, except Mary and her son, are born without the devil touching them when they are born, so that they raise their voice crying at the devil's touch." Al-Zamakhsharī, in his commentary on iii:31, says that Jesus and Mary were kept free from the devil's contamination because, as that verse says, Mary's mother appealed to God to protect Mary and her seed from Satan. While some modern controversialists are inclined to argue that Jesus was not altogether free from sin, Tradition is agreed that he was sinless. Al-Jāhīz, a writer of the third century of Islām, makes the remarkable statement that Jesus was born circumcised.³

A tradition which I have noticed in only one of the collections shows how strongly the doctrine of the Virgin Birth could be held in some quarters. It is a common practice to name people after their children, so that such

²Bukhārī, *Anbiyā'* 44.

³*Hayawān*, VII, 11.

names as Abū Bakr (father of Bakr) are common. The name 'Īsā (Jesus) is also common. But this tradition to which I refer tells how the caliph 'Umar objected to a man being called Abū 'Īsā, as such a name called to mind Jesus who had no father, and therefore seemed most unfitting.⁴ It is a curious point that al-Tirmidhī, who compiled one of the six most important collections of tradition, was called Abū 'Īsā. One would certainly not expect to find this tradition in his collection.

Some traditions describe the appearance of Jesus.⁵ Muḥammad is said to have seen Jesus when he made his famous night journey to heaven, and to have described him as "a man of middle stature, of a red colour, as though he had come out of a bath."⁶ He is also said to have seen him in a dream and to have described him as "a tawny man like the most beautiful you see among men. He had a lock of hair which was combed out, and his lock of hair was dripping with water."⁶ A number of traditions describe the appearance of Jesus so that people may recognise him at his second coming. One such says that he will be of middle stature, reddish-white, and will be wearing two garments dyed red. His head will look as if it were dripping, although no moisture has touched it. It is also said that he will be reddish, curly-haired and broad-chested.⁷

Many stories are told of the early years of Jesus' life. Al-Ṭabarī, in his commentary on the Qur'ān,⁸ says that Mary took Jesus to Egypt and kept him there till he was twelve. Al-Tha'labī⁹ tells of the coming of the Wise Men with gold, frankincense and myrrh, and of their being warned not to return to the king. The stories of the early years of Jesus are of the type found in apocryphal infancy Gospels. Al-Tha'labī¹⁰ tells of Jesus turning some boys into swine, after their parents had told them not to associate with him. He tells of Jesus being sent to learn

⁴ Abū Dāwud, *Adab* 64.

⁵ Bukhārī, *Anbiyā'* 24.

⁶ Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, *Musnad* II, 126 f.

⁷ Bukhārī, *Anbiyā'* 48.

⁸ Vol. III, pp. 37 ff.

⁹ *Qiṣaṣ al-anbiyā'*, pp. 241 f.

¹⁰ *ibid.* 243 f.

the trade of dyeing. One day he was told to dye some articles different colors, but put them all into the same receptacle. When the dyer returned and saw this, he reproached him, whereupon Jesus took them out one by one, each having the color the dyer intended. A similar story is to be found in the Gospel of Thomas.¹¹ Another story similar to one in the same Gospel¹² tells of Jesus going to school and showing the teacher that he knew more of the inner meaning of the words he was being taught than the teacher did.

Accounts of miracles are common. Al-Ṭabarī¹³ gives a version of the miracle at Cana of Galilee. Jesus had been cast out by the Jews and came with his mother to the country of a tyrannical king who used to make his subjects feed his army in turn. One day Mary appealed to Jesus to help a man whose turn had come and who was unable to provide what was demanded. Jesus told the people to fill all their pots and jars with water. Then when this was done, he prayed to God and the water in the pots was changed to meat, soup and bread, and the water in the jars was changed to wine. The king had never tasted such wine; so when he heard that Jesus was responsible for it, he summoned him and ordered him to bring back to life a son of his who had recently died. Jesus advised him against such a request, but he insisted. So Jesus prayed and the son was restored to life, with the result that the people revolted.

The miracles recorded are mainly of a ridiculous nature. For example, in the passage following that just quoted, there is a story of Jesus and a companion being given a sheep to eat by a shepherd. Jesus tells the shepherd not to break the bones when he is preparing it. After the meal the bones are placed in the skin, Jesus prays, and the sheep is brought back to life. Stories are told of Jesus causing a skull to come to life¹⁴ and tell its history, of his comforting

¹¹ M. R. James, "The Apocryphal New Testament," p. 67.

¹² *ibid.* p. 56.

¹³ Commentary, Vol. IV, pp. 179 ff.

¹⁴ J. Robson, "Christ in Islām" (= CI), pp. 102 ff.

a hill which was moaning because idols had been made from its stones,¹⁵ and of other things hard to believe.

Among early writers al-Zamakhsharī is the only one I have noticed who attempts to belittle the miracles of Jesus. In his commentary on sūra v:79, he says that the miracles of Moses were more wonderful than those of Jesus, an argument which is common among Muslims at the present day. It may not be out of place to remark that al-Zamakhsharī belonged to a heterodox party.

It is surprising to find that, although one notices here and there suggestions of the Gospel story, Muslims, at least in the first few centuries, seem to have taken no trouble to obtain first-hand knowledge of the Gospels. One curious feature which appears regularly is their ignorance of the fact that the Jews were not autonomous in the time of Jesus. Al-Ṭabarī in his commentary mentions that Jesus told his disciples that he would make them fishers of men,¹⁶ but such knowledge of detail is comparatively rare. In the same commentary there is a story connected with the death of Jesus which is sufficiently near to the Gospel narrative to show that it comes from that source.¹⁷ He tells of Jesus inviting his disciples to supper, and washing their hands after the meal. Jesus then asked them to pray that God would spare his life, but when they began to pray, sleep overpowered them. He told them that one would deny him thrice before cockcrow, and that another would betray him. Then when Jesus was arrested, God took him up to heaven and another was crucified in his place. Seven days later he appeared to his mother and to the woman whom God had cured of madness, and asked them to tell his disciples to meet him at a certain place. When they came, he noted the absence of the one who betrayed him, and on hearing that he had hanged himself, he said that God would have forgiven him if he had repented. This is enough to show that some knowledge of the Gospels was current, even if not very accurate.

¹⁵ *ibid.* 114 f.

¹⁶ IV, p. 181.

¹⁷ VI, pp. 8 ff.

Muslims believe that Jesus was taken up alive to heaven, where he now lives, and that he will come again. In a tradition regarding Muḥammad's night journey to heaven,¹⁸ we are told that he met Jesus in the second heaven.

Many traditions describe the second coming. It is generally said that Jesus will appear at Damascus, and that he will overtake and kill the antichrist at the gate of Lydda.¹⁹ He will appear as a just judge, will break the Cross and kill the swine. He will perform the pilgrimage to Mecca. It is also said that he will marry and have children.²⁰ He is to live for forty years, after which he will die and be buried by the Muslims.²¹

Jesus is commonly represented as having been an ascetic. He had no house, he walked barefoot, he had no property, and no provision except the day's food. When someone suggested to him that he should get a house, he replied, "The rags of those who lived before us are sufficient for us."²² He is reputed to have said, "My seasoning is hunger, my under-garment is fear of God, my outer-garment is wool, my fire in winter is the rays of the sun, my lamp is the moon, my riding-beast is my feet, and my food and fruit are what the earth brings forth. At night I have nothing, and in the morning I have nothing, yet no one on earth is richer than I."²³ The saying, "The world is a bridge, so pass over it and do not inhabit it"²⁴ is well known. A similar saying goes, "Who is he who builds a house on the wave of the sea? The world is like that, so do not take it as an abiding place."²⁵ It is said that his only possessions were a comb and a jug; but one day he saw a man combing his hair with his fingers, so he threw away the comb. He saw another drinking from his hands, so he threw away the jug.²⁶ Love of the world as a hindrance to love of the next world is pithily described thus: "This world in rela-

¹⁸ Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, Vol. I, p. 234; Nasā'i, *Sunan*, Vol. I, pp. 217 ff.

¹⁹ Cf. Muslim, Vol. V, pp. 415 ff.

²⁰ Abū Tālib al-Makki, *Qūt al-qulūb*, IV, 155.

²¹ Abū Dāwud, *Malāḥim* 13; Ṭayālisī, 2541.

²² CI, 65.

²³ CI, 67 f.

²⁴ CI, 68.

²⁵ CI, 67.

²⁶ CI, 72.

tion to the next is like a man who has two wives; if he is pleased with one of them, he is displeased with the other.”²⁷ The name by which Jesus liked best to be known was “O poor one”, and he is reputed often to have said, “One of the worst things about wealth is that one will disobey [God] to become rich, while he will not disobey [Him] to become poor.”²⁸

One would not gather from the Qur’ān that Jesus had been an ascetic, but this is the prevailing picture we get of him in later writers. This is possibly due to contact with members of the Nestorian Church, which was noted for asceticism; but it should not be forgotten that the New Testament contains more of this element than one commonly imagines.

There are many sayings of a general nature, some of which are very beautiful. Jesus said, “Seek a great amount of that which fire cannot consume.” When asked for an explanation, he said he was speaking of kindness.²⁹ Another saying goes, “Verily, the seed grows on level ground, but does not grow on a rock; similarly, wisdom works in the heart of the humble, but does not work in the heart of the proud. Do you not see that if one raises his head to the roof, it breaks it; but if one bends down, it shades and covers him.”³⁰ He also said, “Blessed is the eye that sleeps and does not think of disobedience, and awakes to sinlessness.”³¹ Everyone is familiar with the saying about the dead dog which the disciples were reviling, “How white are its teeth!”³²

In the *Expository Times* of January and February, 1928, the Rev. R. Dunkerley published two excellent articles on “The Muhammadan Agrapha”, in which he gave a full account of all the literature available up to that date. Information about the general subject of this paper is readily accessible in an article by Sell and Margoliouth entitled “Christ in Muhammadan Literature”, to be found

²⁷ CI, 76.

²⁸ *Qūt*, II, 189.

²⁹ CI, 46.

³⁰ CI, 47.

³¹ CI, 49.

³² CI, 45.

at the end of the second volume of the "Dictionary of Christ and the Gospels", and in "The Moslem Christ" by Dr. S. M. Zwemer (Edinburgh, 1912).

We may now turn to consider some of the arguments used by controversialists. Mention should first be made of "The Book of Religion and Empire", by 'Alī Ṭabarī, a convert from Christianity to Islām in the third century of the Hijra. A translation of this work was published by Dr. A. Mingana in 1922, and the Arabic text appeared the following year. Most of the book is not relevant to our present purpose, but there are some points which are.

'Alī Ṭabarī upholds the Qur'ānic statement that Jesus foretold the coming of Muḥammad by quoting St. John's Gospel.³³ John xiv: 26 says that the Comforter "will teach you all things." Muḥammad is the Comforter, for no one but he taught anything beyond what Jesus had already taught, and the Qur'ān gives the knowledge which Jesus called "all things." Another reference to the Muslim dispensation is to be found in Luke xxii:35 f. where we read, "He that hath no sword, let him sell his garment and buy one." Jesus had previously refused to allow the use of the sword, thus his permission of it at this stage shows that the Christian era is at an end and the Muslim era is heralded.³⁴ Christ had forbidden war, and so left little spiritual and temporal power to his followers. Their heritage was therefore given to another nation which spread its conquests throughout the world.³⁵

He argues that Jesus did not claim to be divine. When Pilate (he should have said the high priest) asked him whether he were the Son of God, he replied, "Thou sayest." One may assume from this that he meant to dispel such a notion. When the Jews said, "If thou be the Son of God, come down from the Cross," he made no sign. More important still is the fact that he rebuked Satan when he said, "If thou be the Son of God, command that these stones be made bread."³⁶

³³ pp. 140. f.

³⁴ pp. 143 f.

³⁵ pp. 156 f.

³⁶ pp. 150 f.

In speaking of the Christian creed, he says that Christians contradict themselves by saying first of all that God is the Creator of all things, and then adding that Christ is creator and not created.³⁷

The special interest of this book is that it is probably the earliest work written by a Christian convert to Islām, so that we see what a former Christian can say, his knowledge not being limited to hearsay.

Coming down to more modern times, mention should be made of a lengthy work by Raḥmat Ullah of Delhi, called *Idh-Har-ul-Haqq* (*Izhar al-Haqq*). It was translated into French, and an edition with copious notes was published by P. V. Carletti in 1880. The author has obviously made a close study of the Bible, and although this work was written eighty years ago, its arguments are still reproduced by modern Muslims.

In the introduction the author says that to deny the divine mission of Christ is as wrong as to deny the divine mission of Muḥammad.³⁸ But one must not imagine that he is here making any concession. He makes it quite clear that he does not accept the Gospels as genuine. The true words of Jesus, he says, are not to be found in any of the Gospels, as the writers merely reported in Greek what they understood.³⁹ He then proceeds with an argument, much of which is based on these Gospels which he has repudiated. His justification would be that he seeks to prove to Christians from their own Scriptures the falsity of their claims.

He strongly denies the divinity of Christ. He says that if the union of the divine and human were real, the Son who dwelt in Jesus would be finite, thus subject to change, therefore contingent, which would mean that God was contingent.⁴⁰ Incarnation, he says, must be necessary or accidental. The former is impossible, as the divine nature is not subject to change. The latter is also impossible, as it would mean that the divine nature was subject to modifica-

³⁷ p. 12.

³⁸ Vol. I, p. xlvi.

³⁹ p. 379.

⁴⁰ p. 390.

tion. In incarnation, the Son must either cease to be in the divine essence, or continue to be in it. If the former is true, God is deprived of a constituent part; if the latter is true, the Person of the Son is at the same time in God and in Jesus. ⁴¹

He quotes the following argument of Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, a theologian of the twelfth century. Incarnation may be conceived in three ways: (1) the material and visible man is God, which would mean that the Jews killed God; (2) God is entirely incarnate in Jesus, which is contradictory, as it would confine God to a place; (3) Part of the divine Being is incarnate, which would mean that God was deprived of some essential parts. Further, it should be pointed out that Jesus was very pious. Now, if he had been God, he would not have been thus pious, for God does not worship Himself. Again, if miracles are said to prove the divinity of Jesus, Moses performed a more wonderful miracle than any performed by Jesus, but no one says he was divine. Turning a rod into a serpent is more extraordinary than restoring a dead man to life, for there is a much greater difference between a rod and a serpent than between a dead man and a living man. ⁴²

A number of New Testament passages are quoted to prove that Jesus taught the Unity of God and made no claim to divinity. A few may be quoted to illustrate the point. "This is life eternal, that they might know Thee, the only true God, and Jesus Christ whom Thou hast sent" (John xvii:3); ⁴³ "There is none good but God" (Matt. xix:17); ⁴⁴ "The word which ye hear is not mine, but the Father's which sent me" (John xiv:24); "My Father is greater than I" (John xiv:28). ⁴⁵ He argues that such a saying as John viii:23 ("I am from above: ye are of this world; I am not of this world") should be interpreted in connection with John xvii:16 ("They are not of the world, even as I am not of the world"). ⁴⁶ And the saying in John

⁴¹ pp. 391 f.

⁴² pp. 421 ff.

⁴³ p. 396.

⁴⁴ pp. 399 f.

⁴⁵ p. 405.

⁴⁶ pp. 413 f.

x:30, "I and my Father are one," should be taken in relation with John xvii:21, 23 where similar language is used of his relation to the disciples.⁴⁷

It is not surprising that this work should appeal to Muslims, as its author is a redoubtable controversialist who provides many arguments which others can retail with great effect as their own. A few years ago, the Rev. Alfred Nielsen, a Danish missionary in Palestine, conducted a correspondence with some leading Muslims in that neighborhood, and this correspondence was subsequently published.⁴⁸ It is astonishing to what a degree his correspondents are indebted to Raḥmat Ullah's book for their arguments. The only argument of importance in this correspondence which seems to be original relates to the recurring topic of the divinity of Christ.

In one of his letters, Mr. Nielsen had said that the doctrine of Christ's divinity did not mean that he had lived on earth as a disguised God. To this his correspondent replied that, so long as he was not a God, he must have been human. He admits of only two explanations of the doctrine of Christ's divinity: (1) He may have had a connection with divine attributes without their dwelling in him, or being united with him; or (2) he was characterized by some of the divine attributes and not by others. As Christianity does not accept either explanation, Jesus must have been human. So his crucifixion has no more importance than that of any other man, and the doctrine of the Atonement falls to the ground.⁴⁹ He asks whether, granting that Jesus died, he died in his divine character. If so, the Father and the Holy Ghost must have died with him. If they did not, there must be a difference between him and the Father and the Holy Ghost, each being a God with no connection with the others. But if Jesus died in his divine character, and the other Persons of the Trinity died with him, who revived them? If, on the other hand, Jesus died in his human character, what was the use of divine

⁴⁷ p. 414.

⁴⁸ *Kalima Sawā'* (Beyrouth 1934).

⁴⁹ *op. cit.*, p. 87.

indwelling to work atonement? ⁵⁰ This writer rejects most uncompromisingly the doctrine of the divinity of Christ.

Finally, some reference should be made to Muḥammad 'Alī, one of the chief exponents of the views of the Aḥmadiya movement. This is a heretical movement, which commenced last century in India and which is condemned by orthodox Muslims; but it deserves mention, not because it is widespread, but because it is the type of Muhammadanism which has a centre at Woking and is making converts among English people. This school has a strongly rationalistic trend, and so it is not surprising that Muḥammad 'Alī does his best to dispose of everything which suggests the miraculous. His views are to be found in his large English commentary on the Qur'ān, and in his book, "The Religion of Islām", which was published in 1936.

He argues that the Qur'ān does not teach the Virgin Birth. Because no mention is made of Joseph, one should not assume that Jesus had no father. ⁵¹ Neither does the account of the Annunciation involve any such doctrine. ⁵² The comparison with Adam does not mean that Jesus had no father, but simply that he, like Adam, was made of dust. He does not admit that the Qur'ān says that Jesus spoke in infancy, except in the sense in which any child can be said to begin to speak in the cradle. ⁵³ The story of Mary bringing Jesus to her people does not refer to the time of his infancy, but to a period when he had been given prophetic rank. ⁵⁴ This can be seen from the fact that, when he spoke, he said nothing about the nature of his birth, but referred to his mission. ⁵⁵ The miracles mentioned in the Qur'ān are to be understood in a spiritual sense. ⁵⁶ In "The Religion of Islām" he deals with the miracles recorded in the New Testament, saying they are not unique, and asking what evidence they afford. A prophet's miracles should prove the supernatural power behind him, but few

⁵⁰ *op. cit.*, p. 92.

⁵¹ *Comm.*, n. 424.

⁵² *ibid.* n. 427.

⁵³ *ibid.*, n. 426.

⁵⁴ *ibid.*, n. 1540.

⁵⁵ *ibid.*, n. 1541.

⁵⁶ *ibid.*, nn. 428-30.

believed on Jesus. So, if Jesus did work miracles, they did not fulfil the purpose of creating faith.⁵⁷ His own view is that Jesus used symbolical language, and that this has been interpreted in such a way that he is credited with performing such miracles as the raising of the dead.⁵⁸

The point where orthodox Muslims would disagree with him is where he speaks of the Crucifixion. He holds that the words in the Qur'ān, "They did not crucify him", do not mean that Jesus was not put on the Cross. All they mean is that he did not expire as a result of the experience.⁵⁹ The words, "They did not kill him certainly", support this explanation, as they mean that the people did not know without doubt that Jesus had been put to death on the Cross. He does not accept the story that someone else was made to look like Jesus and suffer in his stead. He argues that the words mean that the matter became dubious to them,⁶⁰ which is a perfectly possible translation, but it is not generally accepted. In xxiii:52 we read that Jesus and Mary were put in a place with shade and running water. This, he says, refers not to the time of the birth of Jesus, but to the period after the Crucifixion. Jesus was revived after he was taken down from the Cross, and went to Kashmir. That is the only place which fits this verse.⁶¹ Mīrzā Ghulām Aḥmad of Qadian, who founded this movement, claimed to have discovered the tomb of Jesus at Srinagar in Kashmir. He taught that after Jesus had been taken down from the Cross, he went to Kashmir to preach to the lost ten tribes, who inhabited that region. He had said, "I am not sent but unto the lost sheep of the house of Israel." We know that he did not preach to them before the Crucifixion, as he stayed in Palestine. He must therefore have sought them out afterwards.⁶² Muḥammad 'Alī is simply repeating this view. He holds that Jesus died a

⁵⁷ p. 242.

⁵⁸ p. 247.

⁵⁹ Comm., n. 645.

⁶⁰ *ibid.*, n. 646.

⁶¹ *ibid.*, n. 1723.

⁶² H. A. Walter, "The Aḥmadiya Movement" (Religious life of India Series, 1918), pp. 90 ff.

natural death in Kashmir, and rejects the common Muslim belief in the second coming.⁶³

These few references should serve to indicate the distinctive views of Muḥammad 'Alī and his party. While there is a distinct divergence from Muslim teaching regarding the Crucifixion, all Muslims would find that he is at one with them in denying the divinity of Christ.

The doctrine of the Unity of God is so vital to Islām, that anything which would seem to weaken it is abhorred. This is what makes discussion with Muslims so difficult, for Christians and Muslims do not mean the same things by the terms they use. Another fundamental difficulty is the fact that the Qur'ān does not tally with the New Testament. To a Muslim this simply means that the perversity of Christians has led them to change their Scriptures. So Islām persists in giving us a picture of Jesus very different from that which we find in the Gospels. While many modern Muslims may not be prepared to uphold all the preposterous stories about Jesus to be found in their traditions, they all hold that Jesus was merely a prophet, and deny his death and resurrection, which mean everything to Christian faith.

Glasgow

JAMES ROBSON.

⁶³ Comm., n. 426.

MUHAMMAD AND DIVORCE IN THE QUR'AN

That Muhammad did not greatly approve of divorce might perhaps be inferred from his own conduct. He married a goodly number of women, but he divorced none. On one occasion indeed he offered to divorce his wives if they chose.

“O Prophet, say to thy wives: ‘If ye desire the life of this world and its adornment, come, I shall make a provision for you and send you forth elegantly. But if ye desire Allah and His messenger, and the abode of the Hereafter, then Allah hath prepared for those of you who do well a mighty reward’”, Surah xxxiii, 28f.

The passage then goes on to point out the high responsibility of his wives, and the necessity for them to be more discreet in their conduct than ordinary women. At the end of v. 33, there is suddenly interposed an address to the *ahl al-bait*,¹ with a change of pronoun from the feminine to the masculine. The address to the wives is resumed in v. 34, while v. 35 again deals with Moslems in general. Some change has been made upon the original passage, and it is probable that the end of v. 33 was substituted for v. 34, and that v. 35 took the place of lxvi:5, which would fit very well here, and which a change of pronoun again shows not to have been composed for its present position. The form of v. 35 with its long list of participles would then have been suggested by the list of participles in lxvi:5. If this reconstruction be correct, the passage in Surah xxxiii ended with a sort of threat that if his wives did not accept the conditions laid down, the Prophet could easily find other more pious women who would.

The date of this is uncertain. There is a garrulous tradition, given by Bukhārī² which associates it with the

¹ R. Paret's suggestion (*Festschrift E. Littmann* p. 129) that *ahl al-bait* here means "the People of the Ka'ba," i.e., the Moslem community, seems acceptable.

² Chap. 46:25.

strife in the harem alluded to in lxvi:1-4. In consequence of this Muhammad withdrew from his wives for a month, and then, beginning with Ayesha, recited to them the verses of the choice. The tradition does not help us much in regard to date, for the only indication given is that this took place at a time when Medina was in fear of an attack by the Ghassānides, and we can only guess at a possible occasion for that. But the passage in Surah xxxiii seems hardly appropriate to the situation alluded to in lxvi:1-4, and if this latter had reference to the episode of Mary the Copt, as is commonly assumed, the former can hardly belong to so late a date. Other forms of the tradition are given which suggest no connection between the passages, and give quite a different occasion, viz., that the Prophet's wives had demanded more expensive dress and adornment. Though that looks like an inference from the passage itself, its position in Surah xxxiii, which is largely occupied with the Battle of the Trench, and matters arising out of the marriage with Zainab, which both belong to about the end of the year 5, suggests that it is connected with some re-arrangement of the harem about that time when Muhammad's success, and the spoil of the Jewish tribes had brought some increase of wealth to the Moslem community.

However that may be, what interests us here is that, according to Tradition, Muhammad on some occasion withdrew from his wives, without ultimately divorcing any of them. It may be noted that on the occasion of the scandal regarding Ayesha, when on the return from the expedition against the Banī Muṣṭaliq (year 6) she was left behind and brought into camp by Ṣafwān, he adopted the same course with her. He treated her with distant politeness, until she, learning the reason, requested and was granted permission to withdraw to her parents' house, where she remained, until, her character having been cleared by special revelation, reconciliation was brought about.

The regulations of the Qur'ān on the subject of divorce seem rather designed to restrict the practice which had prevailed among the Arabs than to encourage it. Thus

the validity of the pagan formula: "Thou art to me as my mother's back" was abolished, xxxiii:4. This verse has no doubt sinister associations, being connected with Zaid's divorce of Zainab in order that she might become the wife of Muhammad. The reference to the pagan formula, however, comes in rather as a confirmatory illustration of the main theme, viz., that relationships not founded in nature are not real relationships. The probability is that this method of divorce had been declared void before that time. Surah lviii:2 so declares, but is usually said to have been delivered after Hudaibiya, and therefore considerably later than the marriage with Zainab. Aus b. aṣ-Ṣāmit had, it is said, divorced his wife by the use of the pagan formula, but, repenting, wished to resume relations. The Prophet, being appealed to, at first declared the formula to be binding. But the wife, for the children's sake, pressed the matter, with the result that the beginning of Surah lviii was revealed. It seems impossible that this should have happened after Muhammad had made so strong a declaration of the nullity of merely formulistic relationships as is contained in xxxiii:4. If there is anything in the traditional dating at all, it may perhaps refer to the redelivery of the passage in a revised form. The indications are too uncertain to be pressed, but lviii:1-5 hardly give the impression that they were composed all at once. Verse 3 is very short, and is the sort of phrase that is used at the completion of a passage. And it might perhaps be argued that the imposition of penalties in verses 4 and 5 is not strictly consistent with v. 2. For if the resumption of relations after pronouncing the formula involves penalties, a certain validity is attributed to it. Whether this is the sense of v. 4 is however very doubtful. The phrase, *thumma ya'ūdūna limā qālū*, though usually interpreted in this sense, would naturally mean "then say the same thing again". If that be the meaning, the penalties would attach to the use of the formula itself, which is more in line with v. 2. Whether, therefore, this passage, lviii:1-5, has been revised must remain doubtful. But in any case the use of this pagan

formula of divorce was discouraged, in all probability from a fairly early date in Medina.

That Muhammad, while recognising the right of divorce, was concerned to restrict it and to preserve the right of the woman to her property, is shown by Surah iv:23-25. Verse 23 forbids the unjust treatment of a woman, designed to force her to give up her right to her property or her marriage-price in order to escape, and ends with the admonition:

“If ye dislike them, it is possible that ye may dislike a thing in which Allah hath set much good.”

Evidently this is a warning against giving way to merely temporary, ungrounded and self-interested feelings. Verse 24 takes account of the case in which divorce is deliberately intended and forbids the deduction of anything from the marriage-price. No matter how large the dowry or price promised to the woman, nothing must be deducted from it when the marriage is dissolved. The binding nature of the marriage tie is stressed in v. 25:

“How can ye take it, seeing ye have come together (in marital intercourse) one with the other, and they have accepted from you a firm compact?”

The same aversion to the divorce of spouses may perhaps underlie the regulations of iv:38, 39, where the headship of the man over the woman is distinctly laid down. Upright women are therefore submissive, but if a woman be otherwise, the man is to admonish her, avoid intercourse with her, and even beat her—in other words he is to take all means of reducing her to submission before resorting to the extreme measure of divorce. Even when separation seems inevitable, arbiters from the family of the husband and from that of the wife are to endeavor to bring agreement between the parties. Human nature is, however, very refractory, and in spite of the admonitions above referred to, Muhammad had ultimately to recognise that it might be sometimes advisable for a woman to purchase peace at the expense of part of her property, iv:126-129. But he warns against avarice, and against leaving the woman

desolate and following inclination to the extreme. Separation is regarded as the ultimate recourse.

We come now to the main legislation of the Qur'ān on the subject, Surah ii:228ff. This is the foundation of the Moslem law of divorce. It allows a man to divorce his wife, and imposes on her a waiting period of from three to four months, the *'idda*, during which she may not marry another man. The man, however, is free to do as he pleases. He may take the former wife back again, either within the waiting period or later if she has not married again. If, however, he has divorced her three times, he cannot take her back again, unless she has meantime become the wife of another man and been divorced by him. This three-fold divorce may be pronounced at one time, though many legalists disapproved of this, and the law only rather grudgingly permits it.

That these provisions run counter to the spirit of the other regulations above discussed is fairly evident. There is good reason for holding that they do not correspond to what the Prophet intended in this passage. This block of legislation is certainly later than the main portion of Surah ii, and if, as seems probable, vv. 224, 225 which deal with oaths, were occasioned, as Tradition asserts, by Abū Bakr's oath not to have anything more to do with Miṣṭah who had taken part in the slander of Ayesha, we may perhaps assume that it belongs to about the same time, i.e., about the year 6. Verses 226, 227 return to the subject of marital relations which were being dealt with in vv.220-223 and take up the case of those who take an oath to avoid intercourse with their wives. It is further to be noted that the rhyme-phrases in 224, 225 are very similar to those in 226, 227. The presumption is that the former took the place of the latter, the subject of oaths, not otherwise mentioned in the context, being suggested by them. The divorce legislation which follows would then be an expansion and definition of the discarded verses 226, 227. In any case it is closely connected with these verses. There one finds the same attitude to divorce as has been noted above.

It is, as it were, the last resource. A man who has vowed to have nothing to do with his wife is to wait four months. If meanwhile reconciliation takes place, well and good; if in the end divorce is resolved upon, it must just take place.

If now vv. 228ff. be read in this connection it seems clear that a waiting period is implied on the part of the man as well as of the woman. This is in fact laid down in v. 228 as definitely as the acknowledged superiority of the man over the woman will allow. After defining the length of the *'idda*, that verse goes on to say that during that time the woman's husband has the best right to her, if he wishes to set things right, and that in fair dealing she has the same right to him. Again in v. 230 the Qur'an does not say, as the Law assumes it to say, that if a man divorces a woman three times, she is not permissible for him until after she has been married and divorced by another man; it simply says: "If he divorce her". The "three times" is an inference from the preceding verse 229, which says that divorce may take place twice with the option of retaining the wife reputably or sending her away. Evidently there is some ambiguity here in the use of the word divorce. The association of the passage with vv. 226f. seems to give the key to what is meant. A man resolves to divorce his wife, and vows to have nothing more to do with her. It is a divorce, but not a final one. There is to be a waiting period of from three to four months during which the two spouses have the first claim on each other, if they feel inclined to come together again. Only if at the end of that time the resolve to divorce still holds, does it become effective and the man may then send the woman away kindly. On the other hand, if they have become reconciled in the meantime, divorce would not actually have taken place. So read, the verses 228-230 become intelligible. What is referred to in v. 229 is not actual final divorce, but the preliminary proposal to divorce, involving cessation of marital intercourse. This may take place twice with the option of reconstituting the marriage or of finally dissolving it at the expiry of the waiting period. We are left to assume that if the dis-

harmony between the spouses is such as to lead a third time to the initiation of divorce proceedings, it was thought better that they should separate and that there should in that case be no such option. But, in any case, if a third proposal of divorce was made, or if, either on the first or the second occasion, no reconciliation took place before the end of the three or four months waiting period, "if he divorce her" (v. 230) then it was to be a serious and relatively final step.

The subsidiary regulations in this section do not go much beyond what was contained in previous deliverances, but make them perhaps more explicit. They are concerned with the wife's right to her dowry or marriage-price (v. 229), her right to freedom of choice at the end of the waiting-period, not to be forced to return to the marriage, or to purchase her freedom by remitting part of her dowry (v. 231), and her right to marry again after the lapse of the *'idda*—that is probably the sense of v. 232. Verse 233 makes provision for the suckling of children, still unborn or so young as to require suckling when the divorce takes place. A still later addition to the passage, vv. 237f., deals with the case where the divorce takes place before the consummation of the marriage. Here no *'idda* appears to be required, but the regulations are concerned with securing to the woman, or girl, some provision from the marriage-price which had been promised, or from the goodwill of the man, if no such promise had been made. All this goes to show that Muhammad did aim at supporting by religious sanctions the claims of the woman, and to this extent supports the above interpretation of the main clauses.

That interpretation is confirmed by Surah lxxv:1:

"O thou Prophet, when ye divorce women, divorce them at their *'idda*; count the *'idda* and fear Allah your Lord; do not expel them from their houses, and let them not go out, unless they commit manifest indecency."

Here the traditional interpretation is in difficulty, and is forced to explain "at their *'idda*" as meaning "at the beginning of their *'idda*", which has no meaning, until the further explanation is given that it implies "at a time of cleanness" so that the *'idda* can be calculated without

dubiety. If we take the sense of the legislation of Surah ii:228ff. to be as above explained, the passage is clear enough. Divorce is a process beginning with the cessation of marital relations and ending with the actual divorce when the *'idda* has run its course. This is to be carefully reckoned and divorce is not actually to take place until it has expired. Meanwhile no overt steps are to be taken. The woman is not to leave her husband's house, nor is he to send her away unless in the interval she has been guilty of some public scandal. Thus outwardly the spouses are to continue living together as before, in the hope that before the end of the waiting period some reconciliation may take place, or as the Qur'an expresses it, Allah may cause something to happen. The passage then goes on to repeat admonitions as to the divorce being carried through in a fair manner and kindly spirit, with the addition that it should be done before witnesses and properly recorded, v. 2. Further, where there may be doubt as to the calculation of the *'idda*, it is fixed at three months, and in the case of a wife who is pregnant, it is to extend to the birth of the child, v. 4. During the *'idda* the woman is to be lodged practically as she was before there was any idea of divorce, and if she is pregnant she is to be provided for until the child is born. After that, an arrangement is if possible to be made for the nursing of the child. If the former spouses cannot agree, it may be given to another woman to nurse, v. 6. All this is to be done in a manner according to the man's means; the wealthy man is to make provision according to his wealth and the poor man is not to be overburdened, v. 7.

In this matter of divorce the Prophet seems to have been too far in advance of his time and surroundings, and the genial common-sense of his regulations was lost in a tendentious interpretation. Had these been carried out in the sense in which he apparently intended them, the worst injustices of the Moslem law of divorce would have been avoided.

THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH AND CHINESE ISLAM

The first Christian missionaries to China, the Nestorian Alopen and his twenty companions, reached the glorious city of Sian in Shensi, in the year A. D. 635. It is believed they may have travelled in company with Mohammedan traders from the feudal state of Khotan, in Central Asia, for part of their long journey. Traders were familiar with this route, and by it, in all probability, travelled the Moslem missionary pioneers who reached Sian in 651. For practical purposes Christianity and Islam may be said to have entered China at about the same time. With thirteen centuries of history together in the land of Sinim, what has been their relationship one with the other?

We really know very little of what actually happened in the years before the advent of modern missions in China. Doubtless there were many occasions in the early years, when as two groups of foreigners they stood and suffered together under the persecutions of several of the Chinese emperors, as, for example, during the middle of the T'ang Dynasty (618-906 A. D.).

We know that during the days of Kublai Khan the Christian Church was so strong that Marco Polo witnessed to the fact that in many places during his travels he encountered Christians, called by him Nestorians. Two Christian monks during this period set out from China on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, and may have passed him on the great high road to Europe. These two monks, eventually prevented from fulfilling their mission, received great honor from the Church to which they belonged. The younger, Rabban Mark, was consecrated Patriarch of the whole Eastern Orthodox Church, and took the name Yab-allaha III; the other became an ambassador from King Arghun to

the rulers in Europe in 1278. This latter, Rabban Sauma, went as far as Aquitaine, where he gave Communion to Edward I, King of England.

During this same period Moslems were holding important positions of state within the Chinese empire. Seyyid Edjill Chamed-Din Omar helped Kublai Khan conquer Yunnan Province, and was its first governor. His son, Nescradin (as Marco Polo called him) was visited and praised by the Venetian traveller.

Also we have during this period the coming of the first Roman Catholic missionaries, such as John of Montecorvino, who established a Church in Cambaluc (Peiping). Foreign religions enjoyed freedom in those years that had not been equalled since the days of the first T'ang emperors, when Christianity and Mohammedanism first entered China.

But the peace of the Christian Church during the Mongol rule (1280-1368) gave way to the terrible persecution of the Mings, a native Chinese Dynasty (1368-1644). Within a few years all traces of Christianity were wiped out. But strangely enough Islam seems to have taken on a new lease of life. In many places today mosques still have stone tablets dating back to this period, with an ode by the first Emperor, Hung Wu, praising Mohammed and his followers. The fact is that when the Chinese overthrew the Mongols they had as their allies some very powerful Mohammedan chieftains from the province of Anhwei. Their help must have given substantial aid to the Chinese. Bishop White, formerly of Kaifeng, Honan, agrees with Dr. Saeki, author of "The Nestorian Monument in China", that during the days of turmoil, when the Christians were being persecuted as foreigners, many of them became Moslems rather than flee or be slain by the sword.

Our first written statement concerning the efforts of the Christian Church in China to convert the Moslems is in a letter to the "Reverend Father Brother N. N. Warden of the Convent of Perugia" by "Brother Andrew of Perugia (of the Order of Minor Brothers) by divine per-

mission called to be Bishop", from Ch'uan chou, (Zaitun) Fukien, in the year 1326. He says:

"And it is allowed to all and each to live according to his sect; for there is with them this opinion, or rather, error, that each one is saved in his own fold. We are able to preach freely and unmolested. But of the Jews and Saracens (Moslems) none is converted. Of idolaters a very large number are baptized, but having been baptized they do not walk in the path of Christianity."

There are, no doubt, other statements equally significant, which have yet to be discovered. But we can see from this that as early as the first half of the fourteenth century, the Christian Church in China was awake to its responsibility to reach the Chinese Moslems. Letters and conversations with Roman Catholic missionaries in different parts of China convince us that they are still cognizant of the challenge.

Coming down to the last century, since the advent of Protestant Missions in China, we frequently find reference in missionary journals such as, *The Chinese Repository*, *The Chinese Recorder*, and *China's Millions*, to work being done to reach the Moslems with the Christian message. As the missionaries penetrated into the West to Yunnan, Shensi and Kansu, they could not help being overwhelmed with the challenge of Islam in the large communities. There were attempts to reach them, and we know men who are prominent in the Chinese Christian Church today who came out of Islam in the late days of the last century. Among these are Bishop Ku Ho-lin of East Szechuan, and Rev. Sung of Kweilin, Kwangsi.

From the time of Robert Morrison, in the first part of last century, up until 1917 we can find no trace of concerted action on the part of the Christian forces in China to win the followers of the Arabian Prophet to Christ. Mr. F. H. Rhodes in 1917, writing an open letter to the *Chinese Recorder* says,

"Will you suggest the advisability of co-operation in the Moslem work? The impossibility of any one Mission dealing with Islam in the larger centers, is quite clear to all."

However, we must not overlook a considerable amount of evidence which shows the effective work of missionaries in many places in China. The names of a number of pioneers in Yunnan, the Northwest, and Hopei, stand out in the history of those early days. Most of these were men and women burdened with the cares of a gigantic work against Chinese superstitions, and only able to scrape the surface of the Islamic problem; yet they kept before the large missionary body the need of the Moslems. G. W. Clark of Yunnan wrote articles concerning Islam in Yunnan. China Inland missionaries from their first penetration into the Northwest wrote of the large number of Moslems. Mr. Rhodes was one of the pioneers in Yunnan, as was Mr. Thomas Botham in Shensi, the father of Mr. Mark Botham, who later became so active in the work, before his untimely death.

The first woman writer whom we have found is Mrs. L. V. Soderstrom, formerly of Kansu, just recently retired from active service in carrying the Christian message to the Moslems in Honan. She wrote an article in the *Chinese Recorder* in 1913, which was reprinted the next year in THE MOSLEM WORLD. In this article, "The Mohammedan Women of China", she makes a strong plea for help in reaching the neglected Moslem women in China.

Dr. O. C. Crawford of Soochow, and Dr. W. B. Pettus, now of the School of Chinese Studies, Peiping, and others, endeavored to arouse the people of Eastern China to the Moslem problem around Nanking and Peiping, while the number of lonely missionaries in Honan, Anhwei, Hopei and other Islamic centers steadily advanced in their recognition of the tremendous problem.

In the literary field efforts were made here and there by various missionaries to translate into Chinese suitable material for Moslems. One of the first such tracts was by J. S. McIlvane, in 1890, followed in 1901 by one by Dr. Timothy Richard, called "Nathan the Wise". Dr. D. MacGillivray in 1903 published one called "Mohammedanism and Christianity". The story of Rev. Imad-ud-

Din, D.D.—an Indian Moslem convert—was translated by Dr. Y. J. Allen, in 1906.

In 1911 Mr. J. Vale of the China Inland Mission, in Szechuan, began to prepare literature for Moslems, chiefly from the Nile Mission Press series; he produced some ten booklets. Mr. J. Hutson, of the same Mission, added a few on similar lines. The literature thus far was practically all in ordinary Chinese language, with no distinctly Moslem approach. Mr. E. W. Thwing, at Peking, broke fresh ground when he produced a series of tracts with Arabic on the front page, and names and terms used by Moslems among the Chinese text. Many of the tracts above mentioned are still on the catalogue of suitable literature for Chinese Moslems, and are stocked by the Society of Friends of the Moslems in China at their Hankow depot.

Work for Moslems before 1917 was increasing in vigor, as was evidenced in the articles which appeared in *THE MOSLEM WORLD* up to that date, and especially in the special number of the *Chinese Recorder* of February 1913. These articles show a state of preparation for a united front on the part of the Christian Church. The day was ripe for someone to bring together the scattered forces into a whole. This was accomplished by the timely visit of Dr. Zwemer in the summer of 1917. Speaking at missionary conferences at Kuling, Chikungshan, Chefoo and Peitaiho, and at other meetings, he was able to fire the groups with the necessity of united action. The leading editorial in the October *Chinese Recorder* of that year begins by saying, "A new and keener interest has been awakened in the problem of Islam, especially in China, as a result of Dr. Zwemer's visit." Travelling through Central and North China with the Rev. C. L. Ogilvie, he visited a number of Moslem centers and was able to show to the Christian Church the urgency of the problem before them.

The reaction was very favorable. A Committee was formed, called "The Moslem Committee of the China Continuation Committee of the National Missionary Conference." The Chairman was the Rev. G. H. Bondfield,

and the Secretary the Rev. C. L. Ogilvie. There were several Chinese members as well, including one Moslem convert, Mr. Ma Feng-po. They felt that the most important immediate problem facing them was the preparation of more literature, and its distribution. A few additional translations were made, and a further help was the work done by the British and Foreign Bible Society in preparing bi-lingual Gospels of St. Matthew and St. John. These have been very widely used to great advantage.

Another outcome of the visit of Dr. Zwemer which led to a strengthening of the literature line, was the firing of the imagination and interest of one of the editorial secretaries of the Christian Literature Society, Mr. Isaac Mason. Because of his interest and constant labor, sixteen books and booklets with more than seven hundred pages in Chinese were prepared, besides a List of Chinese-Moslem Terms, and comprehensive Notes on Chinese Mohammedan Literature, and other works in English, including "The Arabian Prophet"—a translation of the Chinese standard Life of Mohammed. Some of the works were translations, such as "Sweet First Fruits", "Christ in Islam", and "A Primer on Islam"; but there were also original works, as "A Catechism for Moslems," and "A Moslem Miscellany". He also gathered together the literature which had been produced before, and revised it and made it available in standard editions.

The Committee mentioned above was incorporated into the National Christian Council of China when that took over the work of the China Continuation Committee. It remained a part of this until 1926. A year after the formation of the original committee, the Rev. C. L. Ogilvie died, and thus a real champion of the cause passed on. Later, in 1921, Mark Botham came from the Northwest where he had been doing splendid work among Moslems, and he was drafted by the Committee to make an extensive survey through twenty-eight Moslem centers in North and Central China. This he did admirably, and reported in part in two articles in July 1923 and 1924 in *THE MOSLEM WORLD*:

“Modern Movements among Chinese Mohammedans”, and “Chinese Islam as an Organism”. Fuller details were written in a report, and printed for the Committee in a “Report of a Journey made by Mark Botham”. But two years after making the survey, he passed on to his reward, leaving a large gap in the front line.

There is another name which stands out in the early part of this century for his interest in Moslems in China. That is the name of “Bill” Borden, who planned to go to China with the China Inland Mission. He felt that it would be better preparation for him to spend a while in Cairo to learn Arabic and see Islam in its native environment. But it was not his lot to get to China personally, for he contracted a deadly disease which carried him off only a short time after arriving in Cairo. However, he did one thing which comes into our story here. His will granted a large sum of money for the erection of a hospital for Moslems in Lanchow (Kaolan), Kansu. This has been a constant witness to the Moslems of the healing power of Christ through his servants. In 1921 a branch hospital was started in the Moslem suburb, the Pa Fang, of Hochow, then the most powerful Moslem center in China. Dr. George King, then in charge of the Borden Memorial Hospital in Lanchow went over to Hochow, three days to the southwest, and opened the center with the help of Mrs. King. Frequent trips were made by them back and forth, a nurse being left in charge. Splendid results were achieved up to the time of the terrible destruction by the Chinese of this once proud Moslem center, in 1928.

The years 1926-27 mark a period of transition in Chinese life, religious as well as political and cultural. In work for Moslems it was the time of an important change in the administration of the central committee. In 1926 the National Christian Council told the Moslem Committee it would have to shift for itself. Therefore the Rt. Rev. H. J. Molony, Bishop of Chekiang, as leading spirit, supported by Mr. Isaac Mason, Dr. Henry T. Hodgkin, Dr. John Darroch, Rev. W. J. Drummond, Mr. G. K. Harris and

others, began the Society of Friends of the Moslems in China, of which the present writer was appointed Secretary. It has been this organization which has carried on during these latter years. In the spring of 1927 a circular letter was sent out to those missionaries and Chinese leaders who were interested in the Moslems, to solicit their aid in forming the new organization. By the end of that troublous year there were more than sixty members, who in the last twelve years have expanded to over three hundred regular members, both in China and abroad. These members are found in most of the provinces, actively witnessing to the Moslems in their own communities. A number of these are Chinese Christians who are beginning to realize their responsibility towards their Moslem neighbors. On the Executive Board at the present time there are several outstanding Chinese members, notably the Rt. Rev. S. K. Shen, Bishop of Shensi, and the Rev. Stephen Wei of Shanghai. The ranks of those who have been the backbone of the Society have thinned out, but there are new men of promise taking their places.

As an important agent for keeping alive the interest and offering a medium of exchange of ideas, diffusion of knowledge, and helps to an intelligent prayer life for the work, the *Friends of Moslems* quarterly was begun in 1927. For twelve years this has progressed, until now it is a regular magazine with more than twenty-four pages each edition. At the close of ten years the quarterlies were bound into book form with 680 pages and index. It is a storehouse of valuable information, necessary for a full knowledge of Chinese Islam and the Christian Church's attitude toward it. It still carries on under the able editorship of its first editor, Elizabeth Zwemer Pickens.

The preparation of literature for Moslems mentioned as being undertaken by the former committee, has been extended and carried on by this Society. In 1938 more than thirteen hundred pages of literature are available in thirty-five books and booklets, the same number of tracts and handbills, and five posters. All the available Christian

literature for Chinese Moslems is now supplied from a central depot, the Religious Tract Society, Hankow. This publishing house is giving a great deal of fine publicity to this type of literature. They have a whole section devoted to literature for Moslems in their new catalogue, classified as to usage; what is best for general distribution, what is best for follow-up work, and what is best for careful distribution. Under this new arrangement the distribution has increased beyond all expectation. One handbill alone has had more than four printings of five thousand each. In 1927 Mr. G. K. Harris wrote in *THE MOSLEM WORLD* that there was only one poster available for Moslem work in China; today we have in the press the fifth one. It can be safely said that today the literature for evangelizing the Moslems in China is more attractive and suitable than ever before. To Mr. Mason and Mr. Harris goes much of the credit.

More than anything else we give thanks for the splendid way the members of the Chinese Church are taking hold of the problem. From the Northwest, from Shensi and from Honan news comes of the setting aside by the churches of groups of men to study how best to meet the Moslems. In Loyang two men were given such a mission to report back to the Church at the next annual synod. The Church in Sian prepares to do the work in that city, and has opened a reading-room. In Soochow, Northern Kiangsu, a young member of the Maritime Customs stirs the hearts of the leaders of the large Presbyterian district to face the problem.

To meet the needs of the growing interest of the Chinese Christian Church, a new venture was started by the Society, three years ago, in the form of a quarterly paper called *Yu Mu*, a Chinese counterpart of the English *Friends of Moslems*. In spite of the present conflict the editor, Mr. Richard C. S. Hu, carries on. His untiring efforts have been an inspiration to all of us.

This interest of the Chinese Church was given a further impetus by another visit of Dr. Zwemer to China in 1933.

At that time he conducted conferences reaching from Mokanshan in Chekiang on the coast, to Sining, the capital of Ts'inghai, the northern province of Tibet. In four of these places he addressed large gatherings of Chinese Christians, in one of which more than eight hundred were present. Many members of the Chinese Christian Church caught a new vision of the work ahead. These conferences were so well carried out in 1933 that they have been continued each year in Kuling and Chikungshan.

It is hoped that in the future, when peace once again rules in the land, the progress already made will continue. We need to develop two phases. The first, a headquarters where a library can be built for missionaries and workers to turn for information and help; a place and personnel which will be in close touch with all those who are in active service, so that what is helpful in one center can be shared by all. Second, one or more persons able to devote time to regional meetings of the different Church gatherings, to work along with each group to make for a more extensive, intensive, and intelligent approach to the Moslems in China. All this is, of course, over and above what is already being done.

This is a very sketchy and brief account of the history of the Christian movement in China in its relation to the Islamic forces. May more men and women be inspired and be sent forth from the homelands to China, and be there willing to devote their whole time to this tremendous and needy problem. With more than a hundred converts from Islam in the Christian Church in China, let our prayers be that God will call some to be witnesses of strength to the children of Ishmael.

Hankow, China

CLAUDE L. PICKENS.

THE SECT OF THE ALI ILAHIS OR THE AHL-I HAQQ

These half-Mohammedan neighbors of ours are called by different names in various parts of the country. For example, in the Urumia and Salmas regions they are known as the *Ali Ilahis* and as *Abdul Baqais*. In the Maragha and Miandoab districts they are called *Laks*, in Tabriz the *Gomran*. In Khomsa, of which the chief city is Zenjan, they are called the *Sayyid Talibis* i.e., the followers of the seed of Hossein, and also the *Sirr Talibis* or the Seekers of Secrets. In the Hamadan district they are the *Karamarganloo*, and in Kermanshah province the *Davoudis*. A group of them in Kazvin is known as the *Zerrin Qamar*, or Golden Girdles. Of these it is interesting to note in passing, that some thirty years ago, they occupied their special quarter in Kazvin, and, on account of their reputation for bravery and courage, furnished many members of Nasr-ed-Den Shah's personal bodyguard, the Horse Guards, as they were called. In time they became a terrible plague to the peaceful inhabitants of the city. Lately, however, many have become addicted to opium, and they have lost their courage and their reputation.

Members of the sect of Ali Ilahis are to be found everywhere in the world of Islam; in Iran, Turkey, the Caucasus, Iraq, Syria, and Baluchistan, and even in Afghanistan and far-away India. In Iran there are perhaps three hundred thousand Ali Ilahis, though they themselves claim to number a million.

In conversation with the Shiah Moslems the Ali Ilahis are accustomed to claim that the object of their worship and veneration—whom, however, they do not venture to call "Allah"—is none other than Imam Ali, son of Abu Talib and son-in-law to their Prophet. This claim, however,

is sheer hypocrisy. For in conversing with the Christians they will confess in strict confidence: "We believe in the name of 'Eli Eli lama sabachthani', i.e., your Jesus Christ, and none other". And it is evident that if these Ali Ilahis were followers of Imam Ali they would have to accept the Koran, they would keep the fast of Ramazan, they would offer their prayers five times a day, they would acknowledge the prophet of Islam, and so on. But as they do none of these things it is evident that they are complete strangers to the religion of Islam.

When I was a lad of ten or twelve years, (I am now seventy-eight), there was, as I well remember, a very old man with a long, white, flowing beard and moustaches, whose name was Pir Verdi. We used to call him Uncle Pir Verdi. He worked as a gardener for one of our relatives and was a sincere and faithful Ali Ilahi. He considered Mar Yukhanna, or St. John, as his patron saint, and would often mention his name and offer prayers to him. He told us many stories concerning the life of St. John and others of the Christian saints, and used to say to us: "I am your uncle, boys. I am not a Moslem".

Personally I am convinced that the forefathers of these Ali Ilahis were nominal Christians, perhaps Armenians or Assyrians. Being persecuted and oppressed by the Arabs,¹ they changed their name from Nissarah to Nussairi (as they are called today in Syria) and held to their own religion secretly. But little by little they lost their old faith and became a sect of Islam, and so were permitted to live freely among them.²

The traditional reason why the Ali Ilahis of Syria are called Nussairi is of interest. They relate that when Ali was fighting the Jews of Khaybar there was a young man among his troops named Nussair. He was the only son of a widowed mother. By chance, in this battle Nussair

¹ This sect seems to have arisen during the time of the Mongol invasion, so it would be the oppression of the Mongols rather than of the Arabs that drove them to this dissimulation.

² Lammens in his "Islam" maintains that the Nussairi's are entirely distinct from the Ali Ilahis, being a branch of the Ismailis which came into existence, he says, some seven centuries before the Ali Ilahis. In spite of many similarities he believes them to be quite a different sect.

was slain. His old mother came to Ali beseeching him to raise her son from the dead, saying that besides him she had no one to care for her. Ali wrought this miracle and when Nussair opened his eyes and saw who it was that had brought him back to life, he said: "Verily I now see that thou art my God". Ali became angry and rebuked him saying, "There is no god but God". (*La Ilaha illa'llah.*) "I am but God's servant", and in his anger slew him. Then, remorseful, he raised him again, but when the boy persisted in calling him God, killed him once more. It is said that Ali slew him seven times with his sword, the Zulfiqar, and brought him back to life again that he might repent of his sin in calling him God—but in vain. Then suddenly a voice from heaven spoke to Ali saying: "Ali, thou art my most faithful servant. Thou well knowest that I alone am God, the Creator of the earth and the heavens. But never mind this once. I will be the God of all the world beside, and thou be the God of Nussair." Whereupon Ali sent Nussair alive back to his mother. The Ali Ilahis will tell you, who are a Christian, that Nussair was none other than the son of the widow of Nain, whom the real Eli, (Jesus) raised in this way.

How can the Ali Ilahis be recognized?

The Ali Ilahis live among the Moslems as Moslems; their customs and manner of living, their dress and social life, are just like those of the Moslems. The Moslems consider them as heretics, which is correct. But inasmuch as the Shiahs are very much devoted to Ali and his two sons Hassan and Hossein, and as they hold Ali to be the incarnate power of Divinity, they have left the Ali Ilahis to believe as they like. And the cunning Ali Ilahi, in order to reassure the Moslems, will repeat certain verses from the Koran, or sentences from the Islamic traditions such as: "*Valo laka, valo laka, ma kad khilqat al aflaka.*" (If it were not for you the universe would not have been created) which the Sunnis say refer to Mohammed but the Shiahs

claim refer to Ali. Another favorite is: "*Ana madinat ul ilm, Ali babuhu*". (I am the city of knowledge, Ali is its door.) Sometimes too he repeats the words of the creed: "*La ilaha illa'llah, Mohammed rasul-ullah*". Consequently, the Moslem thinks that the Ali Ilahi is his step-brother in Islam, and that only Jews and Christians are infidels. He treats him as an erring brother.

According to the teachings of Islam, both Shiah and Sunni, food, if touched by the hair of the moustache when one is eating or drinking, becomes unclean. Therefore the orthodox Moslem trims his moustache carefully. But to the Ali Ilahi this trimming of the hair is a great sin and sacrilege. He allows his moustache to grow to its natural length, and hence can be recognized by his moustache. In explanation of this custom the Ali Ilahis offer the following tradition. When Ali was young, they say, he used to visit the prophet of God every day in order to receive instruction concerning the holy religion of Islam. It was his custom to rest upon that bare and holy breast as he listened. And because the hairs of Ali's moustache touched that holy body, the Ali Ilahi will not presume to cut the hair of his moustache. And if a Christian doubts the truth of this tradition they will say: "Did not our own St. John, our patron saint, lean on the breast of Christ? It is the same thing." The Moslems, on the contrary, have a tradition which quotes Ali as saying: "After I have shaved my moustache I would, if I could, burn the place of the moustache with a red-hot iron so that it would grow no more".

Their most sacred book is the Sar Anjam, (the first and the last). The reader is referred to THE MOSLEM WORLD for April, 1937, where he will find a good translation of its contents, rendered by the Rev. Charles R. Pittman. Copies of this book are very rare, and, if I am not mistaken, it is never printed, but exists only in manuscript form.³ Permission to print such books would not be obtainable in the world of Islam. The book is a well without water.

³ They have also somewhat less sacred books called "*Daftar*". I have seen one such book, printed, I was told, in Teheran.

The Doctrines of this Sect

1. They have a yearly fast lasting three days. Some of the young men and women keep this fast by eating nothing at all for three days and three nights on end, believing that in this way Heaven may grant them good fortune in choosing a bride or bridegroom for themselves. There seems no doubt that they have borrowed this fast from the Armenians or Assyrians, who have a three-day fast in commemoration of the repentance of the Ninevites upon hearing the short and practical sermon of Jonah the prophet, who said: "Yet forty days and Nineveh shall be destroyed".

2. At the conclusion of the third day of their fast they have the rite of their *Haqq* supper as they call it. For this every family must provide a lamb or a rooster cooked with rice (*pilau*). In each quarter of a town several families gather together at the home of their Kad Khoda, or head men, where one of their *Pîrs* is on hand to lead the meeting. Each family has to bring a pot of food already cooked to that assembly. The *Pîr* mumbles some unintelligible words, after which every one helps himself. After the dinner, the bones of the rooster or the lamb are carefully collected, and buried in a suitable place. Finally a bottle of wine is brought in, and after the *Pîr* has blessed it, each one of them takes a few drops. ⁴

3. All males are circumcised, and the names given the children, whether male or female, are Moslem names. A close observer will notice that most of these names end in "Ali"; for example Qurban Ali, Imam Ali, Abbas Ali, Seif Ali, Himmat Ali, Farz Ali, Feiz Ali, Gholam Ali, and Nur Ali. Both the Shiahs and the Ali Ilahis sometimes name their children Kalb Ali, which means the dog of Ali. For example the name of the famous General of Nakhechevan, who served Czar Nicholas II, and was killed in a battle with the Kurds at Ararat, was Kalb Ali Khan.

4. In theory polygamy is illegal, but sometimes they

⁴ In the Kermanshah district this communal meal is called the *Jam'* and there are five prayers, offered by the *Pîr* at appropriate stages of the meal.

follow the example of their Moslem neighbors and practice it.

5. Divorce is not permitted except on the ground of adultery, though sometimes when one has married a Shiah woman and finds that she is not willing to accept his belief or to keep the secrets of the sect, he is permitted to divorce her.

6. To please their Moslem friends some of them make the pilgrimage to Mecca, Kerbela, Meshed, or Qom.⁵

7. The Shiah mullahs with some reluctance perform the rites of marriage and burial for them in the cities, but in the villages where all are Ali Ilahis, their own *Pirs* perform these ceremonies.

8. They are free to drink any kind of intoxicating drink.

I have recently heard of Ali Ilahis who live in the villages about Hamadan, who know and sing religious hymns. These hymns are in Turkish, and relate stories of the birth, death, and resurrection of our own ever-living Master. Therefore I am quite fully persuaded that this sectarian group may be some of the lost sheep of Israel. Let us remember them in our prayers that it may please the Lord to lead them by his Holy Spirit, back to His fold.

Tabriz, Iran.

MIRZA KARAM.

A Brave Mission Temporarily Retires

The Swedish Mission in Kashgar, Chinese Turkestan (Sinkiang Province) was attacked and burned by the Moslem leader Mamud Sidjan. Governor-General Sheng suppressed the Moslem rising in September, 1937, but the local authorities subsequently closed the hospital and printing office and scattered the Christians. The British Consul-General in Kashgar rendered help to the Mission, but eventually the situation deteriorated and most of the missionaries were compelled to return to Sweden. Forty years of efficient and devoted service in one of the hardest fields of China has thus been tragically interrupted.

⁵ They sometimes visit the tomb of their founder, Sayyid Sahaq, in Kurdistan, but claim that this is meritorious rather than obligatory.

BOOK REVIEWS

The Renaissance of Islam. By Adam Mez. Translated into English by Salahuddin Khuda Bukhsh and D. S. Margoliouth. Luzac and Co., London, 1937. pp. 538. Price 12/6.

This important work appeared in German in 1922. It portrays the momentous changes in Islamic civilization during the Fourth Century of the Hegira. But, as Dr. Margoliouth remarks in the introduction, the title is misleading. Here is no re-birth or restoration but the introduction of new explosive forces into the structure of early Islam. The result was deterioration of morals, religion and literature. The author gives us an exhaustive study of the world of Islam under the Caliphs of Baghdad. Twenty-nine chapters picture the administration, the court, the finances, the nobility, the slaves, the Christian and Jewish minorities, the literature, life, industry, trade, etc., of this period. There is a wealth of material, but a lack of unity in the treatment of the subject. Every statement is documented and the book has excellent indices. Its value to all students of Islam and its limitations were so well summarized by Dr. Julius Richter in his review of the original text (*THE MOSLEM WORLD*, Vol. XIV) that we reprint it here:

“Adolf von Harnack showed with brilliant mastery a generation ago that the old-Christian civilization must be understood as a renaissance of Hellenism within the Christian Church. Since then several attempts have been made to show the wonderful vitality of the Greek culture in other parts of the world. So Prof. von Lecoq has sketched out the Indo-Greek civilization dimly emerging from the sandy deserts of Eastern Turkestan as a far-flung outpost of the same Greco-Bactrian civilization in High Asia. Professor Mez leads his readers to Baghdad, into the empire of the Abbasides in the ninth and tenth century A. D. and proves that this brilliant evolution of Arabic civilization fundamentally is an Islamic renaissance of Hellenism. It was the time when Christian ‘Weltanschauung’ and Greek philosophy made effective inroads into the spiritual realm of Islam and reshaped the Arabic Islam. Unhappily Professor Mez seems to have lacked the spiritual power and vision to develop this interesting idea of the Hellenization of Arabic Islam in one great coherent picture; so we get a long series of monographs on the evaluation of the Greco-Christian ideas in theology and philosophy, in industry and commerce, in state and church. This way of representing one big idea in its fragments or reflections in the most diverse spheres of life is the special attraction of this fascinating book.”

S. M. ZWEMER.

The Crusade in the Later Middle Ages. By Aziz Suryal Atiya, London, Methuen & Co., 1938. pp. 615.

The reader, in Christendom or Islam, of this impartial author, at home in both worlds (as indeed our modern civilization is rapidly becoming) will see his own business in the Near East as a knot in a vast and unending loom-work of eastward and westward motions and influences. Its main colors have been religious, economic, and political, now one prevailing, now another, according to the complexion of the age; variously shaded, variously massed, variously supplemented by strongly colored personalities. This book, itself a whole tapestry of such inter-relations, is especially concerned with crusading propaganda and crusades in a period in which religious coloration becomes dominantly commercial. Before the end of the book, what is here called in religious terminology the Turkish "counter-crusade", has in fact made the relationship largely political. There are many causes to each occasion and they work from both East and West.

Anyone engaged in making these two worlds known to each other will find much to note in this book. First, that this weaving from both sides makes a single pattern, a common Mediterranean civilization whose flowers may be colored green in Islam and red in Christendom but are more or less the same, of the same cultural pattern. Again, this web of history is no Penelope-web. Once woven with all its hatreds and greeds and fears, it cannot be undone. Nor are the threads cut, for we find the same forces of religion, economy, and politics at work today, working upon old lines. But this historical evolution of new facts according to old principles is not a mere network of the Three Fates, for the pictures are there, or rather here in this book, of previous confusions and mistakes for us to avoid. History is not a machine. Society is not an irrational organism. The strongly colored personality has to be considered. In this book he is considered as pilgrim, propagandist and crusader, often more concerned with the religious color of his own opinion than with the worldly color of the age, but often also betraying himself as tourist, publicist, and merchant or professional soldier, the age personified.

The author with great knowledge of little-known material certainly shows crusading effort long continuing after what we in our ignorance call the Crusades. In emphasis upon the continuation he may seem to judge the endurance of the Crusades by the energy of the propaganda. Yet sometimes the more noise, the less reality! These propagandists had to move with more effort an inert Christendom or one otherwise directed, not one already eastward. They threw their stones into a pool, not into a full-running stream, with splash and ripple indeed but without motive power. As we know from other sources, Europe was no longer in prevailing interest religious or in mass-movement "on crusade." At least as religious in their inception as our movement in the late war was "democratic", the crusading stream was gradually swallowed up in deserts of disappointment or indifference, or so turned aside to irrigate other purposes as to become unrecognizable, save to research. Crusades did indeed continue, as set forth in unfamiliar detail, after their traditional end with the failure of St. Louis or with the fall of Acre (in 1291) but "with a difference." Even the fall of Acre was but the termination

of a commercial coast-occupation by Italian cities which survived the crusader kingdom. Subsequent expeditions, which we are glad to hear about, may have been in pattern crusades but in prevailing color they were commercial or political. The value of this book is not so much to show the continuation of the crusading pattern as to show the colors gradually changing.

From the very interesting study of propaganda of more crusades we see the creative ideals of a previous age becoming memories, sacred memories indeed or fixed ideas, but finally almost meaningless words, words without more motive power than "crusade" or "jihad" has today. We see the crusading motive attempting to use commercial and political motives and in turn being used by them. We see the pros and cons of this or that land or sea route, in these or those circumstances of eastern division or union, or threat from Central Asia or European flank movement by ocean. We see plans of campaign, reasons of success or failure, which throw light on darker periods. We see the methods from time to time available, most surprising of which is economic boycott of Egypt as to trade in munitions and slave recruits from Europe. We see that in a thousand ways the Mediterranean was a channel of intercourse rather than a moat of separation. We see how one of these propagandists, Raymund Lull, makes the step from crusader to missionary, from mass-movement to individual; he turns from preaching a crusade to a proposal for schools to teach Arabic, from force to persuasion. We see that the crusades are indeed partly religious, partly in search of "the long-desired Camboya trade", partly home-politics, or "offensive defensive" against Arabo-Turkish invasion, partly an ebb in the course of racial expansion of Nordics, Arabs, Turks, Tatars.

This book itself wears a quiet color which may yet prevail in East or West relations—that of intellectual cooperation in scientific inquiry. Arabic sources are used as well as European, as may be further seen in the very valuable bibliographies. Its readers on both sides will feel that the Crusades, wherever one ends them, are ended. Yet they are even now being continued or transcended as a common matter of joint scientific inquiry to our uniting worlds and a ground of common action in the future. Its readers may even be led to study tides and currents of Near East politics today in the same spirit. Religious prejudices are always with us, economic interests, political ambitions, but it is some comfort to find individuals, such as our author and, we hope, his readers, creating a unit of Near East understanding. This alone will not synthesize our troubles. It is a unit of logic, but can only be realized as a unit of sympathy, confidence, and love such as Raymund Lull (who seems to have been something of a Mohammedan mystic as well as a Christian martyr) died for.

Hartford, Conn.

R. S. DARBISHIRE.

The History of Ibn al-Furât. Arabic text with Arabic introduction, foot-notes and indices; Vol. IX, part I, 1936 edited by Costi K. Zurayk, Adjunct Professor of Oriental History in the American University of Beirut; part II, 1938, by Dr. Zurayk and Nejla Izzedin of the Department of History, American Junior College.

Nâşir ad-Din Muḥammad ibn 'Abd ar-Raḥim Ibn al-Furât (d. 807 A. H., 1404 A. D.) was by profession a notary (*shâhid*, a

minor official in the Muhammedan religio-legal system) and at the same time a most industrious student of history, author of a voluminous chronicle which began with Biblical time and extended through the eighth Muhammadan (fourteenth Christian) century. In preparing its final draft he began with the last of these centuries and worked backward, an order which the present editors are following in printing volume IX first.

The 479 printed pages of the present text cover only eleven years of Egypto-Syrian Mameluke history (789-799 A. H.; Jan. 22, 1387-Sept. 23, 1397 A. D.); about a hundred of these pages contain the biographies (of scholars and officials) appended to each year's chronicle; and some space is occupied also by foot-notes. To some degree, it is true, the extent of the remainder is the result of the author's method of composition. His rough draft evidently consisted of reports of events recorded as he heard them from various sources day by day; and in the finished product he made little attempt at condensation, so that repetitions are frequent. This method also involves the repetition of full names and titles each time an individual is mentioned. Nevertheless, the voluminousness of the work is a good indication of the amount of the detailed information which it contains.

The main features of the period treated are the reign of Sultan Barqûq, his deposition and imprisonment in al-Karak when Emirs Yalbughâ and Mintâsh revolted; his astounding escape, victory in Syria, and restoration to the throne; the continued rebellion for two years of Mintâsh; the gradually increasing, but at first unrealized, danger from the career of Tamurlane, temporarily defied by Barqûq in alliance with the Turkomans, the Golden Horde, and the also as yet unfeared Ottoman Turks. Much of the added detail deals with the promotions of *emirs* and *cadis*, or their punishment by deposition, by mulcting, by flogging, or by execution, when they incurred the wrath of the ruler or, occasionally, when they were charged by the subject peoples with oppression and injustice. Other recurrent topics are the Nile's annual rise; market prices; the decoration of the city at celebrations; and the annual pilgrimage to Mecca.

These events are in general recorded by Ibn al-Furât frankly as hearsay, as news spread among the Cairo populace. Being of native "Arabic" descent, he had no personal access to the official Mameluke, "Turkish", court life. Sometimes, however, he quotes contemporary writers who had such closer relations, particularly Ibn Duqmâq, whose grandfather was a Mameluke; and sometimes, also, he quotes letters received by friendly Turkish officials who allowed him to read them.

The editors have done an exceedingly careful piece of editing and proof reading. They have used various typographic devices to give as exact a reproduction as is possible of the manuscript, which is the author's original. Except for the insertion of the *hamza* under certain specified circumstances, they have in general retained the author's unconventional grammar and orthography. A few unusual words and phrases in the text would seem to need explanation; and a larger problem is presented by some of the Turkish or Tatar proper names (for instance, Tamurlane's son Mirân Shâh appears

as Luqmân; the well-known slave-importer Bashbughâ, as Qumushbughâ and Qushbughâ); but the editors have generally, and most helpfully, cited in the foot-notes the variant forms of such names as found in other Arabic texts.

On the whole the author's style is simple, and the edited text is easy reading. Moreover, all the questions suggested above will doubtless be answered in the fuller discussion of the text and its author which the editors promise to provide after the completion of the entire edition. Students of Mameluke Egypt's history will wish the editors success in that arduous task, as they must be deeply grateful to them and their sponsoring institution for what has already been accomplished.

*University of California,
Berkeley, California*

WILLIAM POPPER.

Sufism: Its Saints and Shrines. An Introduction to the Study of Sufism with Special Reference to India. By John A. Subhan, B.A., B.D., Lecturer, The Henry Martyn School of Islamic Studies, Lahore. Lucknow Publishing House, Lucknow, India, 1938. pp. viii plus 412 and two illustrations. Rs. 4/- or \$1.50.

This interesting book is the maiden effort of one who has direct knowledge of his subject. He was for a time a member of the far-famed mystical order of darwishes which originated with the sainted 'Abd-ul-Qadir Jilani whose tomb is in Baghdad, and so knows Islamic mysticism of the Indian variety from the inside. But while this is so, the point of view of the writer is not one of merely subjective impressions; it is also that of the trained research student, and objective analyst. We have, therefore, in this book a study that is at once sympathetic and realistic and without the element of unfair and biased criticism. In short, it is a remarkably well balanced study of this most vital, interesting, and colorful phase of Islamic religious life.

Since no student of, or worker among Moslems can hope to understand Islam in its fullness without an acquaintance with Sufism and the religious orders that have derived from it, this book will be welcomed by many, both scholars and missionaries, for the light it throws on this subject, and especially in its Indian phases. There are of course standard works on this subject already in English by Nicholson, Rose, and Sell, to mention only a few, but this is the first comprehensive study of the matter from the standpoint of India. The author has consulted all the important sources in Arabic, Persian, and Urdu as well as the authorities in English, and from first to last the book is amply supplied with references and foot-notes. It is therefore a useful manual for one who wishes to pursue the study still farther, for there are plenty of good "leads".

To give an idea of the scope of the book it may be said that it is roughly divided into two parts. Chapters I to VI deal mostly with Sufism or Islamic Mysticism in general under such heads as: The early History of Sufism; Later Developments; The Sufi Gnostic System; The Path and Notable Features of Sufi Practice. The second part, chapters VIII to XX deal with Sufism and the Religious Orders of India under such heads as: The Introduction of Sufism into India; The Relation of Sufism to Indian Thought; The Sufi

Attitude toward Hinduism; The Origin of Religious Orders, and the Four Main Orders: Chishtiyyah, Qadiriyyah, Suhrawardiyyah, and Naqshbandiyyah; and finally an account of some minor orders mostly peculiar to India. There are two appendices which give the principal saints of India, with the dates of their 'urses; and lastly there is an index.

The printing is neatly done, and on the whole the problem of transliteration of Arabic and Persian words has been satisfactorily solved, and has been consistently followed through. Unfortunately, however, the work has been greatly marred by the all too numerous typographical errors, which could have been avoided, for the most part at any rate, by more careful proof-reading. The value of the book would have been considerably enhanced, also, if a bibliography had been provided.

But in spite of these defects of minor importance the publication of this book has been eminently worth while, and it forms a valuable contribution to the study of Islam, especially on its Indian side. Both the author and the Henry Martyn School are to be congratulated on their contribution to the study of Islam.

Budaun, India

MURRAY T. TITUS.

The Wild Rue. A Study of Muhammadan Magic and Folklore in Iran. By Bess Allen Donaldson. Luzac & Company, London. pp. 216. 10/6.

It would be difficult to find a more fascinating account of the daily religious practices, mingled with debasing superstitions, which are the common lot of the Shiah masses in Iran, than is given in this book. The author is not a mere traveler who jots down wayside observations, nor an arm-chair savant digging from source-books. She is the wife of a distinguished missionary author who has herself lived and worked for long years close to the people in the great pilgrim center of Meshed. It is therefore a first-hand study by one who has sympathy for the people and knowledge of their language.

The title of the book is elusive. Although there are nine references to the use of rue in magic, it is not until we come to page 146 that there is any explanation for choosing this particular plant as the title for the book. "Other wild plants are used solely for magical purposes, and the most conspicuous among these is the wild rue. This plant grows in abundance over the desert, and people of almost every locality can get as much of the seed as they need, just for the gathering. The seeds are burned over hot coals and the smoke is allowed to circle about the person or persons concerned."

There are twenty-six short chapters dealing with every aspect of Mohammedan magic and superstition, such as: the evil eye, jinn, customs at birth and marriage, pilgrimage, death and burial, sacrifice, the calendar and the seasons, the superstitious use of the Koran, etc., etc. In the preface the author is careful to state that the present reforms in Iran bespeak progress and enlightenment among all the people. Nevertheless, "this book represents the old life, with its fears and superstitions, which, happily, are now beginning to pass away. Most of the material has been collected within the province of Khorasan, but since pilgrims come to the 'sacred city'

of Meshed from all over Iran, many of them to remain for the rest of their lives, its population is after all a representative group. Many of the women from whom information has been obtained were originally from Kerman, Yezd, Isfahan and Teheran, as well as from many villages in the vicinities of these cities; others, in smaller numbers, have come from Hamadan, Resht, and Tabriz."

In addition to these personal observations, there are frequent references to Persian writers and to the standard works of Westermarck and others. A bibliography would have been useful and its place is not supplied by the occasional footnotes. The book would seem to be indispensable to anyone who desires to penetrate into the psychology of Iran womanhood. There are six excellent illustrations and a good index. The printing does credit to the publishers and we bespeak for the volume a large circulation.

S. M. ZWEMER.

Whither Arabia? By W. Harold Storm, M.D. Published by the World Dominion Press, London and New York, as one of its series of surveys of the missions fields of the world. xvi+128 pages, large 8vo, with illustrations and four maps. \$2.00, or 5/6, cloth; 3/10, paper.

The Survey editor says, "This Survey is the result of a ten months' tour made by the author, Dr. W. Harold Storm, in Arabia at the instance of the World Dominion Press. Dr. Storm, formerly a traveling secretary of the Student Volunteer Movement of the U. S. A., has been for eleven years a medical missionary of the Reformed Church in America."

In an extensive Introduction, Dr. Zwemer says, "The tide of western trade and culture, which came after the earliest missionary occupation, has made the task of evangelization at once easier in some respects, and yet more difficult in others. All Arabia faces a new future and we may well ask, 'Whither?'"

There are six chapters of varying length: Chapter I, *The Desert and Its Peoples*, might well have been divided, treating as it does the geography, history and ethnography of the country. Chapter II is entitled *Religion in Arabia* and is by Mrs. (Ida Paterson) Storm, Ph.D. It is one of the best in the book and contains much useful information, especially on early Christianity, not elsewhere available. Chapter III is *The Impact of the West*, the substance of which explains in part the title, "Whither Arabia?" Chapters IV, *The Story of Missionary Effort*, V, *The Call of Present Opportunity*, and VI, *The Price of Success*, treat the past, present and future of the missionary situation in full.

There are seven Appendices—three concerned with Statistics; one on Medical Conditions in Arabia by the author, who, at the instance of the Leper Society, investigated leprosy conditions during his tour; one on the Bible in Arabia; one giving Treaties made by Ibn Saud with his neighbors; a full Bibliography by Dr. Zwemer closes the book.

There are four excellent maps, the largest showing the whole Peninsula, and three smaller special ones. These maps are a delight to the eye, not being overburdened with detail and yet withal complete and up-to-date.

This is a timely book. A number of substantial publications

have appeared recently on the geography, economics and politics of Arabia, and "Whither Arabia?" takes its place alongside of these and brings missionary information up to date. A mere glance at the maps and at the statistics shows that Arabia is indeed a neglected country from the missionary standpoint. We commend Dr. Storm's book to all who have the world mission of the Church at heart, for its information and as a tonic to faith.

New York City

FRED. J. BARNY.

The Golden Milestone. By Samuel M. Zwemer and James Cantine. New York, Revell, 1938. pp. 160. \$1.50.

This is a book of reminiscences of the early days of the Arabian Mission written by its first two pioneers. The title refers to the fiftieth anniversary of the Mission. The authors suggest that like the golden milestone of Rome this one signifies a point of departure as well as a goal of arrival. It is a symbol also representing something personal and homely as suggested by Longfellow in the lines

"Each man's chimney is his Golden Milestone,

Is the central point from which he measures every distance
Through the gateways of the world around him."

In this volume the authors alternate for the most part, chapter by chapter. At the beginning of each chapter the author is mentioned. Dr. Cantine tells from memory the delightful and often humorous anecdotes which his friends have for years urged him to put into print. Dr. Zwemer, the "Flying Dutchman" of the Mission, gives with precision the details of his amazing journeys and hazardous experiences preserved in his set of diaries begun in 1887 and continued for nearly twenty years.

In spite of its dual authorship the book has unity, "a unity of faith and hope and love for Arabia and a mutual friendship like that which knit the soul of Jonathan to David." It reminds one of a patch-work quilt made by two loved and honored members of a family, each choosing for her own blocks a distinctive pattern suggestive of her personality and carried out in material recognizable and dear by association to others in the family. Through cooperation in the arrangement of such blocks great variety and beauty have been achieved.

There will be those who, as they read "The Golden Milestone", will chuckle anew over stories heard for the first time many years ago on long summer evenings while they waited under the stars in Basrah or Bahrain for the air to cool sufficiently for sleep. Those to whom all the material is new will give thanks that through this book such memories have been preserved for them and for future generations.

Beginning with the account of how God prepared the way for missionary work in Arabia and how the Arabian Mission started, the reader is carried along with the two young pioneers as they sought a place to establish their first station. After a stay in Beirut they explored the coast line of the Arabian peninsula in the midst of many kinds of danger. In reading of these experiences, one wonders, as indeed he wonders many times during later stories of travels to Sana'a and Hassa and in Mesopotamia, how these travelers lived to tell the story of their lives. Experiences met in founding

stations in Basrah, Bahrain and Muscat, and in erecting necessary mission buildings give an idea of the many kinds of work a missionary must be prepared to do. Glimpses into the sanctuary of Christian homes show brave wives and little children surrounded on every side by Moslem life, *in* the world of Islam, but not *of* it. Then there are experiences with Turkish government officials while Basrah was a part of the Ottoman Empire, and a description of social relationships with representatives of the British Government.

One finds in this book humor and pathos, history, biography, and adventure combined with a witness to faith and to God's faithfulness. But that is not all. "The way behind," say the authors, "we cannot and would not forget But the way before is more important." It is their hope that this "Golden Milestone" may prove the point of departure for even greater service to Arabia in the future.

Hartford

ELEANOR T. CALVERLEY.

World Community. By William Paton. Student Christian Movement Press, London, 1938. pp. 192; 5s. net.

Some of the material of this book was delivered as lectures at Princeton Theological Seminary and at the University of Cambridge. The title is prophetic. The only hope of the world is in the Christian Church which in its ideal should be a world community of those who are reconciled with God and seek the reconciliation of humanity. It deals with the break-up of the older communities in the disintegration of society both of the East and the West. The author defines the meaning of the church, its universal elements and present-day influence. He shows that men can be changed radically through the eternal Gospel and that in the remaking of society Christ is the supreme architect. The last three chapters deal with the Church and National Life, The Universal Church and the World of Nations, and the Duty of the Churchman in such a world and facing such colossal difficulties as well as such glorious opportunities. In dealing with Islam, William Paton is not deceived by outward circumstance. Two paragraphs are worthy of attention:

"Turkey has led the way in the direction of wholesale iconoclasm. Not only have veil, fez, Arabic script and Koranic education gone, but the sacred law has given way to the Swiss Civil code, the caliphate has been abolished (and with it one of the great binding forces of the Muslim world), and the clause of the Constitution, which laid it down that the religion of the Turkish state was Islam, has been removed. The unifying principle of the new Turkey, under that vigorous and remarkable man, Kemal Ataturk, is not Islam but Turkish racialism.

"It is said by people with an unquestioned right to speak, that among educated Iranians it is now almost difficult to find any who take Islam seriously. It is significant that in Iran there is a more vigorous, and at the same time more genuinely national-spirited, Christian Church than in any other Islamic land of the Near East. In Baghdad, capital of Iraq, the same processes can be seen at work. Some years ago an old scholar, head of a training college for teachers, expressed to us with profound regret the total lack of belief in Islam which he found in every one of his students." Z.

Ein Hamdani-Fund. Über das Berliner Unicum der beiden ersten Bücher des Iklil. By Oscar Löfgren. Upsala Universitets Asskrift 1935-7, pp. 32, pl. 1. Upsala, 1935.

Although this slender volume appeared more than two years ago, it is of such importance in the early Arabian literature that we cannot avoid calling our readers' attention to it. The author has given a most interesting report of how he found the first two books of Abu Muḥammad al-Ḥasan al-Hamdani's work *al-Iklil*, dealing with South Arabian history, in a complete and reliable copy, dated A.H. 826 (A. D. 1422-23). He states that it is more than 250 years older than the oldest copy known in Europe of the eighth and tenth books of *al-Iklil*. These last mentioned two books were the only parts of *al-Iklil* known to be in existence, and it has even been doubted whether the remaining eight had ever been written. So it is now quite a thrilling experience to follow Dr. Löfgren in his report of how he discovered this unique copy in such an unlikely place as the Staatsbibliothek of Berlin.

Then the author gives a list of all known MSS. of the eighth and tenth books of *al-Iklil*, and an account of their use by earlier scholars, continuing with an interesting analysis of the contents of the books he discovered in such an extraordinary way. The first book begins with a Preface to a genealogical work by another author—Muḥammad b. Nashwān b. Sa'īd al-Ḥimyarī, followed by the proper Introduction in the form of a general genealogical survey. The principal part of the first book seems to be the ancient history of mankind, and of the second book genealogical statements in different versions.

It is of special interest that an extract from Hamdani's *al-Qasidah al-Dāmighah* is incorporated in the same MS. and written with the same hand.

At the end of the volume we find a photographic facsimile of two pages from the MS., and we are informed that Dr. Löfgren is in possession of photographic reproductions of the whole work, and that he is preparing a new complete edition. This will be awaited with the keenest interest.

Lund, Sweden.

G. RAQUETTE.

The Book of Truthfulness (Kitab Al-Sidq). By Abu Said Al-Kharraz. Edited and translated from the Istanbul Unicum by Arthur John Arberry, Litt.D. Published for the Islamic Research Association by Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press, London, New York, Bombay, Calcutta, Madras. pp. 67+82. 6/-.

The Arabic text and the English translation of this brief treatise by the best-known of the Baghdad School of Sufis, who flourished in the third century of Islam, will be welcomed by students of Mohammedan mysticism. Little is known of the author's life, but a masterly analysis of the importance of his doctrine is given by L. Massignon in the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*. The present work is cast in the form of a dialogue, and gives the answers to questions concerning truthfulness in its relations to sincerity, patience, self-knowledge, godliness, and especially in regard to a life of abstinence, trust and love.

According to the Preface: "The importance of this treatise lies in the fact that, apart from the writings of Muhasibi, it is the earliest

systematic presentation of the theory of Sufi experience, written by a practising Sufi."

There are three references in the text to the sayings of Jesus. All of them are apocryphal, but nevertheless of interest.

Page 24: Jesus said: "Verily I say unto you, the love of this world is the head of every sin, and in possessions is a great sickness."

Page 39: I have heard that God made revelation to Jesus, saying: "O Jesus, verily I say unto thee, I am more loving to My servant who believeth than his soul which is within him."

Page 65: We are told that God revealed to Jesus: "Set Me within thee in the place where thy purpose is, and make Me thy treasure in Paradise."
S. M. Z.

Al-Ma'ālim al-Qurba fī Ahkām al-Ḥisba, of Diyā' al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad al-Qurashī al-Shāfi'i, known as Ibn al-Ukhuwwa. Edited with Abstract of Contents, Glossary and Indices, by Reuben Levy, M.A., Litt.D., London, Luzac & Co., 1938. pp. xvi, 113+247.

Dr. Reuben Levy of the University of Cambridge has given accounts of the qualifications and responsibilities of the *Muhtasib* in *The Encyclopaedia of Islam* and in his volumes on *The Sociology of Islam*. Dr. Levy has now published one of the most extensive and detailed codes of *ḥisbah* law. He has edited and annotated the complete Arabic text, provided a full list of the chapters and given in summary a translation of the most important and interesting contents of the code.

The book is invaluable as a practical handbook of Muslim law. It supplements the *Qur'ān*, the books of *fiqh* or jurisprudence and the collections of *fatāwī*, or legal opinions and decisions. It shows what regulations were actually enforced in Muslim cities. It lays the course for the public official charged with guiding the Muslim community through the vast and varied paths of Islamic authority.

Government authorities in Muslim communities will find the definite statements they need about generally accepted Muslim law to guide them in deciding actual court cases. Missionaries and others living among Muslims will learn what the public conscience accepts as morally and legally right. Sociologists and other students of community life will find dependable information about normal public opinion and conduct, as well as indications of the ways in which individuals departed from the standards of life in Islam.

Hartford

EDWIN E. CALVERLEY.

Din-i-Fitrat, Islam ya Masihiyyat. (Natural Religion, Islam or Christianity). By Barakat Ullah, M.A. Christian Knowledge Society and Punjab Religious Book Society, Lahore, 1938. pp. 248. Annas Eight or \$0.20.

This latest book by the Rev. Barakat Ullah, M.A., of Lahore is a closely reasoned presentation of a subject that is often claimed by modern Muslims to be the chief justification for Islam. The book is written in Persian Urdu for the Moslems of India, and is especially addressed to the followers of the late Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan, founder of the Muslim University at Aligarh.

The author states his thesis in English as follows: Which satisfies human instincts best, Islam or Christianity? In ten well

written chapters he discusses the merits of Christianity as against Islam in respect to Natural Fear; the Sex Instinct; Parenthood; Childhood; the Acquisitive Instinct and so forth. The discussion is kept on a high level, and shows that the author has kept well abreast of the times in his reading of modern psychology.

Budawn, India

MURRAY T. TITUS.

Speeches and Documents on International Affairs, 1918-1937. Edited with an Introduction by Arthur Berriedale Keith, D.C.L., D.Litt., LL.D. The World's Classics pp. lv, 290 + x, 267. Oxford University Press. Price, 2s. each.

These two volumes of The World's Classics give us the documentary evidence in the case of international politics since 1918. The facts show like a sun of truth from behind blinds of indifference, ignorance, prejudice, and propaganda. Moreover, the blinds can be drawn at a price which any seeker after truth can afford to keep at hand. And the editor has taken care that we are not dazed by the light, for his introduction adjusts the "documents and speeches" to our understanding. He shows how the Versailles treaty was based on false estimates of democracy and nationality, and that a whole series of mistaken settlements followed the failure of American support which was presumed in the Treaty. We go from bad to worse through questions of disarmament and debt, of Near East and Far East, of Communist and Tyrant, of treaty-making and treaty-breaking, until the Versailles treaty itself is encroached upon and plainly about to be revised. We have to thank the editor for the documents in these and other questions and for his straightforward narrative of what happened. He thus makes the fifty-six "Affairs" presented in the text seem less like a pouring of the ingredients of a witch's cauldron and more like a reasoned attempt to brew an elixir for the world to live by. It may yet be better reasoned and better for our welfare if such books are appreciated.

It is a tribute to our scientific age and its demand for truth and willingness to believe in established truth, that the editor can set before us his facts and reasons with some confidence that our deductions will be as impartial as his own. Many of us (while they cry "peace" and there is no peace) have come to doubt our ears, to distrust our judgments, to confess our ignorance, and simply to fear the future. We, whoever we are or wherever we are, are now given an opportunity to decide for ourselves as to the world we live in and the humanity we share, as if we were making a medical diagnosis or noting a scientific experiment in the light of truth.

On the one hand, we may note a darkness of despair, a multiplicity and complexity of international problems, the impossibility of finite settlement of unfinished histories, the absurdity of national boundaries to the aspirations of humanity. On the other hand, we may rejoice in this illumination of our age by truth. It makes us free to learn for ourselves right from wrong and to act accordingly. Moreover, although these fifty-six "Affairs" are mountains of troublesome facts on the national boundaries, yet taken together, they are but phenomena in one region of justice where human interests are seen to be more than national. This is the truth which, by such publications as this, must so shine on all sides of the

mountains of separation that (like the Pyrenees for a Franco-Spanish understanding) they cease to exist.

Hartford

ROBERT SHELBY DARBISHIRE.

Catalogue of the Library of the India Office, vol. ii, Part vi, "Persian Books". By A. J. Arberry, Litt.D., London, 1937.

This catalogue, of 571 pages, printed on good thick paper, has been prepared with the main entries under the titles of books in italics; there are subsidiary and cross entries also, and the names of authors are in clarendon type. The result is a compact and useful book of reference for the general student as well as for the librarian.

While the India Office Library is particularly rich in Persian books published in India in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, yet it is noteworthy that the works of modern writers in Iran are represented. Almost complete lists are given of the books translated or edited by 'Abbās Iqbāl of Teheran and by Mirza Muhammad of Qazwin. In the case of the former, the list omits his original work, the *Khāndān i Naubakhtī*, though it appears elsewhere as a separate entry.

The different editions of well known books, such as al-Ghazālī's *Kīmīyā i Sa'adat*, are clearly indicated, and it is a matter of interest to observe the large number of editions there are of such classics as Sa'd's *Pand Namah*, Ḥusain Wā'iz Kāshifī's *Anwār i Suhailī*, and the *Diwān* of Hāfiz.

But of Fakhr al-Din Rāzī's works in Persian, only the *Sirr al-maktūm* is noted. While Maḥmūd ibn Āli Kāshānī is mentioned as the (Persian) translator of Suhrawardī's *'Awārif al-Ma'ārif*, it is disappointing to find no reference to his translation, the *Miṣbāḥu-l-Hidāyat*, of which Clarke's valuable work in English on Sufism (1891) is a partial translation. Yet such limitations as may be found in the catalogue, due to deficiencies in the library, are unavoidable, and there is no doubt but that this book will be a substantial help, along with similar works already published by Dr. Charles Rieu and Sir Arnold Wilson, in making possible that comprehensive list of Iranian (Persian) printed books that is still needed.

Meshed, Iran.

DWIGHT M. DONALDSON.

L'Égypte Indépendante: par le groupe d'études de l'Islam. Centre d'Études de Politique Étrangères, No. 7. Paul Hartmann, Paris, 1938. 456 pages; map. 25 fr.

There never was a time when the world of Islam received more careful attention on the part of colonial governments than today. A number of important books and monographs have appeared. The latest is this volume which is the first of a series of studies on the Islamic World, issued by a group of students in France. These investigators, whose names do not appear as authors, present impartial surveys of the facts relevant to Islam as an international problem. Egypt, which acquired full independence in 1937, was chosen for the first of these studies. In many respects this country aspires to the future leadership of the Arab peoples from Morocco to Arabia, who

are united not only by a common language and religion but by similar political aspirations. In the Preface we are assured that the study is wholly objective, and is not intended to bolster up any political theory. We read: "Dans le grand drame de l'Orient moderne, la rivalité de deux civilisations, celles de l'Occident et des Pays arabes, nous nous refusons à prendre parti. Nous pensons qu'il s'agit avant tout d'observer les faits avec probité et de chercher patiemment, entre les deux courants qui s'opposent et traçent leurs cours impétueux, les chemins parfois étroits sur lesquels peuvent se rencontrer les hommes de bonne volonté."

The volume consists of four parts, of which the first deals with the Evolution of Political and Social Life in Egypt, from 1805 to 1936. The second part deals with foreigners in Egypt and their status under the capitulations and after the Conference of Montreux. Here we have the actual documents and a summary of the results of that conference and its effects on the future rights of foreigners. The third part of the book deals with economics: the natural resources of Egypt, its agriculture, its industrial progress both as regards mining, oil, and manufactures; together with a summary of Egyptian commerce, its exports and imports. To the readers of our Quarterly, however, part four of this encyclopedic volume is by far the most interesting. It deals with the Egyptian press, (pages 369 to 456). Crowded into less than 100 pages we have an accurate summary of the origin of the press, its rapid development between 1885 and 1914 and its present character and tendency (1914-1937). The authors of this volume believe that the press of Egypt is the last refuge of Pan-Islamism, criterion of modern Arabic, and because of Egypt's strategic location has an influence far beyond that of any other country. The first Egyptian newspaper was published in 1828. Today a list of the papers published in Egypt occupies 36 pages. The history of present-day journalism in Egypt had to face crises: the dismemberment of the Ottoman Empire with the fall of the Caliphate; the disintegration of Islam, owing to Western influences; and lastly, the revival of the Arabian state under Ibn Saoud.

It is unfortunate that the opinions expressed in this volume and the conclusions arrived at by the writers, are all of them anonymous. One would like to know what authority rests behind this important and careful study.

S. M. ZWEMER.

CURRENT TOPICS

A Missionary and a Moslem King

We present excerpts from an article by Lowell Thomas in *The Commentator* for September 1938:

"Of all the ruling sovereigns left on this earth, by far the most interesting is His Highness, Abdul-Aziz ibn-Saud But there's more to him than that. His strength and sagacity as a statesman are in no wise less than his prowess as a soldier. Of that there is the best possible proof.

"First of all, his kingdom is a going concern. Secondly, he has established absolute peace and order within his boundaries. A safe conduct from King Abdul-Aziz is literally that. Any traveler fortunate enough to obtain one can be absolutely sure of his complete safety. Not even the wildest warrior would think of violating that passport.

"In a way, he's a strange paradox. As hereditary leader of the fierce and puritanical Wahhabis, Abdul-Aziz is noted as a stickler for the strictest, almost fanatical observation of the Moslem code. And yet this puritan of puritans and devout follower of the prophet has shown himself one of the most hospitable to Christian missionaries. In token of which I've just had the privilege of observing this king through the eyes of a group of American Christians, men who are giving their entire lives to proselytizing in Saudi Arabia.

"Actually there is nothing strange or astonishing about this. Missionaries have been among our most important explorers ever since the humble Franciscan Friar Giovanni Piano Carpini paid his historic visit to the Mongol khan at Karakorum. Today the tradition of Friar John, of Oderic, Father Jacques, of Marquette and Father Junipero Serra in our own land are being valiantly carried on by the Arabian Mission of the Reformed Church in America. It has been functioning continuously for almost half a century. I suspect that its workers in the field have a more solid body of information about that comparatively unknown land than nearly all the lay travelers and scientists. Of course one of the reasons why they're welcomed to the King of Saudi Arabia is that, in addition to the Gospel, they bring their much-needed knowledge of medicine to his subjects.

"The other day I had the opportunity of reading a transcript from the diary of one of these. Dr. William Wells Thoms had been working in Arabia for seven years. His father before him was a medical missionary in that same field. Dr. Sharon J. Thoms, the father, went to Arabia in 1898. In 1913 he was killed, accidentally, while helping to put up the first telephone line in that country, the

line between Muscat and Matrah. The son, William Wells Thoms, was taken to Arabia by his mother when he was an infant, and lived there until he was nine. To qualify as a missionary in that exacting service he was educated in two American colleges and graduated from the medical school of the University of Michigan. His wife is descended from four generations of missionaries in South India. All of which gives us some idea of what it takes for such a job.

Early last year Dr. and Mrs. Thoms received an invitation from the King to visit him in his capital at Riyadh. They were at that time in the mission station at Bahrein in the Persian Gulf. First they had to make an all-day trip across the water. The way to Riyadh then led them across the sands of the desert, a thirty-hour ride in a car, with no waterholes and few landmarks to guide a traveler. In the summer months those sands are so loose that even camels have difficulty in getting across them. What's more, the winds blow at high speed, changing the contour of the dunes, covering up the trail, making it difficult to keep from getting lost. That desert, the Dahna, is a region that even the natives fear. Its history abounds with legends of *djinn* and *afreets*, evil spirits in the Arab mythology

"It was midnight before they reached Riyadh, with a cold wind whistling around them. . . . The next day Dr. and Mrs. Thoms were summoned to the King's palace. He was holding a council meeting with his elder statesmen, including his vizier. His eldest son, Ameer Saud, was also present. They found a cheerful, eupeptic monarch, not in the least morose, forbidding, or taciturn as you would expect of the ruler of a puritan fanatic people. He talked to these American missionaries in the most chatty fashion, asking about other members of the mission staff. He even took time out to glance through the pages of a Life of Christ that Van Peurseem had sent him. He made just one comment: 'It says here that the Jews insulted the Christ. Why don't you treat the Jews as they deserve to be treated and are treated in Germany today?'

"That would be against the command of Christ", replied Dr. Thoms. 'A nation which returns evil with evil is not true Christian.'

"Dr. Thoms found that in the capital of Saudi Arabia the prestige of the Arabian Mission of the Reformed Church was exceedingly high. Everybody thanked them heartily for their services—merchant, priest, prince, or pauper. The skill and knowledge of those medical missionaries is given freely. They never even think of making conversion to Christianity a price for treatment. And evidently in Arabia it wouldn't do them any good.

"Dr. Thoms found people who seemed to be even terrified by the sight of the Bible. He offered a copy to one patient whom he had fitted out with eyeglasses. After the man had read a few lines he dropped it as if it were a hot potato when he realized what book he had been holding. The man in question was a Moslem priest. He was proud of two things, 'Two things I've never done in my life.' 'What are those?' asked Dr. Thoms. 'I've never smoked a cigarette or read a newspaper.'

"Dr. Thoms also got an insight into the puritanism of the

Wahhabis. Every night one of the leading *shaikhs* makes a tour of inspection throughout the city, accompanied by four policemen. He is the censor spying out the vice. They are called 'Allah's policemen.' In the category of vice come such heinous sins as smoking, playing cards, or listening to a phonograph!

"Dr. and Mrs. Thoms remained in Riyadh for a month. In that time they treated literally thousands of patients. Dr. Thoms performed more than three hundred operations and restored the sight of scores who had been blind. And he says: 'There are few experiences more thrilling than that of watching a patient's face light up with joy when his bandages are removed after a cataract operation, and he finds that he can see once more.'"

Palestine: A Rational View

Under this caption Mr. A. N. Awab Zada writes in *The Contemporary Review* for July, 1938. His plea is for reconciliation, and in the confusion of the present situation his words are of weight:

"So it must be with the Arabs of Palestine. They should come to terms with the Jews and the British. This disorder cannot last eternally. It had better end before the Arabs suffer any more. The longer it goes on the greater will be the loss of the Arabs for they will be left behind in consequence in the future prosperity of their country, which the world's affairs will actually force upon Palestine. Is it not the oft-repeated saying of the Oriental sages, that the wisest amongst us is he who wants a great deal more than most, but accepts the half of his original demand as a tangible something?"

"What then is the remedy? Unquestionably the acceptance of the Partition scheme—in some modified form if you like—but partition nevertheless. And this for the very elementary reason that since two people do not desire to live together, and neither can put the other out, they must necessarily live apart. For this reason many important Moslem notables have agreed with me to help in calling a peace conference between the contesting parties in some European centre at the earliest possible moment to arrive at some working arrangement. Some have even confided to me that if a fair and friendly settlement could be arrived at, the heart-burning regarding the Partition that there is in both camps might not distress them much further if they resolved to live together on terms suitable to each. A conference can only decide it, provided that there is less cold calculation on one side and sentimentalism can give place to practical values on the other. So ends this review, an appeal in reality for peace. May Allah make it so, and that soon."

The Trans-Iranian Railway

In spite of the improvement of motor roads in Iran, plans for railways are being carried out with vigor. In a lecture given before the Royal Central Asian Society Mr. A. G. Bonn stated:

"The Trans-Iranian Railway extends from the port of Bender-Chah on the Caspian Sea, to Bender Chahpour, on the Persian Gulf, passing through Teheran.

"The total length of the line is approximately 865 miles, 280 of which comprise the north section between Bender-Chah and Teheran and 575 miles the south section from Teheran to Bender-Chahpour.

"The railway crosses the Iranian empire through regions of varied character, altitude and climate, a veritable geologist's paradise.

"On the north section from Bender-Chah on the Caspian the railway passes through 95 miles of fertile but unhealthy country in the province of Mazanderan; thence it traverses the short and narrow valley of Talar to cross the famous and formidable Elborz mountain range. This section of the railway, both from the technical and tourist's point of view, is one of the most interesting and picturesque in the whole world. The beauty of its scenery and the boldness of its conception make it at least the equal of the famous St. Gothard line.

"To clear the peak of 6,650 feet above sea level by using these narrow valleys, it was necessary to introduce a series of artificial developments, such as a number of partly spiralled tunnels, bridges over the rivers, and immense retaining and protective walls which are a necessary part of the construction of a railway through great mountains.

"The distance between the two extreme points on the section is only 16 miles as the crow flies, whilst it measures 39 miles along the line. The gradient is continuous (1 in 28) rising to a height of 4,500 feet."

A Nudist Colony in Iraq

Captain C. H. Gowan refers to the curious cults that are arising in Iraq:

"We have some queer troubles at times. Four or five years ago there was a little set of people of the Nakshbandi cult, who suddenly started a craze for nudism. It came out when a policeman went with an ordinary judgment summons to a little village. The Mosque is the meeting-place and common ground to everybody. The policeman was sitting down in the Mosque when all the young men and women of the village stripped and dived into the Mosque tank. As he was an old-fashioned policeman, he protested violently at this very anti-social, anti-Islamic conduct. They told him to clear out, and, as he was alone, he did, and reported it. He was laughed at, but the next day in came to Sulaimani a party of wandering butchers. They, too, had protested and had been violently beaten up by the nudists! The Sheikh who started this was called Hajj Sheikh Arif. He formed a sort of secret society; the entrance fee was paid in kind, rice or sugar, and then you were made free of the society. You went for mixed "hiking" over the mountains, and, of course, no work. The no-work slogan very soon became exceedingly unpopular with the landlords, and it was not difficult to squash the movement. The landlords cut themselves a thicker cudgel than usual and it soon ended. We sent some of them into the Baghdad lunatic asylum, and by the time they got there they were extremely sane and everything went much more happily."—*Royal Central Asian Journal*.

Los Angeles as Pilgrim Center

Queer sects are not limited to Iraq. Our office has received the following notice posted at Arcade Station 9, Los Angeles, California:

"KALIFAT—NEBI JEFFERSON.

"Yearly pilgrimage of muslims of Kalifat No. 5, known as North American Kalifat, shall be concluded in Civic Center, Los Angeles, during the 30 days of the month of Muaram.

"The purpose shall be educational.

"This pilgrimage should particularly remind muslims of the teachings of America's first Karajite leader, Thomas Jefferson, loyal successor of George Washington, tried-and-true founder of the Republic.

"Terminating the pilgrimage, muslims should make the circuit of the Los Angeles Federal Building which is situated in what is henceforth to be known by muslims as Jefferson Square. They may make the circuit as many as seven times, but it is not their duty to make it even once, since they should make it only of their own free will and according to their ability.

"Muslims who make the pilgrimage to Mecca should make that to Los Angeles also.

"Muslims who make the pilgrimage to Los Angeles should also make that to Mecca.

BISMILA"

H. G. Wells Offends Moslems

It is well known that the popular historian did not please everybody by his epitome of the world's history. We learn from the London press that "Between 300 and 400 Moslems, shouting 'Down with the ignorant Wells!' staged a protest against H. G. Wells's *A Short History of the World*. A Moslem delegation also lodged a complaint with the high commissioner for India. They charged the book insulted the memory of Mohammed and the Koran. Mr. Wells wrote that Mohammed 'married a number of wives in his declining years, and his life on the whole was, by modern standards, unedifying.' As for the Koran, the holy book of the Moslem faith, Mr. Wells expressed his opinion that, either as literature or philosophy, it was 'unworthy of its alleged divine authorship'."

The Rector of the Azhar and the Church of the Holy Sepulchre

No sooner had we heard of the Egyptian Government's intention to give financial aid toward the repair of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem than rumours began to circulate that the government would do no such thing. Our opinion, however, was that these rumours were unfounded, as the government had definitely stated that it would give L.E. 10,000. But as time passed and the government's pledge was not being redeemed, we suspected foul play on the part of some who would naturally take advantage of such a thing to spread dissension. Our suspicions were amply confirmed when we read an article shortly afterwards in a weekly magazine which stated that the Sheikh of the Azhar wrote to the king pointing out that every penny so spent by the Egyptian govern-

ment was inimical to Islam, since Islam denied that Christ ever died. Consequently, to spend money on such a church was not only absurd, but a pure waste of money. And it appears that the king and the prime minister showed deference to this opinion.—*Misr*, July, 1938.

A Governor of Egypt Honors American Schools

Many Americans have been led to expect that foreign countries may now look coldly upon missions in their lands supported by American churches. If there are any such Americans in the United Presbyterian Church, they should have heard the speech of the Governor of Assiut Province, Egypt, at the recent commencement at Assiut College. Speaking to an audience of 2,000 that witnessed the graduation of a class from the Nurses' Training School of the hospital, and a class from the Pressly Memorial Institute and the graduates of Assiut College, Bayoumi Bey Nassar paid generous tribute to our mission educational work in the province of which he has been governor in recent years. His Excellency said:

"One of the accepted human principles is that individuals cooperate in overcoming difficulties, the strong helping the weak. On this foundation, groups of charitably bent individuals were found among nations which have gone ahead in civilization and advanced in science, for the purpose of spreading knowledge among other peoples, that they, too, might enjoy its light and be made happy through its blessings. These charitable organizations send out their educational missions, supply them with money and support them in every way, for no other purpose but sincere service for humanity's sake and for the lessening of its afflictions.

"Wherever these missions have gone, they have become angels of mercy and examples of perfect fulfilment of duty.

"If the noble feeling, that of sincere cooperation among nations, permeated the individuals of society and brotherhood of love were spread among all, then all nations would be the members of one family and most human troubles would be ended.

"Many educational missions have come to Egypt and shared in her renaissance. The first and most influential mission that came to this province was the American Mission which was established in 1865. During more than 70 years it has persevered in diligently educating young people. Many who rendered services to the country in many ways were graduated from this institution. This mission has also been responsible for educating a great number of girls, and preparing them, in its own way, for fulfilling their natural office of motherhood and homemaking in a very commendable manner. This effort furnished the main cause of knowledge and character which is evident in this city.

"We may infer from the number of students in both institutions, amounting to 1,154 boys and girls, that Egyptians appreciate the mission's work and give it merited confidence.

"The mission's work is not limited to the two institutions here, for it started elementary schools in villages of which, in our province, there are 63, accommodating 3,702 boys and girls. No doubt such an effort deserves full acknowledgment and hearty praise.

"Egypt, however, has taken during the last few years wide

steps toward advancement and civilization. Its great awakening included all ways and means, especially education, whose scope has been enlarged and whose foundations have been organized in the varied departments. The most important of such improvements is the law of compulsory education in Egypt, which is being enforced diligently. In this and other efforts the country looks now to the type of its desires and the sum total of its hopes, viz., His Majesty the young King Farouk I, who will inspire it with his youth and vigor to attain to the height of glory.

"It gives me pleasure to present to you a local survey, showing the advancement of education in Assiut Province. This region, the population of which amounts to 1,200,000, has 284 elementary schools run by the Ministry of Education and Municipalities, accommodating 64,415 boys and girls. This does not include the children who are in other private schools, or schools run by other foreign missions.

"There are, in this province also, 80 preparatory and secondary schools, government and private, accommodating 9,500 students; two trade schools having 644 students, and an educational institution affiliated with al-Azhar University in this city, accommodating 967 students. This all does not include those from this region, who are being educated in schools outside this province, or those in higher schools in Cairo.

"Other sections of the country enjoy a like measure of education, also. However, although Egypt has attained to such a state educationally, being known for hospitality, it has not disparaged the value of educational missions, giving them the freedom of work in the treaty abolishing foreign capitulations. We hope that through the cooperation of all concerned we may attain to the real good of this country and the happiness of its inhabitants."

Dr. C. P. Russell in *The United Presbyterian*, July 28, 1938.

The Question of the Khilafat

From different quarters there have been proposals to restore the Caliphate, but these proposals have not met with universal approval. What India thinks can be judged from an editorial in *The Light*, from which we quote some paragraphs:

"Interested parties are once more playing with historic institutions of Islam," says Mr. Abdur Rahman Siddiqi, M.L.A. (Bengal), a prominent Khilafatist, in the course of a statement to the Press.

Mr. Siddiqi adds: "Although deeply engaged in the fight for keeping their identity as a people unassailed, the Muslims of India have not been indifferent to the moves on the international chess-board. It is a pity how little the so-called experts on Eastern and Islamic affairs know of the mind of Islam.

"The interregnum created in the continuity of the Khilafat by the action of the Grand National Assembly of the Turkish Republic is sought to be ended and a Khalifa found for the headless world of Islam. For those who know, the answer given by the British Prime Minister to a question put to him recently has a meaning different from what the actual words imply, or are intended to convey. An undoubted blunder was made by the Imperialist mind in the last

World War and it seems that a repetition is going to be made in the coming one.

"The fundamentals of the Khilafat are not unknown to the world. The Khalifa must, in the first instance, be an independent Muslim, and secondly he must be strong and powerful enough to defend the holy places of Islam. Judged on these criteria it is difficult to understand how the King of Egypt, a ruler, who occupies his throne at the will and pleasure of His Britannic Majesty's advisers, can be put forward as a possible candidate. He is ruled out *ab initio* despite the international Muslim support reported to be in favour of his selection.

"Turkey as a State is out of court for she removed not only the Khalifa but abolished the Khilafat so far as she was concerned. Neither the Turkish Assembly nor the citizens of the Republic who acquiesced in that decision can have a say in the matter.

"Iran does not believe in the institution of Khilafat. Iraq is another Egypt with this difference that, unlike the latter, it is an air base in the British Imperial chain and not a naval one like Alexandria. King Ibn Saud of Hijaz is in possession of the holy cities of Mecca and Medina no doubt; but with the feverish activities going on in the Eastern Mediterranean and the Red Seas, it is difficult to predict how long he will be able to retain undivided sovereignty over the Seaboard between Aqaba and Jiddah. Under conditions such as these, it will be the height of folly to resurrect this institution by setting up a puppet."

The Tomb of Omar Khayyām

In *Isis*, July, 1938, Dr. George Sarton quotes and writes as follows:

"The Iranian government took advantage of the Firdawsi's milenary (Oct. 1934) which was celebrated all over the world as well as in Iran, to erect a new monument of white marble over Omar Khayyām's tomb.

"It so happens that the Metropolitan Museum had been authorized to excavate (in 1935 and 1936) at Nishāpūr. One of the sites entrusted to the American archaeologists was the mound Sabz Pūshān, within sight of the shrine of Muḥammad Maḥrūq

"The following information extracted from Mr. C. W. Wilkinson's report will also interest our readers.

"The Governor of Nishāpūr, wishing to draw the attention of travelers to the burial place of 'Omar Khayyām, which is situated in the garden of the shrine of Muḥammad Maḥruk, changed the course of the Mashhad road, and between Nishāpūr and the shrine planned a *falakeh*, a circular place, adorned with a flower garden and rest house. At the opening of the branch road to the tomb he has erected a pair of brick columns with several quatrains of the poet in glazed tiles thereon. On leveling the ground he found numerous old bricks and other debris of ancient buildings, together with innumerable potsherds. He asked whether we would care to clear the site to prevent any archaeological information from being irretrievably destroyed. Our men rapidly cleared the area, which, though it yielded several interesting fragments, did not produce any-

thing of importance. It was, however, most gratifying to find the local authorities so willing to co-operate in our efforts to add to the knowledge of ancient Nishāpūr, for such collaboration is most definitely of mutual advantage. The Iranians are extremely proud of their past.'

"The memory of Omar Khayyām is thus secure, even in his own country, and this is very gratifying and more unexpected than most people would imagine. Indeed if Omar was nominally a Sunnī, he was very far from being orthodox, and no devout Muslim could read his quatrains, if he did read them at all, without being alarmed. His poetry savours of free thought, rebellion, and heresy. I remember that having been invited to deliver a lecture on Arabic science before the Muslim community of Beirut in the Muslim College of that city (March 16, 1932), I spoke with some enthusiasm of the astounding algebraical achievements of the great Persian poet. A few days later I received a visit from a Muslim group of people and after the usual courtesies, I realized that their main purpose was to warn me against that dangerous man, that corrupter of religion and morality, whom I had so imprudently extolled.

"The vindication of Omar's fame in Muslim lands is a triumph of reason over Muslim fanaticism, it is a triumph of international thought over sectarianism. Praise to the new Iran for having consecrated the fame of one of her noblest sons, one who is so great that he belongs not to her alone but to the whole of humanity."

Edmonton Mosque First in Canada

We learn from a Canadian Journal of August 18, 1938 that work had been started in Edmonton on the first Mohammedan mosque ever built in Canada. The structure will cost about \$6,000 and will be opened in November.

There are about 2,000 Mohammedans in Canada, including 350 in Alberta and 150 in Edmonton alone, it is said. The permit authorizing the construction was issued by the city building department to the Arabian Moslem Association of Edmonton.

Joseph Teha, president of the association; Najjib Ailley, its treasurer, and other officials of the group told newspapermen that there has never been a mosque anywhere in Canada and that there are "only four or five" in the United States.

Closed Moslem Emirates in Nigeria Opened by the Lepers

Missionary work is now being carried on in the formerly closed Moslem emirates of Kano, Katsina, Zaria and Sokoto Provinces and in Bauchi Province. This notable advance is chiefly due to the goodwill of the people having been gained by the establishment of leper settlements in nearly all the above provinces, also in Bornou Province by the Sudan Interior Mission, the Sudan United Mission and the Church Missionary Society. With their own personnel they are caring for a total of about 800 lepers. With Government assistance the Church of the Brethren Mission in Adamawa Province is caring for 500 lepers, and the Dutch Reformed Church in Benue Province for

400. During the past three years the missions have entered and preached the Gospel in most of the villages of Northern Nigeria.

With the Red Kaffirs of the Hindu Khoosh

A Member of the German Hindu Khoosh Expedition, writing in the *United Empire* for April, 1938, gives us the following information:

"Afghanistan is known to us as a mountain country. If we look at the map, we see that the Hindu Khoosh, as well as the Himalaya, emanates from the 'Roof of the World', the Pamirs, as if it was its spine, passing through Afghanistan in south-western direction and finally going over into the hill chains of the Parapamisos. Thus, this ridge of mountains separates the steppes of Turkestan from the deserts of the Afghan South. Century-old traffic routes cross the mountain ridge on the well-known Hindu Khoosh passes, the Unai, Shibar, and Salangs. The armies of Alexander the Great used these passes on their way to India

"This wild region consists principally of the land of 'Nuristan'. Until a few years ago it was still called 'Kafiristan'—the country of the Kaffirs, the unconverted, until the Afghan Emir Abdul Rachman called it after the conversion of the inhabitants, 'Nuristan'—'Country of the light'. The English explorer Robertson visited East Kafiristan at the beginning of the century, and gave a full report of this land. At that time the Kaffirs still invaded the fertile valleys of the surrounding Afghan provinces. They were the terror of the inhabitants and could never be seized, as nobody could follow them into their country. High passes of 4-5,000 m. in height rendered it inaccessible, and the valleys were narrow and could only be approached on easily defended bridle-paths.

"Even after conquest by the Afghans, this country of ravines remained a secret. The Government would not allow anybody to enter it. In 1935, however, the German Hindu Khoosh Expedition succeeded in obtaining the permission to explore the province of Nuristan

"The inhabitants of Nuristan are of no uniform tribe. Before our expedition it was known that they were divided into different groups. Almost every valley has a different dialect and we often had to take the indirect way of several interpreters to make ourselves understood. The history of the Kaffirs is known, but it is still contested as to which nation they belong. We succeeded in making over 300 anthropological measurements, and we hope that their classification as well as the working up of the linguistic researches will still bring some clearness. In their outward appearance the Kaffirs are striking, because of a certain percentage of tall, fair, blue-eyed types, which differ entirely from the surrounding nations. One sees in them the remains of the first Aryan peoples, mixed with the blood of warriors of Alexander the Great, who remained behind there, but, as mentioned, the racial question is not yet settled.

"At the present time, all the natives are Mohammedans, although some customs and habits remind one of a more ancient

cult. At the frontier of Chitral there are still villages which have maintained the old belief in the god Imra, in the many gods of the wood and the rivers. There are still in the ravines the places of the dead, with the coffins placed in the open air, and wonderfully carved statues of the god and guardian ghosts ”

Islam in Czechoslovakia

By The President, The Muslim Community of Czechoslovakia, Praha:

I have the pleasure to send you the following report concerning our Muslim activity in Czechoslovakia you have desired for your paper:

The Muslim Religious Community for the Czechoslovak Republic in Prague was founded on the 1st November, 1934.

The state acknowledgment of the Austrian law of the 15 July, 1912 concerning Islamic religion was given by the Czechoslovak ministry of schools and national culture on the 2nd February, 1935.

The Community comprises all Muslims living on the territory of Czechoslovakia and amounting at present to about 1,500 souls. The Council of the Community, administering the Community and directing the elections, is composed of 150 members. As a member of the Community is admitted every Muslim, morally reliable and recommended by at least two members of the Community.

Considering the geographical situation of the Czechoslovak Republic, it was necessary to establish two charges of Representative Trustees, one in Brno for the territory of Moravia and Silesia, and one in Piestiany for the territory of Slovakia. Owing to the lack of financial means, we have desisted from organising similar charge for the territory of Russia Subcarpathic with the seat in Uzhorod and from transferring the seat for Slovakia from Piestian to Bratislava where there are about 300 Muslims.

Since the 1st March, 1937, was started a modest monthly periodical, *Hlas Moslimske nabozenske obce pro Ceskoslovensko*, "The Voice of the Muslim Religious community for Czechoslovakia," published in Prague.

Without special propaganda, for which there are no financial resources, forty persons have been converted to Islam, thirty-four Roman Catholics, four Greek Orthodox, two having no confession, one Protestant and one Jew.

The Community is maintained mainly from private resources of only some ten members of mediocre wealth.

—*The Light*, Lahore, May 8, 1938.

SURVEY OF PERIODICALS

BY SUE MOLLESON FOSTER

Union Theological Seminary Library

I. GENERAL

ARABIC MAGIC BOWLS. H. H. Spoer. (In *The Journal of the American Oriental Society*, Baltimore. June, 1938. pp. 366-383).

Treats of astrological bowls and the influence exercised by the study of the stars among Moslems.

IQBAL, INDIA'S MUSLIM POET. Amiya Chakravarty. (In *Asia*, New York. September, 1938. pp. 559-562).

A passionate faith in Islam joined to artistic skill gave striking power to verses which constantly sounded the note of youth and spirituality.

THE LANGUAGE REFORM IN TURKEY. A. A. Pallis. (In *The Royal Central Asian Journal*, London. July, 1938. pp. 439-445).

Tells of the work of the Turkish Language Association and of the steps leading to its establishment.

MEDIAEVAL JEWISH PHYSICIANS IN THE NEAR EAST FROM ARABIC SOURCES. Max Meyerhof. (In *Isis*, Bruges. May, 1938. pp. 432-460).

Sketches the careers and contributions of the leading medical scientists of this period.

VORSCHRIFTEN ZUR HERSTELLUNG VON SCHARFEN WASSERN BEI GĀBIR UND RĀZĪ. J. Ruska und K. Garbers. (In *Der Islam*, Berlin. Band 25, Heft 1. pp. 1-34).

Arabic text, with translation and comments, of a work on alchemy.

II. ARABIA

III. HISTORY OF ISLAM

MUHYĪDDĪN B. 'ABDAZZĀHIR. E. Strauss. (In *Wiener Zeitsch-*

rift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes, Wien. Band 45, Heft 3/4. pp. 191-202).

Account of a scribe, secretary and diplomat under the Mameluke sultans (1260-1293), who accompanied his masters to the Crusades and left valuable letters and historical data.

MUSLIM INTERNATIONALISM. M. Ziauddin. (In *Asia*, New York. June, 1938. pp. 375-379).

The director of Islamic studies at Santiniketan draws a vivid and compelling picture of the outstanding Moslem gifts to civilization.

LES MUSULMANS À SURINAM. G. Bousquet. (In *Revue des Études Islamiques*, Paris. Cahier 4, 1937. pp. 351-356).

Discusses recent legislation in Dutch Guiana which has bearing upon the state of the 41,000 Javanese and Indian Moslems living there.

IV. KORAN. TRADITION. THEOLOGY

AL-RISĀLAT AL-LADUNIYYA. Abū Hāmid Muḥammad Al-Ghazālī. (450/1059-505/1111). (In *The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, London. July, 1938. pp. 353-374).

Continues an article begun in the April, 1938, issue and deals with the real meaning of knowledge and how to attain it.

THE "CONTROVERSIES" OF FAKHR AL-DĪN RĀZĪ. Paul Kraus. (In *Islamic Culture*, Hyderabad. April, 1938. pp. 131-153).

Analyzes a characteristic and little known autobiographical treatise by this celebrated philosopher and commentator on the Koran and explains an important period in his intellectual development.

ÉTUDES SUR AWHAD AL-ZAMĀN ABD'L BARAKĀT-AL-BAGHDĀDĪ. S. Pines. (In *Revue des Études Juives*, Paris. Janvier-Juin, 1938. pp. 3-64).

Examines the work of a Moslem doctor and philosopher who lived in the 12th century and who is ranked with Averroes and Avicenna.

V. RELIGIONS AND SOCIAL LIFE

THE ECONOMIC SITUATION OF THE TRANS-JORDAN TRIBES. Major J. B. Glubb. (In *The Royal Central Asian Journal*, London. July, 1938. pp. 448-459).

Replies to Mr. E. Epstein's article, "The Bedouin of Trans-Jordan", which appeared in the issue of April, 1938, and paints a happier, more optimistic picture of the natives.

POLITICS ALONG THE NILE. Albert Viton. (In *Asia*, New York. June, 1938. pp. 349-352).

Practical social and economic reforms must be forthcoming from any party seeking to gain or retain power in Egypt.

POOR PEOPLE IN PALESTINE. (In *The Catholic World*, New York. August, 1938. pp. 513-521).

The desperate unrest in the Holy Land may be due in part to the exploitation of the masses by unscrupulous rich Jews and Arabs.

RELIGION IN TURKEY TODAY. Rev. C. T. Riggs. (In *The Missionary Review of the World*, New York. July, 1938. pp. 327-329).

Although religion is not fostered, it is not systematically eradicated and considerable interest is being shown in the history of early Christianity among the Turkish tribes.

DIE WIEDERKUNFT CHRISTI IM GLAUBEN DER MOHAMMEDANER. Gottfried Simon. (In *Neue Allgemeine Missionszeitschrift*, Gütersloh. September, 1938. pp. 271-280).

Discusses various legendary beliefs in the second coming of Christ—an event which North African Moslems are now anticipating.

VI. POLITICAL RELATIONSHIPS

NORTH-EAST AFRICA. Major E. W. Polson Newman. (In *The Nineteenth Century and After*, London. July, 1938. pp. 35-51; August, 1938. pp. 141-157).

A survey of the changed conditions caused by Italy's seizure of Ethiopia and by Egypt's recently acquired independence through the Anglo-Egyptian treaty.

PALESTINE: A RATIONAL VIEW. A. N. Awab Zada. (In *The Contemporary Review*, London. July, 1938. pp. 69-74).

Believes the Arabs must come to terms with the British and the Jews and accept partition.

THE PERSIAN GULF. Lieut. Col. G. Dalyell of the Binns. (In *The Royal Central Asian Journal*, London. July, 1938. pp. 349-364).

England's position in the Gulf, which is vitally important to her, is made secure by her long-standing friendly relations with the rulers of the Arab littoral.

QUELQUES ASPECTS DE LA POLITIQUE EXTÉRIEURE TURQUE. F. Taillar. (In *L'Asie Française*, Paris. Juillet-Août, 1938. pp. 202-210).

Outlines Turkey's foreign policy from 1919 to the present time and concludes that the country's main concern is to keep free from external influences.

THE QUESTION OF ALEXANDRETTA. Philip P. Graves. (In *The*

Nineteenth Century and After, London. August, 1938. pp. 158-168).

Deals with Turkish and French diplomatic negotiations over the future of this district.

THE REUTER CONCESSION IN PERSIA. L. E. Frechtling. (In *The Asiatic Review*, London. July, 1938. pp. 518-533).

Explains the reasons for the cancellation of this important concession by the Persian Government.

YOUNG TURKS LOOK TO EUROPE. Nermin Muvaffak. (In *Asia*, New York. August, 1938. pp. 500-503).

Since 1774 Turkish destinies have been found in Europe, and today European aims still permeate the efforts of the Turkish republic in its economic and social transformation.

VII. MISSIONS TO MOSLEMS

CHRISTIAN EDUCATION IN THE NEAR EAST. M. C. Warburton. (In *The International Review of Missions*, London. July, 1938. pp. 453-462).

The Christian teaching profession must be carefully developed spiritually and intellectually to carry on the Church's remaining opportunities amid the rapidly changing conditions of the Near East.

MEDICAL MISSION WORK ON THE NORTH-WEST FRONTIER. M. R. Shearburn. (In *World Dominion*, London. July, 1938. pp. 241-245).

Progress in Waziristan is slow but a perceptible impression is being made through the hospital and dispensaries in Tank and its vicinity.

NORTH AFRICAN REVERIE. C. E. Padwick. (In *The International Review of Missions*, London. July, 1938. pp. 341-354).

The tremendous challenge offered Christianity by Islam's resistance to the claims of Christ draws missionaries to the struggle today as compellingly as it did St. Louis and Ramon Lull in times long past.

RETOUR AU TCHAD. Frédéric de Bélinay. (In *Études*, Paris. 5 Juillet 1938. pp. 5-28; 20 Juillet 1938. pp. 184-203).

Journal of a month's trip through the streams and marshes of Chad, surveying the field with an eye to future Roman Catholic mission bases.

A STRATEGIC HOUR IN ALBANIA. Edwin E. Jacques. (In *World Dominion*, London. July, 1938. pp. 298-301).

The tolerance of King Zog's government offers unusual liberty for missionary endeavor, but there is a tragic need for workers to spread the Christian teaching.

THE MOSLEM CHRIST

By Dr. Samuel M. Zwemer

Dr. Zwemer tells of the place that Christ has in the current belief of Mohammedanism. Every reference to Christ in the Koran is quoted. Splendid chapter on "How to preach Christ to Moslems who know Jesus." The best book of its kind.

Cloth, illustrated 198 pages
\$1.00 postpaid

AMERICAN TRACT SOCIETY

7 WEST 45 ST., NEW YORK

THE GOLDEN MILESTONE

By DR. SAMUEL M. ZWEMER
and

DR. JAMES CANTINE

A New Book

The Arabian Mission of the Reformed Church, R.C.A., is celebrating its Fiftieth Anniversary this year. In this book the authors tell how the Mission was started and the work organized on the field. They narrate their experiences in an intimate, personal way, just as they would do by your fireside.

Cloth, illustrated, 160 pages with autographs of the Authors. Price \$1.50 postpaid from

THE MOSLEM WORLD

156 Fifth Ave. New York City
or

THE BOARD OF FOREIGN MISSIONS

25 East 22nd St. New York City

World Dominion Survey Series

Just Published WHITHER ARABIA?

By HAROLD STORM, M.D.

This Survey of Arabia is the result of a special tour taken by Dr. Harold Storm and is based upon ten years' experience of life and work in that peninsula.

The Rev. S. M. Zwemer has written an illuminating introduction which emphasizes the present position of Islam in Arabia.

CONTENTS

CHAPTER

- I. *The Desert and its Peoples*
- II. *Religion in Arabia*
- III. *The Impact of the West*
- IV. *The Story of Missionary Effort*
- V. *The Call of Present Opportunity*
- VI. *The Price of Success*

APPENDIX

- I. *Summary of Statistical Facts*
- II. *Work of Missions*
- III. *Medical Conditions*
- IV. *Roman Catholic Missions*
- V. *The Bible in Arabia*
- VI. *Treaties*
- VII. *Bibliography*

Index Thirteen Illustrations Four maps

Cloth Boards, \$2.00

A discount of 25% is allowed on the Survey Series and the Indigenous Church Series to all Ministers, Missionaries and Christian Workers. Catalogue sent on request.

From your bookseller, or

WORLD DOMINION OFFICES
156 Fifth Avenue, New York City, N. Y.

