THE MOSLEM WORLD

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BROADCASTING OUR MESSAGE

The Madras Conference has called attention again in its report and findings, but more especially in the volume by Dr. Mott on Evangelism, to the primary task of the missionary. The Gospel is good news. That it is good we know by experience; and that it is news we realize when we face the world of Islam. The heart of the Christian message is news to our Moslem brethren who know much regarding Jesus but deny the historicity of his death and its implications. Whatever be our method of approach in carrying this message across we can be sure that the example of Christ is supreme.

There are three ways of telling your friend good news. You can send him the news in a letter, you can ring him up on the telephone, or you can run over and grasp his hand, and with joy in your own heart and beaming from your face, tell him.

Christ chose the last (and best) way. The Jews had Moses and the prophets read in their synagogues every Sabbath and in these old documents the gospel message was found in symbol and type and promise: "Behold the Lamb of God which taketh away the sin of the world." The Jews had come from far and near and heard a voice crying in the wilderness of Judea—God's long-distance call—"repent ye: for the kingdom of heaven is at hand." They all came to hear John the Baptist. But the other John and his brother and the ten disciples with sixty more were sent out two and two (for two are better than one, Eccles.

iv: 9-12) to every city and place where Jesus Himself expected to go.

The harvest was ripe—the time was at hand, so the Master sent out his laborers—reapers. He chose the most direct, the most personal and the most natural way to spread the good news of the kingdom. The twelve apostles were symbolical of the twelve tribes of Israel; the seventy special missionaries typical of the world-wide evangelism that was just ahead. In the tenth chapter of Genesis there is a catalogue of the nations, in which the Jewish commentators count the total as exactly seventy. Christ was doubtless conscious of His universal mission.[1] He was the light of the world. He had other sheep than those of the Jewish fold. The Son of man came to seek and to save the lost. His horizon was not limited to Palestine. When the Son of man returns in glory all nations are to stand before Him in judgment. Every man in need was His brother. His compassion went out to the multitudes and His love must reach out to the farthest as well as the nearest.

Jesus knew the strategy of personal contacts. He wrote nothing. He sent no letters to rulers and leaders, as Mohammed did, asking them to accept his message and mission. He trusted to the human voice, had confidence in the human heart, and knew that truth would set the tongue on fire. "Behold, how great a matter a little fire kindleth!" "I send you forth as sheep in the midst of wolves"; without force, without finance, without machinery or organization. Little companies of men and women, two by two, they scatter and tell their message and return with joy. So it was at the first; and so it was for two centuries. Silent as the coming of the day, irresistible as the rising of the tide, mighty with the majesty of the risen Christ, these humble folk did the deed that changed Palestine and the Roman world. It is the most stupendous revolution in

[1] The contrary opinion was held by Harnack, Wernle and Loisy in opposition to Neander, Schleiermacher, Ewald, Zahn, Renan, etc. Dr. Max Meinertz in his *Jesus und die Heidenmission* (Münster, 1925), covers the whole subject from every angle and concludes that Jesus was undoubtedly conscious of a universal mission. He cites the universalism of the Old Testament, of contemporary Judaism, of Christ's teaching, and his life as well as the missionary idea in the fourfold commission and the indirect testimony of Paul's career.

history, of which we here see the beginnings. Professor Lecky confesses his astonishment in these words: "That the greatest religious change in the history of mankind should have taken place under the eyes of a brilliant galaxy of philosophers and historians, who were profoundly conscious of the decomposition around them; that all of these writers should have utterly failed to predict the issue of the movement they were observing; and that during the space of three centuries they should have treated as simply contemptible an agency which all men must now admit to have been, for good or evil, the most powerful lever that has ever been applied to the affairs of men; are facts well worthy of meditation in every period of religious transition."

Today we too are in a period of transition and facing the same possibilities in India and China and the Near East. When we meditate on the miracle of the first century, and remember that it was the changed character of the men whom Jesus chose that is the explanation, we long for their successors.

Those whom Jesus appointed were not chosen by chance when he sent them two by two. From the commission they received and the report of their return, we know their character, and some of their characteristics. How they fit in with present-day demands and necessary missionary qualifications! These men were, first of all, like their Master, conscious of great and crying human need. They had a passion for service. They were so loyal that they were prepared to abandon all for their mission; to let the dead bury their dead, and not to look back when they had put their hand to the plough; ready for a wanderer's life, with pilgrim staff—and no place to lay their heads and call home. "No purse, no wallet, no shoes," that is, Dervishes of God, Sadhus of the Kingdom.

Again, these seventy were men with such grace of personality and trust in human nature that they hoped for hospitality everywhere—their passport read, "Peace be to this house." Their payment for gracious oriental

hospitality was to heal the sick and bring the kingdom of God a little nearer to the heart and the home of the sorrowful and oppressed. They were men among men, eager to make new friendships and yet unwilling to break old ones. They were not "to go from house to house," but to abide and witness with a love that will not let go at the first rebuff. Nevertheless, they were men of iron, too, as was their Master. When men despised their message and drove them out, they were to depart not by fleeing as guilty exiles, but in dignity as heartbroken ambassadors who have failed in their message of peace—shaking the dust from their sandal-less feet for a witness to those who rejected the Prince of Peace. It required moral courage to face a hostile world with a message of peace—to speak a new language of the heart, to awaken the slumbering conscience and give strength to the palsied will. Nazareth and Capernaum were not in less need at that day than Corinth and Rome. It was the first mission. So they went and they witnessed and they returned from their tour of the cities and villages with the joy of victory. To them and to all their successors is this joy of the Lord—the joy of the harvest, the joy of preaching the unsearchable riches of Christ—although the bearers of the message felt then, and continue to feel, that they are the least of the saints.

Princeton, N. J. S. M. ZWEMER.

AFTER MADRAS

THE DAYS AHEAD FOR MISSIONS TO MOSLEMS

"The future is in the hands of God." When the Arab says that, he is certainly correct. But it is God's will that we plan for His work with care and intelligence, and surely this is a suitable time to think over and pray for the further development of our work among Moslems.

A glorious vision went out from the Tambaram Conference—the great universal church, at home now in every land. Missionary work is simply the assistance which the stronger sections of that church extend to the weaker. We who work in Moslem countries must not be disobedient to the heavenly vision, and it will be our glory to work in and through the Church of Christ, wherever that Church has been established. But missionary work in Moslem lands is still in its beginnings, and in essence it is still the sending of the Gospel into non-Christian and anti-Christian lands. It is the hardest task which God has given to His church in the West. We must put into it all the intelligence, consecration and faith which we can exercise.

Of one thing we can be certain—we shall work in an atmosphere of extreme nationalism. This epidemic insanity spreads in every direction, and threatens to become universal. Mohammedanism amalgamates eagerly with that spirit. In every Moslem country we are seeing an ominous new religious development. It is Islam, and it is Nationalism at the same time. This development shows no sign of abating. On the contrary we are apparently to see it become more and more intense for decades to come.

Undoubtedly there will be great progress in civilization in every one of these countries. We will work in the future with educated world citizens. Muscat is a stagnant back-

water, but in that little city of perhaps ten thousand, we have between fifty and a hundred radios. Schools are appearing in Riadh, in Kuwait and in Muscat, modern schools where boys and girls are moulded by government teachers according to the strictest sect of the Nationalists.

Unfortunately, this will mean that the contribution which our missionary schools and hospitals might make, both to the community in general and to the emerging Christian Church, is to be cut short. The Government wants its own schools. They are the most effective means for shaping the public mind. Moreover the conviction is definite, and not altogether mistaken, that western schools are the distilled essence of westernism, and that no nation can stand upright in the strength of its own cultural inheritance until alien schools are done away with. The same feeling prevails in regard to western doctors. Indigenous culture demands that a nation's own sons serve her in this capacity.

The missionary enterprise of the future is evidently to be more and more purely evangelistic in character. Iran is a good example. To the surprise of many of us, evangelistic work is more and more welcome, as the institutional work of the missions is courteously but forcibly eliminated. For this we thank God and take courage. His hand is in it. Certainly it is not difficult to show that Christ is an Easterner, and that faith in Him establishes no connections with the hated West. We are badly handicapped by our connection with alien political domination, but in Iran it has been possible to overcome this handicap, and the Christian Church is a genuinely indigenous thing in that land. It can be and will be in the other countries as well.

The prospect is extremely dark and menacing, nevertheless. In states where a fanatical totalitarian Nationalism rules, Cæsar and Christ must come into collision, for they face in opposite directions. The foundation of Islamic mentality is no esoteric worship of group solidarity, but an incredibly intense conviction of group superiority. Islam is the religious embodiment of group pride. Nationalism

is its political embodiment. They coalesce with the utmost avidity, because they are simply two aspects of the same thing, the purest distillation of human sin into conscious attitudes that the world has in it at the moment. The grip of group pride on the human heart is immensely strong. Christ says that our fundamental duty is to love our neighbor as ourself. Islam says, and Nationalism with it, that our fundamental duty is to look on our neighbors as inferiors. Opposing demands such as these are sure to collide.

A very profound and difficult question emerges here. In every one of these Islamic states, Christians are to live under the rule of a totalitarian Cæsar. It was of a totalitarian Cæsar that Christ said, "Render to Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and to God the things that are God's." But just what belongs to Cæsar? Is the Christian bound to send his children to listen to pagan nationalistic instruction in the government schools? Is it well to shift our weekly rest-day from Sunday to Friday, if Cæsar so dictates? The little church in these lands is going to need divine guidance, for it must pick its way carefully between what is to be accepted with cheerful readiness, and what is to be rejected even at the cost of life itself.

The missionary enterprise, and with it the infant church emerging in these dark countries where distilled sin rules, are going to need, not less reinforcement and help from home, but more. More money, but that is the least important element; more prayer of the undiscourageable, determined sort, that takes hold on God and refuses to let Him go till His blessing is given. But the needs of the future run even deeper than that. We must have men and women at home, many of them, who in every fiber of their souls are missionaries to Turkey and Arabia and Afghanistan. We need a large number of foreign missionaries living at home, and a small number living abroad.

We have learned, I think, that the missionary enterprise as it is sent out from the West, has nothing to expect from men and women who are not followers of Christ. The

Inter-Church World Movement went to wreck on its curious illusion that outside the church were men anxious to give millions to the carrying of Christ's message abroad. There were none. We do not always remember this, and there are still occasional efforts to gain favorable notice from the world, a world which is opposed to any Mission that does the work it ought to do.

In addition to this we will gradually come to realize that the missionary enterprise is the work of only a fraction of the church. Whether wisely or unwisely, we have taken into the church a large number whose tepid faith in Christ is simply one of a number of valuable cultural elements in their lives.

Such men and women are sometimes interested in the medical exploits of missionaries, or in the relief of poverty that may result from a missionary's work, but that element is destined to fade rapidly in the future, and the whole enterprise will be found less and less interesting to this large section of the Church.

The essential reason for this is that missionaries go out to carry Christ to these distant lands, and in the last analysis they go out to do nothing else. People to whom Christ is the radiant center of all life will require no proof that missionary work is a glorious and eternal thing, a work to which Christ Himself calls us. When we try to commend ourselves to the affections and pocketbooks of those to whom Christ is a trifling incidental, we lose the magnificent imperative with which the missionary enterprise comes to those whose one Lord is Christ. For a trifling support from men of the world we lose our command over the last ounce of ability, and the last dollar of support, that the slaves of Christ possess.

It is important that we seek in partnership men and women of Christ's own choosing, not because then more money will flow into the mission treasury, though probably this will result. It is important because by commanding the whole-souled devotion of that smaller number to whom Christ is absolute Lord, we will enormously increase the

impact of Christ on men's hearts out in the dark lands where men and women are in bondage.

We need some modification in our present organization to bring this about. Some means must be discovered to bring the home group into sharp and real contact with the field and all its profound difficulties, bitter disappointments and glorious successes. Equally we must find some way to bring the souls of the missionaries on the field into real and deep fellowship with the group at home whom they represent, and in whose spiritual strength they must win every victory. We have erected a secretarial structure called a Board, which stands between the two groups. The men on these Boards have served the cause with the greatest devotion and ability, and it is not easy to see how we can do without them. Nevertheless these Boards are dreadfully opaque affairs.

The missionaries on the field see the home church and its missionary group only vaguely and indistinctly. They see the Board. And even more it is true that the home group does not see the field nor feel its problems. They see the Board. We must find ways of making our Boards transparent, for future progress and development depend absolutely on the little group abroad and the larger group at home seeing and feeling and loving each other, and praying together for the work.

The one thing that is going to be needed in the days ahead is a greater release of divine power. In all the dreadful obstacles which loom ahead there is nothing that will heavily tax the power of God, but it is very certain that they will not tax merely but utterly overcome any human thing that we can pit against them. If any man doubts that, let his eyes rest on Russia and Germany for a moment, and then remember that in the Islamic countries we are to have combinations of religious fanaticism and human pride even worse than they.

To accomplish this, all that is possible, and all that is needed, is an increase in the numbers of men and women who are utterly devoted to the carrying out of Christ's com-

mand—that, and the opportunity for them to apply mind and soul, prayer and sacrifice, to the materialization of the heavenly vision. Through such a group the power of God can flow, and the mountains will be removed and cast into the sea.

What is to be the character of the work itself? That question should come first. It is first in importance. As has been said, it will probably be more and more evangelistic and less and less institutional. More important than that, we may hope and expect that the missionary enterprise of the future will be more and more consciously trying to please God, and less and less trying to please men. Probably few sins into which missionaries easily fall look more serious to God than our worries over the reports of self-appointed critics who visit us. Individuals and committees come and go, and the stream of human wisdom with which they favor us is simply an opportunity to pay no attention to men but to keep our eyes fixed on God.

If we can keep our eyes fixed on God, and become conscious that our responsibility is to Him alone, we may expect two results. In the first place we will learn more and more to carry on this work under His immediate direction. What men go out and where they are sent; the type of work that we undertake, and the manner in which the message is presented, will be more and more under God's immediate direction. In the second place, such a missionary enterprise will tingle with divine power. This is important, indeed it is supremely important. We see ahead formidable adversaries. But the fundamental reason why we need God's power is that no one but He can do any of this work. We are sent out to transform men, to make them disciples. That is a divine work. Unpromising men grow into replicas of the Apostle Paul when God is in them. Promising candidates sink down into utter wreck when that power is lacking. The power of God is not simply one of the things needed, it is literally and absolutely the only thing needed; and on this foundation the missionary enterprise of the future must be built.

As Christ is preached to the Moslem world, under God's immediate direction and by His power, we must expect to see the work characterized by great variety. There are two hundred and fifty million Moslems in the world. There are therefore two hundred and fifty million types of approach needed. We cannot have two hundred and fifty million missionaries, but much variety we must and will have. We need more "faith missionaries" with new and unheard-of methods of work. If no clergyman can enter Kabul, nor even a medical missionary, perhaps the door will open to a music teacher. Indeed it almost did. We want this sort of irregular and unpredictable work, lots of it; men whose board of directors is composed of One, and He the Creator of heaven and earth. I shall be much surprised if in the next fifty years we do not see some missionaries supporting themselves by working with their hands, after Paul's example. A first-rate automobile mechanic could do that now. If God sends such men out, we may expect their usefulness to be very great indeed.

Certain of the characteristics of the emerging church in the Islamic countries can be discerned already, and the missionary enterprise will do well to shape itself with them in mind. The Bedouin of the desert and the Beloochee of the town are cheerful, happy individuals, and it is important that a large element of irresponsible, cheerful joy characterize our work. We must not expect to make much of an impression on the modern world if more of this particular fruit of the Spirit is seen on the Islamic tree than on our own.

The world of the Near East is family-centered. God has given to these peoples a very powerful endowment of those instincts which draw men and women together. It is His gift, and one of their outstanding elements of strength. To pit ourselves against that tremendous current will be to cut off nine-tenths of our usefulness. This instinct is not to be repressed, much less suppressed. It is to be accepted with deep gratitude and brought into Christ's service. One of the major tasks of the emerging church

in the Islamic countries will be to learn at Christ's feet just what types of gorgeous and fragrant expression God wants this instinct to flower into, in these countries where it is so powerful and dominating.

And what of the creed? Above all things short and simple, eight words for a life-and-death acceptance; and within that framework, the complete development of the most individualistic mind in the world; non-ritualistic perhaps in most places, though quite certainly not in all; utterly democratic everywhere.

To meet adversaries in their enormous strength, and to objectify a vision as beautiful as the New Jerusalem itself, in the future as in the past, we will carry Christ as our message. Nothing in Christ's life or His teachings, nothing that we have learned of the significance of His death and resurrection, can be spared. Every particle of it is our message, all His humanity and all His Divinity. No word of criticism have we against Mohammed. Indeed to him we bring the sincere admiration that every human genius deserves. But "we preach Christ crucified, to the Jews a stumbling block, and to the Greeks foolishness, but to them that are being saved, both Jews and Greeks, Christ the power of God and the Wisdom of God."

Muscat, Arabia PAUL W. HARRISON.

THE THEOLOGICAL APPROACH[1]

I have been asked to "state the case for the Theological Approach to Muslims."

First of all I had better define what I understand by the term, the Theological Approach, and then on the basis of that definition, try to state the case. The Theological Approach may be defined as: *The presentation to Muslims of the actual teaching of the Church as unique (sui generis) in relation to the teaching of Islam.*

There are three words in this definition to which I would like to call your attention.

The first of these is the word "actual." Presenting to the Muslims the *actual* teaching of the Church. I have used this word *actual* in order to make it impossible for the word *applied* to creep in. I know there are many who would want a definition something like this: *Presenting the teaching of the Church as applied in the lives of Christians.*

I have been working with these thoughts for a number of years, and I have noted that efforts are being made in two ways to present the teaching of the Church in an applied form. The most common is the effort to present the teaching applied to the lives of missionaries. Missionaries want people to see that they have experienced the truth, and so they set themselves up as *object lessons.* We must show people, they say, by our lives and our deeds, that God loves them, cares for them; that He is merciful and compassionate. Jesus showed the love of God by going about doing good, and it is our duty to do likewise. People must see in our lives what they cannot comprehend in our preaching.

[1] This paper was read at the Conference of Missionaries to Muslims in Delhi, Dec. 6, 1938. The Conference accepted the minutes of the Findings Committee that it should be published intact in THE MOSLEM WORLD.

When I came to India as a very young man I thought that this was unassailably true. Since then I have learned that it is a most deceptive error. Let me mention a few reasons why.

1) It is perfectly true that in relation to our salvation we are not under the Law but under Grace. However, try as hard as we like, we cannot get around the fact, that our Lord Himself put the Law into the Evangel, when He said we should love God and our neighbor. If this law of love is taken seriously it must mean that every good deed done by us is in relation to it. Works of supererogation simply do not exist. I cannot fulfill this law and thereafter swing myself up to something more or something higher, that shows people the love of God. If we do good to the full extent of our power, it is nothing more than what is required of us, and we have been told that when we have done all, we are to think of ourselves as unprofitable servants, who cannot fulfill the law, but must take refuge in the mercy and grace of God.

In short, none of our good deeds can ever be interpreted to mean more than the effort to fulfill the command: Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself.

2) Another thing: Jesus said, He who hath seen me hath seen the Father.—The Missionary who thinks that he is showing God's love by doing good deeds, and that he is following in the Master's footsteps, is in reality saying the same as Jesus said: He who hath seen *me* hath seen the Father, when he should be saying: He who hath seen *Jesus* hath seen the Father.—Instead of trying to *be like Jesus,* he should *point to Jesus.* Behold—not me—but the Lamb of God who taketh away the sins of the world!

In this approach the qualitative difference between Jesus and ourselves is being removed and put over between us and the Muslims. We and Jesus are on this side of the gulf, while the Muslim and the heathen are on the other side. But the Evangel teaches us that the gulf is between God and *all* mankind, and that Jesus is God's bridge over the gulf—for all alike.

3) Another point: When a person argues with me about living the teaching of the Church I ask, By what act of kindness in your life can you show a Muslim the truth of John 3:16? No one has ever been able to tell me.

4) Again: This business of being object lessons develops along the whole line a pernicious Pharisaism. I have heard Indians argue for the truth of Christianity by declaring that missionaries were better than Muslims, and I have heard missionaries argue that Christians were better than non-Christians, and therefore Christianity is true.

But it is not at all a question of whether we are better than they. The Pharisee in the temple *was,* humanly speaking, a better man. He knew it and he thanked God for it. He was not praising himself. He believed that God had made him a better man. He was also an object lesson for those who did not attend regularly to their religious duties.

The whole idea of comparison is wrong. If I really believe as infallible truth that I and all mankind can be saved from death and destruction only by the mercy of God as revealed in Christ our Lord, then I cannot *seriously* discuss whether or not I am better than somebody else. My faith gives me a feeling of solidarity with every Muslim I meet. He may be better than I, or I better than he, but we must both throw ourselves upon the mercy of God as revealed in our Lord, if we would avoid death and destruction.

When we get down to a basic sentence like this: *There is no other name given under heaven whereby man must be saved,* then it should be as clear as the midday sun that it cannot be presented to Muslims in any other way than with words. I can say I believe it, I can preach it, but I cannot live it, and no good deed that I can do will prove it.

The other way in which an effort is being made to present the teaching of the Church in its applied form is by Christian authors, who apply the teaching of the Church to Muslim problems, national, political and personal. The

argument is that we have to show them the *workability* of the Christian faith in relation to their own problems.

Nebulosity is the first thing that strikes one in reading books of that kind: a lot of undefined, hazy talk about the "spirit of Christ" and the "mind of Christ," as applied to this, that or the other problem. It has to be hazy and undefined, for it is *not* the mind and the spirit of Christ, but the mind and the spirit of the author.

What is actually happening in this kind of an approach is that Christianity is being made into a philosophy and is being presented for its pragmatic value.

Christianity as the *Revelation of God* is not concerned with national or political issues; it is not concerned with sanitation and hygiene, nor with rural uplift, the status of women or a thousand other problems belonging to this world. Christ came to destroy the works of Satan, and every phase of the teaching of the Church is concerned (directly or indirectly) with *sin*; but *my sin*, as far as I am concerned, and *your sin* as far as you are concerned. I cannot grapple with your sin, nor you with mine; neither of us can grapple with the sin of the Muslim. Both you and I know that when we grapple with our own sin it is because we have been forced into the presence of God through Jesus Christ our Lord.

If I approach a Muslim with my so-called Christian solution of his problems I am actually making it possible for him to avoid being forced into the presence of God through Jesus Christ. It is only when I present Christ Himself, as He is embodied in the teaching of the Church, that I am giving the Muslim a chance to get into that same relationship to Christ that I myself enjoy.

I may present to the Muslim the teaching of the Church, applied to his problems, as a sort of Christian philosophy of life, but in doing so I have forgotten that God is triune, and that the third Person of the blessed Trinity is the Holy Spirit. *His* task is to convict the world of sin; *His* task is to apply Christ to the individual; *He alone* knows what the mind and spirit of Christ is for each single person.

When we set about applying the teaching of the Church to Muslim problems we are really getting ourselves confused with the Holy Spirit! And we only succeed in making a nice mess of everything. Ethics, that are relative, get confused with truth, that is absolute; philosophy gets confused with revelation; the emphasis becomes anthropocentric instead of theocentric; and subjective values get confused with objective truth.

There are other reasons why we should avoid trying to present the teaching of the Church in any applied form, but I do not want to go too deeply into the negative side of the question, so I will mention no more!

There are—fortunately—many teachings of the Church that no one would attempt to present in any applied form. E.g., the Holy Trinity, the Virgin Birth, the Incarnation, the Atonement, the Divinity of Christ, His Resurrection, Eschatology and the Integrity of the Bible. Many more could be named, and all these are vital to any true presentation of the Gospel to Muslims. Are these to be killed by silence because we cannot live them?

We have a Reading Room in Hoti-Mardan Bazaar where we have about a thousand conversations with Muslims yearly. We keep a close record of these conversations, and our experience has been that if we let the Muslim talk about what is on *his* mind, it will not be any of our good deeds—and if it is, he has invariably misunderstood them. The Muslim wants to talk about Christianity, and not about us and our good deeds. If he wants to talk about us it is not our good deeds that are worrying him!

If we are able and willing to discuss theology with the Muslim, it is an open door that he himself gives us. He gives us this open door because he feels strong at this very vital point, and I must say I have seen the Muslim tie both the missionary and the native worker up in a knot!—myself included. But that is no reason why we should abandon that open door.

There is still another way in which the Theological

Approach has been avoided. Some think that the best thing to do is to try to get the Muslim away from these difficult theological problems and encourage him to read the Gospels instead, for then he will see Jesus as He lived and walked here on earth. I have tried this method, and I have seen others try it, and I have wondered why it usually failed. Even when I succeeded in getting a man to carry away a Gospel, he always went away feeling that I could not answer his question, and that I was sidetracking him into something else. So he went away more firmly convinced that he was right and I was wrong—not just the right attitude in which to read the Gospel!

I think that by trying to avoid theology in this way we are ignoring two factors.

1) We must remember that the teaching of the Church was *not* complete at the ascension of our Lord. Our Lord Himself made allowances for this fact. The Holy Spirit had not yet come, and it was first when the Christians began meeting opposition that they more carefully worked out their teachings. I do not mean that all the necessary elements were not present—they were—but the Christians had not yet understood them and their relation to each other and to the world at large. If this were not so, why does the Bible not end with the four Gospels? Why the day of Pentecost? Why the Acts and the Epistles?

When we put such great emphasis on the reading of the Gospels without being interested in giving an explanation of them we are really expecting the Muslims to grasp the Evangel in a form that was not clear enough for the first Church to live on. For if it could live on the Gospels alone, why has the rest of the New Testament been canonized? The Gospels tell of the *kenosis,* the emptying, the humiliation of the Son of God. I know that they also point to the *telos,* the fulfillment, the glorification of Christ; but it is not accomplished in the Gospels, and belief in this *telos,* in the glorified Christ, who is sitting at the right hand of the Father, and who is coming again to judge the living and the dead, first becomes real after the day of Pentecost.

By way of example, let me mention two things the first Church had not understood: the relation of the Gospel to the Law; and the universality of the Gospel.

2) The other factor we are ignoring is history. Islam and Christianity have been living together for over 1300 years. It is impossible for us to close our eyes to this fact. The Christian and the Muslim are too close neighbors to think that we can begin with them as though they knew nothing. An Australian bushman can begin to read the Gospels as something altogether new, and be carried along gradually to a fuller knowledge of the truth in Christ Jesus. Not so with the Muslim. He knows the name of Christ; he knows we believe Him to be divine-human; he knows we believe in a triune God; he knows we believe Jesus died and rose again on the third day. He also knows of things that simply are not so; and what he does know is in a muddle. If we try to induce him to read the Gospel accounts, instead of trying to clear up his muddle, thinking that that is enough, we are doing what the first Christians did not do. They went deeply into the problems of their day, and cleared them up.

And if we want the Muslim to read the Gospel story with any understanding and sympathy, we must at least try to clear up his worst difficulties for him, and give him a somewhat clear idea of what the Church teaches on the basis of the Gospels. I am not by any means deprecating the use of the Gospels; I am arguing for a thorough explanation of them.

The Theological Approach is in one sense of the word, working backwards. Theology is needed by the missionary if he is to help remove prejudice and clear up the muddled thoughts of the Muslim, and then the Gospel story can be read by him with an open mind, possibly also eagerly.

So much then about the presentation of the actual teaching of the Church to Muslims.

The next word I would like to draw your attention to is *unique*. We must present the teaching of the Church as

unique. I doubt whether we really are presenting the teaching of the Church at all, unless it is unique in every phase. I would put it very strongly, that this is true not only regarding objective truth like belief in Inspiration, the Virgin Birth or Eschatology, but that it is also true regarding subjective truth, like prayer. If the center of our faith is *absolute*, then everything that radiates out from that center must be *unique*.

And yet, how often does not the missionary begin by saying, for example: We both believe in prayer, so . . . . As a matter of fact prayer in Islam is poles apart from prayer in the teaching of the Church. There is no meeting place. A Muslim student once said to me: Do you believe in prayer? Answer Yes or No. I said, No. He was very surprised until I explained that he was asking the question on the basis of his own conception of prayer as a Muslim, and therefore I had to say No. The discussion, then, was not about the validity of prayer as such, but about the difference between the Muslim and the Christian conception.

I would even go further, and say that if I were discussing the universal urge in mankind to prayer, that the teaching of the Church is unique. That universal urge to prayer is only a remnant left in us reminding us of our fallen state; whereas the Christian urge to prayer is the working of the Holy Spirit, that follows certain lines described by our Lord. E.g., when anyone tells me that so-and-so has a wonderful prayer-life I usually answer: So have many Hindus and Muslims! If the urge to prayer in so-and-so really were the working of the Holy Spirit, it would follow the lines laid down in the New Testament by our Lord, and be unique in several respects. Just to name one: It would not only be private but also secret. Neither you nor I would know anything about it. It would be a matter between him and God alone, with no other value than its own intrinsic value.

So if we are to give the Muslim the actual teaching of the Church about prayer it will be *unique*; we must tell him

it is different from everything else, as it is not a result of the universal urge to prayer, but the working of the Holy Spirit. We will have to tell him that it is done in secret; that it cannot be used as a good example for anyone else; that it cannot be shown off, neither by the one praying, nor by anyone else; and that it cannot be used to prove or disprove anything.

I have used prayer as an example because it is one of the subjects where we are most apt to forget that everything Christian is unique.

Personally I think that one of the weakest points in our presentation of the Gospel to Muslims is just here. If I pat a Muslim on the back and tell him that we both believe in the Virgin Birth of Jesus I have really betrayed the Church and deceived the Muslim. I have let him go on thinking that what he believes about the Virgin Birth is the same as that which the Christian Church believes, and that is not so. Our belief in the Virgin Birth is inseparably bound up with the divinity of our Lord; the Muslim considers it just another demonstration of the power of God.

In this question of uniqueness we have to hew to the line. Sometimes this hurts, as things we are fond of have to be thrown out, for they are not uniquely Christian, but belong to the category of universal religiosity. But it has to be done, for the teaching of the Church is either unique or it is of no effect.

Missionaries to Muslims have mountains of work to be done in this sphere. So much more so because we have so many terms in common with them. But until this is done Muslims will not even know what we are trying to get at; they will continue to think that we are just stubbornly holding on to an older, abrogated form of religion, just because it is ours.

Finally, I would like to say a little about the phrase: *in relation to Islam.* From what I have said about the uniqueness of our message I am sure you will understand

that I do not mean *Comparative Religion.* The study of comparative religion is usually a tacit admission of the relativeness of all religion. I would be more inclined to call it *"contrastive"* religion; instead of synthesis, antithesis; instead of juxtaposition, contraposition. We have to study Islam so that we can be sure that everything we say or write *cannot* be understood as meaning the same as the Muslim means by using that term or phrase. If we do not do this, the Muslim world will go on as before, happily believing that in the last analysis the two religions are of close kin, and that there certainly is no reason for leaving the one and accepting the other.

Some missionaries are very anxious about contacts, about finding some common ground with Muslims. I have found that their great desire for theological discussion is common ground enough. I often wonder why missionaries who go about searching in the corners for contacts are blind to this desire for discussion. It is there, it is an open door. It is open at a vital point if we only realize it and take advantage of it in the right way.

Just one more thing in regard to the presenting of the Gospel in relation to Islam. It should go without saying that we should be sympathetic, but if that sympathy is misdirected we are apt to fall into the temptation of being more interested in the reactions of the Muslims than in the purity of our message. Our first interest can never be to have such a sympathy for the Muslim that we tone down the polemical attack Christianity always in itself is, and always must be. It may pain me to see how the Muslim is hurt by what I say. But it is not *my* message; it has been given to me to give to him. I can only give it as it is, even when it hurts us both.

Now I presume that the main objection to what I have said will be that it is intellectualism. It is religion of the head and not of the heart. But remember there are two pits into which we can fall; one is intellectualism and the other is sentimentalism. Religion that is only of the heart is

just as erroneous as religion that is only of the head. Faith is just as little a sentimental experience as it is mental acquiescence. Faith is the action of the whole person: head, heart and will in the presence of God.

I know that the Theological Approach has to be on its guard constantly against intellectualism. Every truth that is presented to the Muslim has to be presented in such a way that it has vital, organic relation to him, as a sinner. This is impossible unless the missionary has found that vital connection for himself, as a sinner. It often needs a lot of thinking, but it has to be done; for we are not just out to defend or champion our beliefs among Muslims, and as surely as this relationship is *not* found you have intellectualism and the defensive attitude.

But if it *is* found, the charge of intellectualism falls to the ground, and the Theological Approach is the most valuable and valid approach we have to the Muslim.

Mardan, India JENS CHRISTENSEN.

AL-SHA'RĀNĪ THE MYSTIC

One of the latest representatives—but not the least important in respect of influence—of the mystical school of Islam, was Abu'l-Mawāhib 'Abd al-Wahhāb b. Aḥmad al-Sha'rānī (called also al-Sha'rāwī) al-Shāfi'ī al-Misrī. He received his surname of "al-Sha'rānī," we are told, because of the abundance of his hair (*sha'r*).

He was born in 897/1492, in Upper Egypt, and it is to be noted how favorable a sphere Egypt has offered for the development of mysticism, Hellenic, Christian and Muslim. Plotinus, the master-mind of the Neo-Platonic school, was born in Egypt: Philo, the Hellenic Jew, by whose mysticism St. John was influenced, was an Alexandrian, while the Christian hermits who lived in the Egyptian desert included such notable mystics as St. Macarius and John of Lycopolis. One of the earliest of the Islamic mystics, Dhu'l-Nūn al-Miṣrī, upon whose teaching much of the later Ṣūfism was based, was also a native of Upper Egypt, while the great mystic poet 'Umar Ibn al-Fāriḍ was a Cairene.

We are fortunate in possessing an autobiographical work by al-Sha'rānī, his *Laṭā'if al-Minan wa'l-akhlāq*,[1] which throws much light, not only on his career, but also on his character and personality. He observes that God had blessed him in giving him noble ancestors, who included several sultans, among them Aḥmad, ruler of Tilimsān, in the lifetime of the Shaykh Abū Madyān al-Maghabī, who taught Aḥmad's son Mūsa the theory and practice of Ṣūfism, and when Mūsa renounced the world in order to devote himself to the religious life, the Shaykh bade him travel to Upper Egypt. Al-Sha'rānī, therefore, came of

[1] Several editions have been printed at Cairo. I have used the edition of 1288 A.H.

Ṣūfī stock. He was evidently a precocious child, for he notes that when he was only eight, God had enabled him to commit the whole of the Qur'ān to memory. By way of illustrating the divine care for him, he tells a story of how, when a child, he went one day to swim in the Nile, which was in flood, and becoming exhausted, he sank to the bottom; whereupon God sent a crocodile, which placed itself under his feet, and he was able to raise himself and to reach the bank, with the aid of the crocodile, which then dived and disappeared. He lost his parents early, but he pays a tribute to both mother and father, for their care, not only for physical but spiritual needs, in giving guidance in the Path of God.

When he was twelve years old, he went up to Cairo, and in this event also he sees the divine guidance, which led him to the centre of culture and learning. There he found his way to the mosque of which Abu 'l-'Abbās al-Ghamrī was in charge, "whose heart God touched," so that he and his children welcomed the boy and gave him a home and affection. Many, al-Sha'rānī says, gave him gifts, and often he passed these on to the students of the mosque. There he studied the Canon Law, in its relation to religious and civil life, and the works of the commentators, and was evidently a keen and successful student, working under a large number of teachers and *shaykhs*.[2] Of his contemporaries, al-Sha'rānī admired most 'Alī al-Khawwās, Afḍal al-Dīn, and Ibrāhīm al-Matbūlī, the first of whom was, in al-Sha'rānī's eyes, the spiritual leader of the time, possessed of intuitive power, learned both in religious matters and in metaphysics, and one of those great saints who are ignored in their lifetime by other men.

After this, al-Sha'rānī evidently spent a period wandering about, living in great destitution, fleeing from human society, finding shelter in different mosques, in one of which he remained for a year, eating only what had been obtained by lawful means (a rule observed by all good Ṣūfīs) and spending his days and nights in prayer, devotion

[2] *Laṭā'if al-Minan*, p. 6.

and recollection.[3] In 919 he embarked on the Nile for Upper Egypt and there appears to have married and settled down, practising the trade of a weaver. Contrary to Muslim custom, he gives us the names of his wives, Zaynab, Ḥalīma, Fāṭima and Umm al-Ḥasan, all virtuous women, who helped him to do good, but Fāṭima was the most devout, and she was perhaps the Umm 'Abd al-Raḥmān to whom he refers, saying that he had often found himself weaving and his wife spinning, for the benefit of the poor, and he knew that his house was blest. Sometimes she would open the stores and take out for the poor and the wayfarers what would have sufficed their own household for months, and after she had opened them, there was not enough left for a single month, but, he adds, "may God be pleased with her."

Throughout his life al-Sha'rānī continued to study, to investigate both knowledge and the conditions of life, and to live his own life in accordance with his knowledge and convictions, setting himself in opposition to the worldliness and hypocrisy of the religious leaders of his time, and also criticising the Government for its oppressive methods. He himself refused to indulge in luxury of any kind, in clothing or food, being a member of the Shādhiliyya order of dervishes, which had been founded in the thirteenth century by Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Shādhilī. Al-Sha'rānī never sought dignities or reputation, but the purity of his character, added to his learning, attracted many followers to him, and his success excited the jealousy of the orthodox *'ulamā'*, who accused him of perverting the Faith. He quotes the words of the founder of his order, Abu 'l-Ḥasan, who had said, "None attains to a high degree of knowledge without having to submit to four afflictions: the injuries of enemies, the blame of friends, the attacks of the ignorant and the jealousy of the learned."[4] But al-Sha'rānī's orthodoxy was upheld by no less a person than the Prophet himself, for he relates that 'Alī, a disciple of the shaykh Damirdāsh,[5]

[3] *Al-Baḥr al-Mawrūd*, p. 97. (ed. Cairo, A.H. 1278.)
[4] *Cf.* Perron, *Mizān al-Sha'rānī* p. XXXVIII.
[5] *Cf.* Lane, "Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians," pp. 242, 244.

saw in a dream a prophet who said, "Go, announce to all, that the Prophet declares that the teaching of 'Abd al-Wahhāb al-Sha'rānī is in accordance with the Qur'ān and the Sunna," and he adds that there were other dreams, giving him encouragement and support. [6]

At the beginning of 961/1554 al-Sha'rānī says that he had several visions bidding him prepare for the journey to the next world, but his death did not take place until 973/1565. He was buried beside his favorite mosque, which, since 1774, has borne his name.

Al-Sha'rānī is best known as a mystic, since most of his writings were concerned with mysticism, but he was also a social reformer, setting his face against the abuses of his time and standing forth as the champion of the weak and the oppressed. A pleasing trait in his character, not always to be found among his compatriots at the present time, was his consideration for animals. He tells us that even as a child he had no fear of wild beasts, and as he grew up he feared neither serpent nor scorpion nor crocodile, nor any living being, whether human or *jinn*. When he had hired or borrowed a beast for riding, he endeavored not to eat or drink while making use of it, lest he should become heavier than at the time of hire or loan, but if necessity obliged him to do so, he did not fail to inform the owner and to pay an increased price. Furthermore, he would caress the animal itself and make his excuses to it, for, he says, "beasts know how to recognize and distinguish those who wish them well from those who wish them evil." He did not overload any beast, and always treated his mount with great consideration, declaring that no animal should be beaten to cause pain." [7]

He was still more concerned with the state of the peasantry under the Ottoman rule, living as he did when Egypt had just been conquered by the Turks, and he sympathized with the hardships of the poor and those

[6] Perron, *op. cit.* p. XXX.

[7] *Mizān al-Sha'rānī*, pp. XXIX, XXXVIII; *Laṭā'if*, p. 21. It was regarded as a mark of saintship that the saint could subdue the wild creatures to friendliness. *Cf.* my "Rābi'a the Mystic," p. 34; al-Ghazāli also urges the traveller to be merciful to his beast. *Iḥyā'*, II, p. 226.

suffering under oppressive taxation. At the same time, he counselled his disciples to respect the temporal authority and to obey the law. He was opposed to polygamy, and he realized this to be a weakness in Muslim society, though this realization may not have come to him until his later years; but he states that the Ṣūfīs had undertaken to have but one wife, and to associate no others with her, and he adds that this makes for domestic happiness. He also shows an unusual respect for the dignity of womanhood. He attacked the formalism and lack of spirituality of the *'ulamā'* and contrasted their pride with the humility of the Christians and Jews, who acknowledged their sinfulness in the sight of God, and did not seek to assert their superiority over others. "If knowledge," he says, "does not increase the humility of its possessor, it is good for nothing", [8] and again he says that the knowledge which is revealed by God, is for the benefit of all, not to make those who receive it superior to others, but given in order that they may be of more use to His servants. [9] Al-Sha'rānī expresses his disapproval of those who, even in times of religious indifference, elect to remove themselves from the world and their brethren, finding their happiness in asceticism and complete solitude, and so leading a barren existence, hoping thereby to become saints, but more probably falling victims to delusions and hallucinations, when they are exhausted by abstinence, insomnia and solitude. The good life, al-Sha'rānī holds, is the life of activity combined with service to others, a life productive of good for the Faith and society; sanctification is a gift from God, not a thing to be acquired by human means and effort.

Al-Sha'rānī was much distressed by the decay and weakness of Islam in his time, and exerted himself to restore the faith to its primitive unity, seeking to reduce the Islamic sects to a uniform system, and though he was not successful in this while he lived, his efforts were not without result. Like other Ṣūfīs, he displayed a broad tolerance; all Muslim sects to him were equally good and, as we have

[8] *Al-Baḥr al-Mawrūd*, p. 46.
[9] Perron. *op. cit.* p. XXX.

seen, he could recognize the good in other faiths such as Christianity and Judaism. In his view, the sincere mystic was in a higher rank, in every respect, than the mere theologian, for to worship God with a pure heart was worth infinitely more than all religious exercises and ritual.

Theology he regarded as only the first step towards Ṣūfism and he was primarily a mystic, most of his numerous works being concerned with mysticism, e.g., *al-Ṭabaqāt al-Ṣūfiyya, Lawāqiḥ al-Anwār, al-Anwār al-Qudsiyya* and *al-Baḥr al-Mawrūd.* His theosophic doctrine is based in the main on the teaching of the great mystics who had preceded him, among them Junayd of Baghdad, Abū Nu'aym al-Iṣfahānī, of whose *Ḥilyat al-Awliyā* he made use, al-Qushayrī, the author of one of the earliest tracts on Ṣūfism, al-Suhrawardī, author of the *'Awārif al-Ma'ārif,* but chiefly, the greatest of the Arab mystics, Muḥyi al-Dīn Ibn 'Arabī, whose *Futūḥāt* he epitomized, and whose teaching is constantly quoted in his own works.

Al-Sha'rānī holds that the saints, in this world, for the most part go unrecognized, for God Most High veils their sanctity from those who are unable to comprehend their mystic knowledge and the divine light by which their hearts are irradiated. Every saint is veiled by veils like unto the seventy veils which are about the Ultimate Reality, for, as He transcends the knowledge of man, so also does the saint. The saint is possessed of that inner eye of the heart, which God has opened for him, so that his spiritual understanding is enlightened, and he comprehends all mysteries, and in the light of gnosis he can contemplate the Invisible. [10] God cannot be known by means of the reason of a merely rational being; He is known by His own revelation of Himself. This divine knowledge is beyond the power of the mind to grasp; it breaks in suddenly upon those to whom God grants it, who have surrendered themselves, body, soul and spirit, into His hands, that He may do with them what He will, and such He chooses to be His saints, to enjoy constant fellowship with Himself. [11]

[10] *Lawāqiḥ al-Anwār,* pp. 6, 7.
[11] *Ibid.* p. 9.

But the novice seeking to follow God has a long and arduous path to tread before he reaches the spiritual perfection of the Saints, and the service of God must begin with his realization that he is a creature, under the power of the Creator. Then he must detach himself from the fetters of this world, so that he may be free to attach himself to God alone. So he learns to meditate upon the things of God, and when he realizes that all proceeds from Him, then he ceases to think of himself as a servant, or of his service, being altogether preoccupied with his Lord. Then he finds himself secure in his conviction that all he needs will be granted unto him by the Giver of every good gift, and he surrenders all things in trust and submission to his Lord, relying on His wisdom and no longer seeking to choose for himself. So he endures affliction with patience and is satisfied in every state in which he finds himself, with what God has appointed for him, and is grateful for all He does.

Thence the seeker passes on to the rank of the gnostics, having attained the gnosis concerning God, which is the mark of the Ṣūfīs, and he knows himself to be reborn, having died unto the old man and become a new creature, having passed away from the old self, because of his absorption in his Lord. Now, because he knows God and has become like Him, he enters into fellowship with Him, that communion which is barred to those who do not know Him and have no affinity with Him, nor intercourse with Him; for fellowship, as al-Sha'rānī points out, can exist only with one with whom we are familiar, and we can be familiar only with one with whom we have affinity and likeness and to whom we have drawn near. [12]

So, having trodden the mystic path and ascended ever higher and higher, the mystic enters into the unitive life, lived in, and with, God; he has died unto himself and is alive in God, contemplating the vision of the glory which has been revealed to him. [13]

[12] *al-Anwār al-Qudsiyya*, pp. 126 ff. (margin of *Lawāqiḥ*). *Cf.* St. Paul, "We all, with unveiled face, beholding as in a glass, the glory of the Lord, are changed into the same image, from glory to glory, even as by the Spirit of the Lord." 2 Cor. 3:18.

[13] *Al-Anwar al-Qudsiyya*, p. 22 (margin).

Al-Sha'rānī exercised a great influence over the minds of his contemporaries—due as much to his high moral character and his disinterested efforts on behalf of others, as to his great learning—and his writings still have far-reaching influence among Muslims, and are still in popular demand. He himself founded an order which bears his name, the *Ṭarīqa al-Sha'rāwiyya.* [14]

We cannot doubt that he was a true mystic, living in constant touch with the Unseen, to whom the spiritual world was as near and as real as the temporal world, one who felt himself to be, in truth, walking in fellowship with God. [15]

London MARGARET SMITH.

[14] *Cf.* Lane, "Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians," p. 242.

[15] Modern missionaries may note that one of the earliest of their number, Henry Martyn, found his most attentive listeners among the Ṣūfīs, and wrote in his diary, "These Ṣūfīs are quite the Methodists of the East. They delight in everything Christian except in being exclusive. They consider they all will finally return to God, from Whom they emanated."

OUR DEBT TO THE MOSLEM ARAB

Since problems of cultural inheritance and the preservation of peculiarities in a people's heritage seem nowadays in some quarters in process of closer scrutiny—not to say arbitrary solution—than for many decades, or centuries, previously, we have occasion and incentive therein for a re-examination of some of the cultural results of relations between Islam and Christendom, especially our own indebtedness, if any, to Islam. But, apart from any passing mood or practice of our own day, which would preserve the "native" and reject the "foreign" in a national situation, we have a recurring obligation in the direction of historical perspective and for the building of a reasonably international society well guided by lessons of the past and using any worthy elements of human progress.

Our present task might seem at first glance almost highly theoretical—that is, our exposition of "our own indebtedness." Nor would we merely point to American collections of books, manuscripts and the arts which exhibit the gifts of the Islamic movement. We have in mind the West and the fact that we are heirs of the West and of its inheritance. We have in mind also our future and whatever may be built in it. And the fact is of moment that America and the West are "Christian" in contrast with the "Moslem world." The Christian and the Moslem have yet to reach a constructive understanding by means of mutually sympathetic and objective study. Their two worlds have stood consistently in opposition, religiously opposed, at least, whatever they have exchanged in general culture. Certain Christian writers of our own time have commonly begrudged Islam its values. One of them who has peculiar competence went at least thus far in the issue

of THE MOSLEM WORLD of October, 1916, p. 347: "Both Arabs and Turks borrowed everything that had to do with culture, except their languages, from others." And Christian apologists have continually emphasized "the dead weight of Islam." There is, of course, a corresponding Islamic apologetic, as in the *Islamic Review,* which rejects Christianity (except for Christian elements which authentic Moslem tradition holds). And some Moslem writers of the day, especially in India and Egypt, are giving Islam added credit as an agency of culture.[1] Certain Moslem apologists of liberal attitude are interpreting Christian ideas in the light of what they take to be the very essence of Islam—a striking method of interpretation such as Christianity has often used, e.g., in its theory of Christian doctrine as the "fulfilment" of non-Christian faiths.

Among less apologetic students, also, there are differences of opinion on the origin and character of Moslem and Christian ideas and institutions, for example, the "Roman," the "Byzantine" and the newer "pre-Byzantine" schools of interpreters. As one of these students looks off dispassionately toward Mecca—or, toward Baghdad or Cordova, instead—what values can he detect along the intervening, westward routes of Islamic expansion? Are there convincing evidences in the various records of the intervals that western culture is definitely indebted to the Moslems? And, if so, is it a debt to their originality, or only to their agency? There are many records worth examining, although all the facts, one feels, are not available; and there are many items worthy of enumeration and commentary in a review of the essential situation. Whatever the present writer may lack of technical competence at certain points in this survey, he disclaims, in general, an apologetic interest, and is not aware of any "feeling" in dealing with the Islamic-Christian field, which, religiously, at least, is so highly controversial.

In further restriction of our field of inquiry and survey, let us ask about *Arab* influence—rather than Moslem, in

[1] See "The Influence of Islam on Indian Culture," by Tarachand, 1936.

general—on certain *parts* of the West during chosen *eras*. This would take us to the East at first, for the question is involved of Arab (Moslem Arab) originality. It would take us from Islam's original location in Arabia out to Damascus, Baghdad, Cairo (Fostāt) and, eventually, to Cordova within the period of the first century and a quarter of the Moslem movement, introducing us to such close associates of the Arabs as Persians, Hellenistic Greeks, Armenians, Copts, Berbers and Iberians—a scene quite complicated in itself and yet fully illustrative of the *Arab's* rôle. Damascus, a very ancient, pre-Islamic foundation, represents a midway point of mediation, where significant influence was soon exerted upon Islam, whatever effects the Moslems themselves may have accomplished. Baghdad was virtually a Moslem foundation (762 A.D.) intended to be new and unhampered by alien elements. And, although Baghdad is a sign of Islam's *eastward* course, it represents Greek influence on Islam and through Islam an influence on the West. It might properly exhibit, none the less, whatever there was of Arab originality. Cordova was a Moslem city of the West (with certain prior Iberian constituents). If Baghdad might exhibit what the Arabs had to give, Cordova might symbolize their actual gifts.

But we have moved inevitably by our reference to these two cities into a further era of Islam, into our own ninth century, for in that century, Baghdad was *the* seat of the Moslem Golden Age, with Cordova as a worthy rival in most particulars. In this same century, likewise, Sicily was flourishing under the Moslem Aghlabids as a medium of great influence. And a third era must be distinguished, even though all three stand together in close sequence, a third era culminating in Baghdad, with the finished work of al-Ghazāli (d. 1111 A.D.) and, in Cordova, with the death of Ibn Rushd (Averroes, d. 1198 A.D.). Taken as a whole, the dominance of Arab factors in the Islamic Empire extended through five hundred years until A.D. 1200. But the fortunes of Baghdad and Cordova waned perceptibly during the tenth century, and even during the

days of Ibn Rushd, Toledo was the chief seat of Moslem learning in Spain. By 1200 A.D. the "spiritual" rather than any imperial splendor was the measure of Moslem influence. And again how complicated had the racial scene become! In Spain alone were not only Arab, but these Spanish, Moorish and other elements—lingering remnants of Slavic, Saxon, Roman and Phoenician.

I. What had the Arab to contribute to the West—or anywhere? Arabia was the cradle and Arabs the original people of Islam. When Islam was born the land was comparatively barren and the people destitute of higher culture. Could any good thing come out of such a Nazareth? Yes, they had their language, as was said, a most extraordinary medium of expression, which during the lifetime of Mohammed had acquired the character of "the tongue of the angels," had become the sole language of God's final revelations—but more of this later. And, some would say they had their music and a modicum of poetry, either pre-Islamic or early Moslem. We all would say that they had their religion, whatever our opinion of its origins, and that they had their Prophet. Although much has been written, often indisputably, to show Islam's original indebtedness to Judaism, on the one hand, or to Christianity, on the other, not to mention such pagan ingredients as the *Ka'ba* and the *Ḥajj,* Islam must be counted an *original* religion.

Precisely what do we mean by "originality"? Originality is possible, surely, apart from origins. Intensity of devotion to an ideal and effectiveness in the promulgation of it may guarantee the devotee's priority and independence. Of course, time-sequences and human associations may not wholly be ignored, and least of all, recorded acknowledgments of debt, but there is convincing evidence of originality in the very exercise of sensitive, acquisitive, selective and creative powers, such as Islam had and exercised, both in Arabia and beyond. Wise choices and definite rejections were made repeatedly in the course of Islam's broadening experience. Take the case of *fiqh,* or canon law—or, call it simply Law, since in early Islam the state and church were

one. It gave full play, in matters not precluded by Koranic statements, to the exercise of judgment (*ra'y*, opinion), to the use of common sense on a *qadi's* or judge's part, especially in the years before the Law was systematized under the Abbasids (ninth century A.D.) When Islam fell heir to, e.g., Roman Law, in Syria and elsewhere, Roman elements were then made to fit Islamic usage. And what was true of Law (Islam's problems were at first political) was in a commensurate degree true later of Theology. Islam was able both in Law and in Theology to develop and establish a *variegated orthodoxy*.

Mohammed himself has this peculiar claim, among others, to originality—he was selective. Reared a pagan, learning much about Judaism and Christianity, he declared himself, however, the "restorer" of the "religion of Abraham" which had been corrupted.[2] This, to him, was the original, sound (*cf. ḥanīf*) religion, in contrast with the "guidance" (*huda*) of the Jews and Christians. After all, who taught Mohammed to be a monotheist? Neither Jews nor Christians did, apart from his own common sense. His "Unity" was for the times an innovation which even before the founding of Baghdad had probably had this effect, at least, on Christendom:—it fed the Christian image-controversy, inspiring the iconoclasm of the eastern Emperor Leo (717-740 A.D.), in spite of the strenuous opposition of the western Church. And, in spite of Leo's own successful opposition to Islam, his elevation of the serfs to civil liberty may have been partially inspired by the comparatively classless society of the Moslems. Abstemiousness, also, was another of the Prophet's own ingredients of the pure, Abrahamic religion, which has had its novel influence.

The religion of Islam must therefore itself be counted a definite contribution of the Arabs—an element frequently omitted in discussions of the Moslem "legacy." As Gustav Diercks said fifty years ago in his "Die Arabische Kultur",

"This tremendous movement came out of Arabia borne by Arabs.

[2] *cf.* Koran 2: 129; 3: 89.

The Caliphate and its sole dominion was established by the Arabs, ruled by them and regulated on Arabic principles. The Arabic book of religion, the Koran, and its tongue provided articulation (*Bindeglieder*) for all Moslem lands. The very spirit which infused the Moslem world was Arabic and it was the basis, the driving force (Motor) of culture."

He called it amazing that a mere handful of Arabs could win their way abroad so easily, whatever help Syrians, Berbers and others gave them (but his interesting solution of the quick conquest of Spain was the receptive presence there of a previous Semitic, Phoenician, culture!) He, however, used the term "Arab," or, at any rate, "Arab culture," sometimes very loosely (*im allgemeinen!*) not reckoning exactly on the many racial factors, as we must do in any fair analysis today.

By implication, at least, Diercks makes his own distinction between cultures, which others have made in terms of "East" and "West," thereby accounting for "implacable" differences. There is indeed an East and there is also a West, with cogent connotations of mutual dissimilarity. On the whole, accordingly, Islam is oriental and Christianity occidental (Christianity *was* a religion of essentially eastern origin, but it has developed forms conspicuously in contrast therewith, as anyone knows who examines the modern history of Christianity in the Orient). But lest we emphasize unduly such a contrast in our present study, let us further analyze the setting of our problem: A map indicative of political, ethical, artistic and religious ideas and institutions would not only show "East" and "West," but would draw a line somewhere between Syro-Armenian and other regions eastward, i.e., between Byzantine and Eastern regions, and would distinguish—for certain periods—the eastern from the western Mediterranean, thus differentiating between the "classical" and the oriental spirit and content of Western literature. It would show Arabia in comparative isolation and exhibit in many colors, now blending, now blurred, the extensive belt of Islam from Gibraltar and the Pyrenees on the west to in-

definite borders in the East—the coloring due to *many* racial and other elements pre-Moslem and, perhaps, pre-Christian. Baghdad, for example, on this map would be composite: a city planned by an Arab, a Persian and a Jew, erected on Sāsānid soil with at least some Sānānian materials, and welcoming, especially during its Golden Age, the physical and cultural merchandise of the world, including things "Indo-European."

Although the Arabs had no structural taste or skill, and found native craftsmen in their eastern provinces who built in their own peculiar style, [3] the mosques, palaces and schools retained an unmistakable *individuality* of their own, in spite of such adoptions, for example, as the dome, the minaret and the horseshoe arch. Was it Arabic religion dominating culture? Did not the minaret answer the need, whether of Bilal or later *mu'azzins*, of elevation for the summons to public prayer? Religion was served by the dome and the arch, also. And unquestionably, religion provided through its sacred script the principal ornamentation of mosques and other public buildings, even as religion prohibited their use of "representations" (images, etc.). The Kufic script attained a high degree of excellence and was widely used, being freely adopted by the Christian West for use in art and architecture. To a great extent, therefore, the Arabic language in itself was a contribution to a general culture. But we may not ignore yet another aspect of this language, quite apart from its religious content, and that is the language as a competent medium for all sorts and aspects of ideas. Its structural complexity as a general medium stands in amazing contrast with the original simplicity of Islam. It has played, on this account, its own conspicuous part in the development of Moslem thought and in the transmission of ideas, especially to the West. It is of no small moment that culture should have a language through which it may express itself.

There was also in Baghdad a certain original Arab stock of *poetry* and *music*, and the Arabs were both inventors

[3] *cf.* M. S. Briggs in, "The Legacy of Islam," p. 156.

and improvers of musical instruments, such as the guitar, certain harps and flutes and the tambourine.[4] Perhaps there had been Persian influences through the state of Ḥīra, and Byzantine influence through Ghassān on Arab music prior to Islam, yet there was earlier still an indigenous Arab (Semitic?) theory and practice. One writer[5] seeks to prove the Greek origin of Moslem music, even while he lists, along with what he calls "West Arabian" (*Hijazi*), "two modes, Arabic, not Greek." Evidence of Greek influence is, of course, abundant. There is, likewise, abundant evidence that the Arabs themselves improved upon this musical heritage, both in theory and in practice. In poetry, a definite contribution of the Arab to *form* was perfect rhyme (even the Koran, which eschews poetry, is composed in rhymed prose) and a contribution of his to *content* was a type of platonic love, the pure devotion of the lover to a conventionally idealized and physically unattainable mistress. There was in early Baghdad love aplenty for "water, wine, gardens bright and faces fair" (Abu Nuwas), yet there was also a poetic cult of singers of the truly martyr spirit of enraptured lovers living and dying chaste. This type of poetry was destined later to affect the West as a peculiar expression of knightly virtue, as mystic compensation, at the lowest, for fleshly self-denial, and at the highest, as the realization of the divine Beloved. Baghdad under the "religious" Abbasids, furnished a congenial soil for this, in contrast with the earlier pagan, sensuous mood of the Damascene Umayyads.

With reference now to early Arab *ideas,* apart from original Islam-as-such, perhaps little need be said immediately in further evidence of their originality. Ideas, after all, are less tangible than mosques, guitars and poetry, and yet it were unfair to imply that the early Arabs had no ideas of their own. They did draw freely upon other sources—such was their disposition, as we have said. And their chief source was Greece. But in Islamic mysticism as it developed in the East there was something appropriately

[4] *ibid,* p. 361.
[5] Gairdner in THE MOSLEM WORLD, October, 1916, p. 355.

original. On the contrary, in the realm of *reason* (the Islamic *'aql*) the source was Greek.[6] In Damascus first of all under Christian theologians, such as the famous John of that city, Moslems indulged in dialectic, examining in this way the articles of their faith, a faith supremely based on revelation. In Iraq, Greek science and philosophy were made accessible to Moslems by certain Syrians, and rationalistic speculation (*cf.* the "free-thinking" Mu'tazilites) gained headway. This was a notable development which in time, though reluctantly, became a part of orthodoxy—by no means, however, to the extent to which Thomist scholasticism transformed the theology of Rome. Islamic *mysticism,* however, enjoyed a wider, more enduring triumph, whether positively or even as a reaction against suboriginal, especially scholastic, orthodoxy. There may have been, to some extent, for mysticism, Greek inspiration (neo-Platonic), but mystical elements were actually native to Islam.[7] There is indeed a long line leading not too deviously from the place of Mohammed's first auditions, Mt. Ḥirā', to the *Confessions* of the great scholastic mystic al-Ghazāli; and Sufism, with all its varied elements, is preeminently Moslem. The mystic way, likewise, was a notable development which represents through al-Ghazāli a new kind of orthodoxy through the "destruction" of philosophy. Previously Ibn Sina (Avicenna) had merely *separated* theology and philosophy, realizing that Greek thought and Islamic could not be reconciled. Moslem mysticism has been influential mainly in the East. In the West, Greek reason was predominant.

The conclusion of our scanty treatment so far of Arab originality is this: the original stock of the Moslem Arab was chiefly his essential religion, together with an adequate linguistic medium through which to express his peculiar devotion; *and* he had both the flexibility of language and the dispositional tolerance necessary to accommodate himself to strange surroundings over which he exercised con-

[6] See any standard treatise on the subject, e.g., O'Leary's "Arabic Thought" or Macdonald's "Muslim Theology."

[7] See Archer's "Mystical Elements in Mohammed" and Nazmi Anabtawy, "Sufism in Islam."

trol. All this made him the driving force in his own reconstruction of a new civilization, to which, nevertheless, he as well as others were indebted.

II. We turn now to what the Arab took with him to the West. We thus journey from Baghdad to Cordova, and on the way, or at least upon arrival, we become aware of a somewhat abrupt transition. Cordovan Islam is somewhat different from Baghdadi, although Islamic unity prevails throughout, and the Arab is therein the dominating personality. But Spanish Islam is more in the Umayyad tradition of Damascus, by reason of the blood succession in its Cordovan Caliphate. And Spain and Iraq were at extremities. Had we not looked at the essential Arab in his native setting, we might think his brother of the western migration to have been merely a *purveyor* of culture. True, the West profited more from the Arab's transmission of culture than from his originality. The West spurned the Arab's Islam as a religion, bitterly rejecting its monotheism and its iconoclasm, and practising, even with its own Christian monasticism, far less human brotherhood and abstemiousness than were characteristic of Islam. In the name of religion the West launched against the Arabs and their compatriots (too late, however, for our present purposes) a series of wars whose motives mainly were relief for European over-population and success in the commercial enterprise of Genoese and Venetians. But during earlier centuries the Arabs of Spain—and of Sicily —had brought, on their part, gifts to the Latin West. Islam was more than a military invasion; it was a cultural penetration. Even as Islamic art came into being in the East amidst mutually hostile Sāsānid and Hellenistic cultures, so also in the West amidst hostilities, through the instrumentality of "enemies" of Christendom came new cultural forms of art, architecture, science, literature and philosophy. Even as any Thābit may court his lady in the enemies' preserve, so culture laughs at handicaps and barriers.

"By the tenth century the whole basis of life throughout

Spain was profoundly influenced by Islam," and with the capture of Toledo in 1085 by the Christian forces the way was effectively opened for the spread of that influence to the rest of Europe.[8] In this century, of course, the great Islamic Empire still bounded Christian Europe on many sides, and not until about 1500 did Europe break away and get *beyond* Islam. Until Toledo's fall the prevailing influence in the Moslem West was Arabic (in the East, Turkish elements had only just then begun to get political control). But in studies of our day the term "Arab" is being used with greater caution and more exactitude—the giver himself is examined with the gift. There were Berbers (a majority) among the early Moslem conquerors —Ṭāriq was a Berber. We have mentioned other racial strains, as well. Historians have lent confusion to the scene by uncritical use of such terms as Arab, Moor, Saracen and Turk, even as some rulers and anthropologists today abuse the good name Aryan. Fifty years ago Lane-Poole (in his "Moors in Spain," p. 13), set a bad example by using the word Moor "to signify Arabs and other Mohammedans of Spain," remarking, nevertheless, and again mistakenly, that "properly it should only be applied to Berbers." Ribera, a specialist in the history of Cordova, has proved that the Moors of Spain were overwhelmingly Spanish in blood, although they thoroughly absorbed Arabic culture. Trend has penetratingly observed,[9] relative to much intermarriage between Moslems and Christians in Spain, that "the more Arab names a man bore the less Arab blood he had in his veins!" Although it may some time be possible to trace the Arab strain more exactly by a closer scrutiny of genealogical and related sources, such as, e.g., al-Balādhuri's and Ibn Ḥazm's *Ansābs*, we must be content here with what may rightly be called merely *Arabic* in the situation symbolized by Cordova.

We said *symbolized* by Cordova, whose era of competitive brilliance was the tenth century, during which it was the most civilized center in Europe, especially under

[8] *cf.* "Legacy," p. 28.
[9] "Legacy," p. 6.

the great ruler Abd-ar-Rahman III (916-941). But it was even then the flower of previous planting, and it was later on that some aspects of its influence were yet more prominent, i.e., in a subsequent time of political confusion when Greek philosophy was known in Spain through re-discovery by means of Syriac and Arabic translations, a time when also there were obvious acknowledgments by many Christians of their obligation to Islam. The debt was manifold, chiefly *linguistic, artistic* and *ideological*—a debt partly definite enough for a just evaluation, partly intangible. But when has the clear proof of influence waited entirely upon exact measurement!

Perhaps the most readily measured items are *linguistic*. Arabic was a richer and more flexible tongue than Latin or any other of Europe, including Greek. No western tongue can equal it in the variety of its verb forms and of its verbal nouns. It was the reasonable and altogether adequate channel of Greek learning to Islamized lands (had it not been for the Arabs, Greek culture would only have come back into Europe too late, if at all). It not only served to transmit ancient learning, but contributed a liberal vocabulary through which new ideas might be expressed. The abundance and variety of Arab terminology in the Iberian peninsula are in themselves overwhelming evidence of the West's indebtedness. Many western tongues hold borrowings from Arabic, whether names of places, commodities or ideas. There are many in the vocabulary of trade and navigation, alone; but we would not emphasize mere *words*, which in themselves are not indubitable signs of cultural effects. There is no necessary psychological connection between a certain Hadramauti *qal'a* and its sole inscription, "Allah," or between an American dollar and its legend, "In God We trust." Words are somewhat like coins. Moslem coins have been found in a wide belt across Russia and over the Baltic into southern Scandinavia—beyond the pale of Islam. And yet mere words, as Arabic script, do represent a contribution.

The adaptation (adoption?) of *Arabic letters* for

decorative purposes has been mentioned. This is one of the first examples of direct, persistent Arab influence on Christian art. Fra Lippo Lippi's Coronation of the Virgin shows Arabic lettering—almost undecipherable—on the scarf held by the angels (*cf.* Arabic as "the tongue of the angels"). Oriental fabrics with Arabic lettering were often made up into priestly vestments. There is a gold coin [10] of 774 A.D., struck by "Offa Rex" of Mercia, which is "actually a copy of an Arabic coin." On one face this Christian coin bears the legend—unconsciously (?) inconsistent—in Kufic Arabic, "There is no god but Allah," followed immediately by what appears to be (the writer has seen only a reproduction) the rest of the Moslem "witness," "Mohammed is the messenger of Allah." But, for that matter, many Europeans who had *accepted* Islam knew no Arabic! While Moslem scribes themselves strove with religious zeal as well as worldly skill to perfect their sacred characters, Christians used them in defiance of Islam on textiles, ivory, metal and other articles (whose craftsmanship in itself was generally superior to anything of the sort done by the Arabs. For Moslems themselves, their script was the chief means of ornamentation. Diercks remarked, [11] but not convincingly, that "the only peculiarity of Arabic architectural style is the predominance of ornamentation over construction, and perhaps herein lay the excellence of their many buildings in the Golden Age." Yet many buildings were abominably constructed. The various styles of script, especially the Kufic and the Maghribe monumental, were early and universally used for decorative purposes.

Architecture is as tangible as language, and in this field, also, it can be said that Arabs made a definite contribution. And in their giving they fully equalled the achievement of the West, i.e., Rome. Take the great Mosque of Cordova, for instance, begun in 786, enlarged from time to time, and standing in magnificent proportions in the tenth century. It exhibits a system of vaulting based on intersect-

[10] See THE MOSLEM WORLD, October, 1916, pp. 431-2.
[11] *Op. cit.*, p. 29.

ing arches. In fact, for the sake of elevation of roof in the enormous sanctuary there was built a second range of arches beyond the height of the Roman columns appropriated in the building of the lower story. Whatever the Spanish Arab's architectural inheritance, Roman or Byzantine, or pre-Byzantine, he developed in Spain a tradition of design which had persistent influence. He developed the horseshoe arch, for example, realizing more than others both its structural and its decorative possibilities. The "Moorish" Puerta del Sol, Toledo, was a combination of an outer, higher, pointed horseshoe arch and an inner, lower, round arch in one gateway. The Arabs seem often to have employed more curvature in their arches than was customary with Romans and Byzantines. That is, they pulled in the ends of the semi-circles and of the pointed horseshoes. Such developments are perfected in later "Gothic" architecture.

A further portion of the West's debt to things Arabic is represented by *ideas*—and herein the Arabic language is involved again, and Arabic literature. We enter this field, however, with great caution, for it holds often only disappointing confusion. Many comparative studies must yet be made for the sake of better comprehension of Islam's bequest. Further inquiry must be made, for example, for western quotations from Arabic authors, for explicit acknowledgments of dependence. Dr. Asin y Palacios, of the University of Madrid, has said that Dante's "Divine Comedy" is indebted to Ibn Arabi (Ibnu-l-'Arabi), the arch-Sufi of the thirteenth century, and the other Moslem mystics. There was a European (Paris) school of "Averroists" until well into the sixteenth century (yet Averroes was largely rejected by his fellow Moslems, and rejected, too, at last, by Christian Schoolmen). But we have set a limit to the field of inquiry, 1200 A.D., or thereabouts. This enables us to make a distinction which the case deserves.

It seems clear now that only after the capture of Constantinople in 1204 by the Crusaders did the West get

the *real Aristotle.* Probably *this* was the Aristotle used ultimately by Thomas Aquinas, although among doctrines of Islamic origin actually to be found in the *Summa* are references to Ibn Rushd and to his materials as quoted by Maimonides.[12] Before 1204 only a garbled, incomplete Aristotle was available. In Arabic translations which were again done into Latin the West had his "Logic"—no, there was of this a Latin edition of the Greek before Islam—and parts of his "Organon." In the twelfth century all of "Aristotle" was available to the Latin West by way of Spain. Cordova had been the seat of study of "Aristotelian" treatises since about 800, especially the physics, metaphysics and psychology,[13] but it was Aristotle sometimes as interpreted by neo-Platonists, and always as defined in Arabic. However, our immediate reason for saying all this is to point out that thus intellectual inquiry began—or was unusually stimulated—in Europe within the realm of religion.

Think, if you will, of the effect at that time on practical, legalistic Roman Catholicism of rationalistic inquiry, intellectual speculation, Greek dialectic! Apart from any adoption of specific Arab formulae, and any examples of literary dependence, there are undeniably evident in Europe certain effects of Spanish Arab *toleration.* Someone has spoken of this as "the only favorable legacy which Islam had bequeathed." The toleration was Islamic, the "marvellous flower of Hispanic thought" was Greek—and the Arab was the carrier of both. His influence in the West, therefore, was, on the whole, more rational than mystical, even to the exposition of "wisdom mixed with unbelief." In contrast, Spanish Christianity was more legalistic than speculative. (Islamic "fundamentalism" is a comparatively *late* reaction within Islam.) Yet western Christendom responded to the general shock of a liberalizing Islam.

There is no room here for more than this general appraisal of the *philosophical* impact—the field is too vast, and many of its chief contents too well known, although

[12] *Cf.* "Legacy," p. 280.
[13] *Cf.* Ency. Brit. XIVth ed., 2: 354.

many problems linger within it. We have indulged already perhaps too much in what Ibn Khallikan called "beaten thoughts." [14] But Ibn Ḥazm might be cited in illustration of one important phase of Moslem influence which will bear with profit further inquiry. He is especially valuable *today* for his contributions in the eleventh century to *comparative religion.* He was an "Arab" (really Muzarab) scholar of Cordova during troubled times of civil war, [15] whom Nicholson has called "the most original genius of Moslem Spain," [16] and Gibb, "the founder of the science of comparative religion," [17] and Guillaume—following Ibn Khallikan—has called him the composer of "the first systematic higher critical study of the Old and New Testaments." [18] Ibn Khallikan said of him, "his knowledge was of the most varied kind," [19] and al-Maqqarī reported that the "Unitarian" ruler al-Manṣūr remarked at his tomb, "All scholars have to apply to Ibn Ḥazm when in difficulty." [20] Ibn Ḥazm was severely critical, not only of non-Moslem faiths, but also of sects in Islam, especially the scholastics, [21] and as Ibn Khallikan observed, frequently attacked the *imāms.* But he was intent upon fairness and intellectual honesty in his attacks, desiring, as he said, to be "scientific." He, of course, suffered much for his critical activities; and not until a century after his demise were his works made—through the mystic Ibn Arabi—a part of the heritage of Europe.

It might be interesting to note in passing that al-Shahrastāni of Khurāsān, author of another *Kitab al-Milal wa 'l-Nihal,* or "book of sects" (chiefly within the ranks of Moslems themselves), was born twenty years after the death of Ibn Ḥazm, to whom he apparently, however, was in no way indebted. "Comparative Religion," as applied to the study of the great religions, as distinct from an histor-

[14] Biog. Dict. ed. de Slane, I: 99.
[15] *cf.* Dozy-Stokes, "Moslems in Spain," pp. 575 ff.
[16] "Literary History of the Arabs," p. 426.
[17] "Legacy," p. 187; an apparent reference to Ibn Ḥazm's *Kitāb al-Fiṣal,* or "A Treatise on Differences in Religions, Philosophies and Sects."
[18] *ibid.,* p. 282.
[19] Biog. Dict. II, p. 267.
[20] Ency. of Islam, 2: 386.
[21] *cf.* Goldziher, *Die Ẓāhiriten.*

ical or an apologetic account, or even as distinct from a comparative description of the sects of one religion, is a modern, western undertaking, but after the manner of the Spanish Moslem Ibn Ḥazm; and cooperation among the great religions as prerequisite to mutual understanding and to the ultimate triumph of what is best in man's spiritual adventure is even yet, after many modern centuries, a novel view.

We may then, as Westerners and Christians, continue, with profit to many of us and justice to some others, our review and reappraisal of the Moslem's, especially the Arab's, rôle in western history, thus serving ever anew and more effectively the great cause of Religion, in world culture.

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AN EAST AFRICAN EXPERIENCE

When I first came to Nairobi I was taken by my senior missionary to a Moslem village, for open air meetings. For several weeks musical bands composed of cornets and drums operated enthusiastically on either side of us. After some weeks this ceased and we were just treated with indifference. True, some stood and listened to what we had to say, but looking back over twelve years of such testimony I could not see one single convert or remember an instance in which any Moslem with whom I was friendly—and they were many—had asked to know more of Christ. On reviewing the past I felt very much dissatisfied, and determined to re-think the question of approach to the Moslem. I read many books and articles by missionaries and others, and I found that there were two apparently different methods of approach, which, as a rule, were considered as in contrast. Personally, I think they are complementary when viewed rightly.

On the one hand, writers urged that everything controversial should be avoided. For instance, one person writes:

"There are certain traditional doctrines (Christian) to which the Muslim takes strong exception: e.g., he hates to hear us speak of Christ as the *Son of God*. Now, since things are so, surely it is worse than useless, it is wrong, to introduce such an irritant into our ordinary preaching to an ignorant and prejudiced audience."

This had been my own view before I came to the mission field and for many years after, but what was the result of that method? Just stark indifference. I turned to other writers and found their conclusions to be very different from those of the writer previously quoted.

"We have found," says Dr. Zwemer, "that neither compromise nor a paring down of the truth, but positiveness and a full Gospel awaken the respect, if not the assent, of intelligent Moslems."

An Armenian Christian evangelist says,

"He who will speak to Moslems must not be afraid of them nor hesitate to speak the truth in love."

Dr. Rice wrote:

"Not only is plain dealing the right policy, it is also a necessary duty. The truths of the Gospel must be clearly presented, for it is only these which give the value to the message. There is a tendency among the uneducated Moslems to accept simple Christian teaching, because in their ignorance they are not aware that there is any incongruity between it and Islam. Hence a fellow missionary thus speaks of Dr. Sterling's Arabic addresses at Gaza: 'He plainly and fearlessly sets forth Jesus as the Divine Son of God and shows them the fallacies of their own creed. He finds, if he does not do this, they only put the new teaching on top of their old beliefs, and their faith remains unshaken.' "

After studying carefully these apparently contradictory methods, the question that came to my mind was, "What would Jesus do?" So I turned to the New Testament and found there a parallel.

The Jews, like the Moslems, were monotheists. They had a book which came from God, and their religious system was also a social, legal and political system. Our Lord came to them for the specific purpose of revealing Himself as the Son of God and Savior of the world. How did He do it? Did He avoid that which was controversial, and keep to that which they had in common, until He had gained their confidence? Let us look at Him at work, as revealed in St. John's Gospel. In John 3, we see our Lord talking to a Jewish leader. This is probably His first personal contact with him, but He says, "God so loved the world that He gave His only begotten *Son* that whosoever believeth on Him should not perish but have everlasting life . . . He that believeth on Him (the Son of God) is not condemned: but he that believeth not is condemned already, because he hath not believed in the name of the only begotten *Son of God.*" So He preaches in His first sermon to a religious leader what was, to him, blasphemy, and makes it clear that the eternal destiny of all men depends upon their acceptance or rejection of the Son of God. In John 5: 17, 18, He says to Jews already infuriated because He had, from their point

of view, broken the Sabbath, " 'My Father worketh hitherto and I work.' Therefore the Jews sought the more to kill Him, because He not only had broken the Sabbath, but said also that God was His Father, making Himself equal with God." He continued to press this point home in spite of their anger and resentment.

Again, in John 10: 36, He says to those who had already taken up stones to stone Him, "Say ye of Him whom the Father hath sanctified, Thou blasphemest, *because I said I am the Son of God?* . . . Therefore they sought again to take Him."

Then finally in John 19: 7, we see Him before Pilate, and the people are crying, "Crucify Him, crucify Him." Why do they want to crucify Him? Because, as the Jews said, "We have a law, and by our law He ought to die, because He made Himself the Son of God." Here, then, is the cause of His condemnation. The persistence with which He emphasized the controversial and, to them, blasphemous fact that He was the Son of God was, humanly speaking, the reason that He was crucified. Why did He emphasize it? Because it was the basis of the redemptive work and Gospel which He came to reveal. Here, then, is the method of the Son of God Himself in His approach to those whose religious position was so similar to that of the Moslems, except for the fact that Islam came *after* the complete revelation of God in Christ; and therefore the argument concerning the avoidance of the fundamental controversial doctrine would, if valid, be even more applicable in the case of the Jew in our Lord's time than in the case of the Moslem today.

I came to the conclusion that it was neither necessary nor right to withhold certain doctrines and facts on account of their being controversial, and with the generous help and cooperation of my colleagues, got a reprint of an old pamphlet entitled "Happiness without end."[1] which, written in dialect form, compared the teaching of the Gospel with that of Islam. Indifference was immediately dispelled;

[1] English copies of this are available from the Central Literature Office, price 3d., post free or 1½ piastres.

there was now manifested intense anger on the one hand and intense interest on the other. An old Moslem friend stopped me in the village and publicly upbraided me for propagating views that were derogatory to his religion. He told me that were it not for the presence of the British Government I should have been murdered. He pressed the point that it was wrong to speak against another man's religion, so I pointed out that Mohammed, in the Koran, deliberately repudiated the fundamentals of the Christian religion, and then asked him if Mohammed was right in speaking against the Christian's religion. He saw the point and dropped that line of argument. After further conversation, listened to by a large crowd of Pagans and Moslems, he went away still angry. But what was the sequel? When we next visited the village, everyone wanted a copy of "Happiness without end," and also copies of the New Testament. Within a short period a great quantity of literature was accepted and read by the Moslems, and although in some directions there was intense hatred, as for instance when one man ripped up a New Testament and threw it in my face, there were in other directions many encouraging signs, e. g., Moslems publicly asking for the Scriptures and publicly reading them in groups. My friend who had publicly upbraided me passed by one day without speaking. I followed him, and after friendly greetings got into conversation, and soon we were again the center of a large crowd. Presently my friend was distributing Scriptures to his Moslem friends, who, he said, were prepared to die for their faith. Even opposition is better than indifference. In a couple of weeks, more Scriptures were accepted by Moslems than had been accepted previously in many years.

Obviously in our approach to Islam there are many difficulties. Among them are some which are of our own making. For instance, one finds in a study of Islamic literature published in England and elsewhere for educated Moslems, that the attack upon the Bible is mainly based upon the written and verbal statements of professing Christian lead-

ers, whose theology is of a rationalistic nature. Again and again Moslem leaders have brought such statements to me with the question, "Are not these men the leaders of the Christian Church? Are they not your teachers? Do not their statements show that your Scriptures are not trustworthy?" Our rationalistic theologians have, by their declared attitude towards the Bible, made a difficult task still more difficult.

Then again, there is a conception abroad among many Moslems regarding the doctrine of the Trinity which is entirely false, but for which that section of the Christian Church is to blame, which calls Mary the "Mother of God." I have been told many times by Moslems that the Trinity in which we believe and which we worship is the Father, the Mother (Mary) and the Son (Jesus)! A thoroughly heathen conception, but who is to blame? Surely the Christian Church which allows such false teaching to be propagated by its representatives.

On the positive side, I am convinced that from the first, we must present a full Gospel, preaching the same with a deep, practical and evident love. This work must be done by men and women who can give their undivided attention to it, so that by a life in close contact with the Moslems whom we seek to win, the message of the lips may be confirmed by the testimony of the life.

There must be a recognition of the fact that the battle is a spiritual battle. "If our Gospel is hid, it is hid to them that are lost, in whom the god of this world hath blinded the minds of them that believe not, lest the light of the glorious Gospel of Christ, Who is the image of God, should shine unto them." Just as truly as there was a "Prince of Persia" in Daniel's day, who prevented the messenger of God from bringing the message from God to Daniel, so today there is a "Prince of Arabia" in the heavenlies, preventing the message and the messenger of God from reaching the Moslem. "We wrestle not against flesh and blood but against principalities, against powers, against the rulers of the darkness of this world, against spiritual wickedness

in high places." Behind the false teaching of Islam is the father of lies and his spiritual host. Do you believe that? The key to the solution of the Moslem problem is primarily to be found in this important fact, I believe. Have we learned to wrestle in prayer against the spiritual hosts of darkness? Gethsemane and Calvary show us what it may cost; what it *will* cost if our love for the Moslem is of the same order as that of Him whom we profess to follow. The Gospel of Redemption is based upon the outpoured life, the shed blood, the *Cross*. The effective spread of the Gospel has always been and will always be by the same method. Are we really prepared to pay the price of evangelizing the Moslem? How long are we going to continue to evade our responsibilities in this matter? In Kenya we have not, among *all* the missions, one single person set aside for this important task. Are we satisfied that this state of things should continue? Let us arise with confident faith, and joyous expectation, believing that "the Gospel is the power of God unto salvation, and that "with God all things are possible," even the planting of the Gospel flag in Mecca. "Is anything too hard for the Lord?"

Kenya, East Africa. A. Rowland Pittway.

AN ORDEAL IN CENTRAL ASIA

The Chinese province of Sinkiang in Eastern Turkestan was one of the most promising fields for Christian missionary work in the Mohammedan world. The Swedish Missionary Society had from 1892 done difficult pioneering work in this isolated part of Central Asia, and had just reached a much-longed-for period of harvest when catastrophe came. A martyrdom attended with a most diabolical cruelty has overtaken the Christians and annihilated the congregations. Prison, brutal torture, and painful death are still common experiences for those who dare to confess Christ, and the missionaries themselves have narrowly escaped with their lives. Isolated as they were in their stations, and cut off from all connection with the people, there was no possibility of doing anything for their suffering friends. At last they could not buy food, and sometimes could not even get water for themselves, as it endangered the life of a native to help them in any way. It even went so far that it became very dangerous to accept the most necessary assistance from them. A poor woman in labor once came to the hospital and got the assistance she could find nowhere else. The next day she was taken from the hospital and put into prison, where she was left without treatment and died after two days. One thing to be remembered is that all this persecution was caused only to a limited extent by Mohammedan fanatics, but was mainly directed by the forces of godlessness.

The trouble began in connection with the war of 1930. This civil war was started as a rising against the Chinese government, with the design of establishing Mohammedan rule in Central Asia. Some of the ignorant leaders even imagined a war of conquest against Germany and the

United States of America. But the actual result was that the different guerilla bands, without discipline and training, annihilated one another, leaving the field open to the red and godless forces, which had only been waiting for this favorable turn.

During the period before 1934 the mission had an extremely hard time, and suffered greatly under Islamic fanaticism. The native Christians were scattered, the children were taken from the orphan asylums, and the girls delivered up to the rough crowd of soldiers. Even three of the Swedish missionaries were put in fetters and sentenced to death, but escaped at the last moment.

When the civil war was over, there came a comparatively short period of quiet, when the orphans as well as those Christians who were still living began to find their way back to the mission. It was very remarkable that now so many unexpected friends among the Mohammedans suddenly emerged out of the common embarrassment, to the aid of the mission and the Christians. Some of the enemies had once arranged a meeting for discussing the problem of the Christian mission and the possibilities there might be at hand for getting rid of this obstacle in the way of the godless propaganda. In order to provide an excuse for some action the missionaries were accused of all kinds of offences, such as spying, poisoning the water, and similar nonsense. Then one of the most influential merchants of the city said, "Gentlemen, you have told us many strange things about the Swedish missionaries. I also will mention some things well known to me and to everybody who has lived in this place for the last thirty or forty years. When our young men asked for advanced learning in languages and mathematics and similar things which our own teachers could not give them, the Swedish missionaries were always ready to undertake their instruction. When our people, rich and poor, got ill and could not get proper treatment anywhere else, the Swedish missionaries stood night and day ready to assist with kindness and skill. I and many others know that at any hour of the night we could knock at their door and

always find a midwife ready to follow us into the darkness and cold in order to attend a woman in child-birth. Another well-known fact is that every merchant in this city without hesitation has been ready to trust these Swedish people in any business, and nobody has ever lost a single farthing in dealing with them. Gentlemen, I have spoken, and all of you know that my testimony is true." This outspoken friend was murdered before long.

The propaganda of godlessness had, however, more and more got hold of the young people, at least, and the country was inundated with foreign agents. And now came the second period of persecution, overwhelming not only the Christians but even the Mohammedans to a certain extent. The native Christians were again separated from the missionaries and put in prison, and everybody else who was connected with them by selling them food or receiving medical treatment from them was punished. Two of the mission stations, Hancheng and Yangi-Hissār, were burnt, and in Yarkand the missionaries were ordered by the local authorities to leave the place and go to Kashgar.

Now being shut in as all of them were, in the Kashgar station, where every attempt to do any work or to support the poor native brethren in their distress was prohibited, there was nothing to do but to leave the country. And so they did, leaving three men as a last guard on the ruins. In August, 1938, the last severe blow was dealt when they also, by order of the governor in Kashgar, were expelled.

It was a sad lot that befell all these brave and true witnesses of Christ. That they had to abandon the stations with most of their personal property, books, furniture, and so on, meant a good deal to them, but all such material things were nothing to compare with leaving all the spiritual values gained during forty-six years of mission work. They had to part with all their dear friends among the people, who more or less openly or secretly during several years had manifested a sincere and valued friendship. Likewise all the Christians who had been brave enough to confess Christ before the world, and had endured hunger, cold, and

cruel torture were left in a situation like that of lambs in a wolf's den. This was rather more than a man could bear, but it had to be done for the moment. The last missionaries escaped in August, 1938, over the Indian frontier, but they did not say good-bye forever to the mission field in Eastern Turkestan. They are waiting in prayer and faith for a new opportunity, some bright morning when the pillar of cloud moves again to show the way back to the inheritance of the Swedish Mission in Central Asia.

All over India, especially in the northern parts, you may meet thousands of refugees from Eastern Turkestan, who have escaped from their terror-stricken homeland and even they are waiting for better times. Here the missionaries have met many old friends and found new seekers. The last word concerning the mission in Eastern Turkestan is not yet spoken, by any means. As evidence of our future intentions stands the fact that a new edition of the New Testament in Eastern Turki is just going through the press in Cairo under the supervision of one of the missionaries from Turkestan. The purpose is to spread the Gospel among the refugees in India, and then to find a way even beyond the frontier to our poor Christian friends in their godless environment, until the day comes when the mission can return and take up its interrupted work in the glorious harvest of Eastern Turkestan.

Lund, Sweden G. RAQUETTE.

MISSION FRONTIER IN PALESTINE

Christian missions in Palestine! As paradox this strikes deeply. Need you recall that the world's most extensive religion should have only a "tolerated minority" in the country of its birth? While Judaism and Islam grapple to possess this area, nominal Christians outside its borders —rulers of the world's biggest empire—mediate in the struggle, intent on furthering no interests but their own. Small wonder that Christian missions, hampered by Jews, Moslems and imperialists, should be an especially trying task in Palestine.

This country gives you tragedy in three dimensions. The barest outline of its existence, as you learn in reports at home, is enough to shake your peace. Within its geographically negligible confines a spiritual struggle of tremendous proportions is brought into focus. Brought into focus, I say, because its scope is world-wide. Nor do you need much imagination to grasp the fact that this hot corner of the Mediterranean is putting Christianity on the spot. To one who has lived here the struggle is plainly that of flesh versus spirit. In it is forewarned, as though in preview, God's righteous judgment on the affairs of man. Every one is on edge, no one is comfortable.

Amid this restless setting is a Protestant institution supported by Germans, Swiss, Scandinavians and Americans, —one of the boldest mission ventures in the Near East. It harbored me during my months in Jerusalem. Sharing for a time in its work, I won certain hopeful insights into an otherwise forbidding situation. This place is the so-called Syrian Orphanage. Jeremiads and generalities disposed of, you will want to know something of the actual mission work on this Christian frontier. Think of it in terms of life.

Barefoot and shivering, an Arab boy plods through the

winter rain up the serpentine road from Jaffa to Jerusalem. After two days he reaches his goal. Large letters in Arabic and German bear this legend above the doorway of the main building, "Syrian Orphanage." To thousands this name has kindled hope, and for this youngster it now holds the key to life or death. Hollow-eyed and in rags he is brought to Pastor Hermann Schneller, the institution's director. With a simple trust, sometimes so marked in Arab children, he says, "You must take me in. My father and mother are both dead. I am ten years old and have nobody . . . I have been washing cars in a garage in Haifa. They paid me almost nothing. A chauffeur told me to come to 'Schnellers.' He drove me as far as Jaffa. I walked the rest of the way. Now I am here. I want a home. You must take me." Although on the brink of despair, his quiet restraint is remarkable. Pastor Schneller looks through the register, manages to make room for him. And if this is not the usual way of admitting children to the Syrian Orphanage, it illustrates nevertheless the confidence and recognition which in three generations its name has won in Bible lands.

Now if you ask: Why a Syrian Orphanage in Palestine? you touch upon the question of its origin. This reaches back to the year 1860 when twenty thousand Christians were massacred by Moslems in the Lebanon. This horrid tragedy caused Johann Ludwig Schneller, an independent Lutheran missionary from Wuerttemberg, to leave his cottage near Jerusalem and go to the stricken area. The misery of the many orphaned children he saw there touched him so, that upon his return he brought back ten of them. The little home in which he had lived for the past four years with his wife and two small sons was thus transformed and named The Syrian Orphanage.

In those days Jerusalem was a half-hour's walk from the Schnellers'. Where today the augmented city, all Jewish, stands outside the walls of the Orphanage, there were then only a few peasant huts among whose Moslem inhabitants Father Schneller had begun his mission. While today the hostility between Arabs and Jews disturbs the neighbor-

hood, at that time life was made insecure by robbers who sometimes left the Schnellers penniless. Yet from this modest and courageous beginning has grown this most comprehensive Protestant mission unit in the country. The rock-bound loneliness in which the first house nestled has become a lively area on which now stand fifty buildings, large and small. And where once Father Schneller and his wife cared alone for the handful of orphans, there are now about one hundred associate workers, half of them Germans, the others native Arabs. Since the first ten orphans were taken in, over three thousand Arab children, mostly of impoverished Christian parentage, have here found home and training. Nor have these failed to leave their mark upon Palestine, for many have risen to positions of influence as craftsmen, officials, business and professional men.

As an institution of these proportions needs able leaders, few places have been blessed with such leadership. For three generations the work has been directed by Schnellers. The family's name has become so widely known that people in Jerusalem, mentioning the Orphanage, speak only of "Schnellers." Until 1896 Father Schneller directed the work. Then came his son, Theodore, who carried on until 1929. Since then, grandson Hermann has been in charge. But perhaps best known is another son of the founder, Dr. Ludwig Schneller, now resident in Cologne, whose extensive writings on Bible lands, together with his "Jerusalem Messenger" for Americans, has done much to win friends for this work.

To an American, therefore, who first sets foot on the grounds of this institution, the impression is striking. As you come through the gate, the main building, with its courtyard which you glimpse through the arched doorway, stands before you in dignified limestone. It houses offices, classrooms, dining hall and kitchen, along with quarters for four "families," each with about forty boys, headed by a deacon who acts as house-father. In it is also the large chapel where each day the children and workers gather for matins and vespers, while Sunday mornings the Christian

families who have settled in the community join them in worship. Half of the weekday and each of the Sunday services are in Arabic.

It takes you several days to explore such other significant places as the well equipped school for the blind, where the youngsters learn basket weaving and furniture making; or the modern girls' home where domestic training is given with thoroughness. Agriculturally the terrain is most difficult, but it is satisfactory for limited fig, almond and olive groves. But industrially the work of the Orphanage is extensive, not only the private power plant and brick factory, but also the various shops where the boys learn special trades. Tailoring, shoemaking, printing, carpentry, metal work, and so on, are taught the boys by competent overseers. Special emphasis falls on high-grade workmanship, that the products may be salable. What is produced here is thus recognized as some of the best craft-work in Jerusalem; and the profit, if there is any in these hard times, is a vital contribution to the maintenance of the institution.

If, as people sometimes do, you wonder why the Orphanage should present such a variety of activity, the answer lies in the ways of oriental life. It would be much easier to provide these children with food, clothing, shelter and a smattering of education. But this method, even if it could satisfy a pious conscience, would not be nourishing the roots of this society. Life is cheap in the East and the individual counts for little. Morally he has all the grace of idealism in his greetings and formal expressions; but he is also apt to lie, to be profane, unreliable, and void of conscience. Ethically his family is the binding element in his social pattern; yet when the head of the family dies, relatives are likely to swoop down upon the minor heirs, expropriating them of most of their inheritance. Religious life is dominated by a totalitarian legalism which has been called "Judaism secularized." Among its characteristics are superstition and a blind though energetic fanaticism. As generalizations these remarks are unfair to some splendid exceptions, yet they indicate the loveless temper of the Eastern

world. Thus the children who come to the Orphanage, whether of Moslem or Christian parentage, must be led to a new level of life. This necessarily entails broad responsibilities and facilities. That is why the work of this institution is deliberately comprehensive.

It was Father Schneller's purpose to give the children not only a sufficient theoretical education, but to provide them, before they left the Orphanage, with the practical experience of Christian behavior in the work-a-day world. The boys therefore should acquire skill in some trade or prepare for higher learning at some college in the Near East or Europe; the girls should do the same in domestic or social work. The result for both boys and girls was to be the living of an honest, dependable Christian life in face of the infinite temptations to do less. Responding to this need the institution was gradually equipped with its now elaborate trade school. Thus no expense was spared in providing character-building life-situations for the children before, at the age of seventeen or eighteen, they went out on their own.

People here know that this is the ideal of the Orphanage. For this it has the goodwill of many of the Moslems. But even more significant, by way of establishing understanding between different Christian traditions, is the fact that Orthodox priests often bring personally to Schnellers' orphans from their own villages, saying, in effect, "Take them and train them as you see fit; yes, even let them join your church. We trust you." And if you have seen the poverty and sensed the persecution which down through the generations has hounded these believers and made it next to impossible for them to gather energy and resources for a mission program of their own, then you can understand why the Orphanage is no competitive undertaking. Think of it rather as a pioneer enterprise in a land where native Christians are an oppressed minority and belong to a branch of the Church which has been notorious for its long inactivity in missions.

But the children here claim your attention. They are

happy and carefree in their wholesome environment. They have a sense of justice in both work and play. And whether you look after them in their daily chores, teach them in their classes, or play with them on the athletic field, you know that here are youngsters with plenty of good possibilities. The one sad fact is that these are but the fortunate few of the many who have applied for admission.

Each year the director receives more than four hundred applications. Most of them represent cases of real distress. Mothers, fathers, uncles or priests bring children. Many are from Jerusalem, others have come from scattered parts of the country. Not a few have letters of recommendation, sometimes signed by all the important people in their home town or village. Now and then, in case of illiteracy, comes an application with inked finger-prints in place of signatures. And in these days, when the Orphanage's funds are extremely low, and its debt is piling higher, hardly any new children can be taken in. Yet many persons show a remarkable, if not tragic, persistence in applying anew time after time. The most difficult moment of the year comes each September when Pastor Schneller must send letters of regret to all but a few.

If you have a chance to look through the register wherein all new applications are listed, checked and rechecked before admission, you find a cheerless cross-section of Eastern life. It would be monotonous reading, were there not constantly the reminder that each child's name represents a broken home. So, for example, you read,

"Hanna, Bethlehem, age six, in good health, Syrian Christian. . . . . Mother died in childbirth. Father deserted family. Of four children Hanna is the youngest. All are now supported by the maternal grandmother who earns marginal subsistence as washerwoman. Recommended by Protestant parish sister. Second application." or this, "Wadi, Jenin, age eight, Coptic Christian . . . . father a deaf-mute; mother deserted family two years ago. Father can pay nothing toward child's support. Fourth application." Or, "Jamil, Nablus, age nine, Moslem. . . . . full orphan for past two years; lives with impoverished over-size family of uncle who is a *fellah* and cares little for him. Second application."

Sometimes a boy will himself apply from a distance. Here is a letter from Transjordan. After a salutation to the Director in the name of the Trinity, he states his case with rather typical oriental passion, plus exaggeration, when he says, among other things, "In the name of Jesus I beg you to take me into your institution. I shall soon die, for I have no place of refuge . . . Dear Father, I pray you to admit me, because I intend to take poison . . . But if you cannot take me, then I beseech you at least to admit my brothers and sisters as soon as possible . . ."

This not only gives you some idea of the life-situations from which the Orphanage tries to save the children, but also of the recognition which this place has for being a Christian institution. Once the boys and girls have entered they receive, among other things, a sound Christian training. When you hear them recite Bible verses, sing hymns, answer questions on the catechism or about the right way of life, you know that their teachers have been effective. Their religious education reaches its climax in confirmation. Although this rite is voluntary, most children desire it. Moslem youngsters would first have to be baptized. But generally they do not venture to take this step, owing especially to the death penalty—or at least the social pressure—for any one breaking with the faith. So there have been very few actual converts, but most of those who have been to Schnellers have become Christian-minded, some even coming back after their "graduation" to attend services in the chapel.

Now for some criticism. First of all, a frequent complaint—especially from educated native Christians—is that Protestant missions have prospered in Palestine chiefly by luring, not Moslems but local Christians, into their own group. Thus they have devitalized the native Christian communities, appropriating for themselves the most promising individuals. Instead of a new dynamic being given local Christianity, it has actually been weakened by such well-meant but selfish tactics.

From what you have already heard of the Orphanage's

work, it is probably exempt from this charge. Indeed many of the youths have not gone back to their native churches but have tended to form Protestant groups of their own. This has tended to weaken the unity of the Church today; but it may be also a hopeful phenomenon of transition. For, taking the long view, these rehabilitated Christians may one day be the mediating agents for a re-uniting of Protestants and Orthodox on the common ground of the World Council of Churches.

A second criticism of Protestant missions in this area is that they are impractical. They train too much for white-collar jobs and not enough for the more ordinary tasks. This is evidenced in the many schools and colleges which have sprung from Protestant origin during the past few generations all through the Levant. If their prime purpose seemed to be the eradication of illiteracy, their basic assumption is that an intelligent person who reads has a better chance to raise his level of existence. Yet the practical difficulty has always remained that of introducing youth to a new thought-world while leaving it unrelated to the immediate environment. There is no particular gain even culturally, of schools missionary in origin turning out a bevy of government officials, professional men, and dragomans. This sort of productivity does not strengthen the foundations of local society, although it has its value in building bridges of international understanding.

Again, the case of the Orphanage might be cited, which has spared no expense in equipping itself with modern machinery in order that it might train less spectacular but dependable laborers and craftsmen. These have proved themselves sturdily self-supporting—as you shall see below—in face of the disintegrating forces of the past fifteen years of economic and moral depression in Palestine. According to their measure they have lent character and stability to their communities, which frequently has been acknowledged by their Moslem neighbors.

In this connection care must be exercised in avoiding a too direct projection of western cultural concepts upon the

Moslem scene. For those who through higher education have been "emancipated" from their ancient background have often suffered from ensuing mental depression or disorder, and, if they have married, they have not often struck a happy adjustment. In view of these results, it would seem advisable to pay more attention to the training of able workers in the lower social brackets, as the Orphanage does. For although this makes less exciting news for the home boards and financial contributors, it is probably the soundest way of ultimately lifting the base of society and improving the character of the people. Such training should also be extended to the field of agriculture as soon as possible, where at present there is a wide pedagogical hiatus.

A third criticism which has hounded the missions is that they gain converts "by extraction." Having committed their life to Christ and torn themselves from their accustomed surroundings, their transplanting has remained unfinished. Conversion has too often been regarded as completed when a person formally breaks with his non-Christian background. But actually, as far as livelihood and sanctification are concerned, this is only the beginning. There must be a community of believers into which the convert may be brought. In that moment his need for fellowship is far beyond what the stay-at-home Christian can readily imagine.

Surrounding the Orphanage is the Christian community which has already been mentioned above. The few Moslems who have become Christian, together with Orthodox and other believers who have become Protestant, form a parish in a very real sense. In Nazareth, Jaffa and Haifa there are similar groups of alumni and their families who have banded themselves together as fellow believers, drawing comfort and joy from their common expressions of faith. This formation of groups has been spontaneous and has shown itself effective even in the most trying times.

During the recent crisis in Palestine, when the Orphanage, for financial reasons, could no longer support 130 of its 350 children, first aid came from the alumni and institutional workers themselves. Among them they raised pledges

for fifty-two "scholarships" of seven years' duration. This number of children, along with eighteen others supported by additional gifts from abroad, could therefore be called back. I have reports that this action has done more than anything else to give the mission a sense of solidarity. But more than that, such pledges, totaling over $11,000, imply a high degree of unselfishness. Alumni admit that even in their pinched circumstances they are willing to sacrifice what little they may, so that others—as they once did—might enjoy a new start in life.

Such unselfishness is never spectacular. It flourishes in secret. But it is the symbol of life in the valley of death's shadow. By it the community of believers, however small, is bound together. Their fellowship is in Christ, the apex of unselfish love. You and I can look to a group like this for the light of hope in a land of conflict and crisis. By its light the paradox is explained, of Christian missions in Palestine.

Pottsville, Pa. E. Theodore Bachmann.

MUTUAL TRUST IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS OF THE RECENT PAST[1]

Readers of this magazine know that the pen is mightier than the sword, that knowledge is power, that it is the truth that makes us free. They are acquainted with "the scientific historian." Do they know his works in the "Survey" of the Royal Institute? This is "an unofficial and non-political body, formed in 1920 to encourage and facilitate the scientific study of international questions." Do they know the "Study of History" by its Director?[2] The relation of the "Study" to the "Survey" is that of history to politics. The relation of the author of the "Study" to the director of the "Survey" himself is that of the philosopher to the scientist. The "Survey's" knowledge of contemporary politics is world-wide. The "Study's" knowledge of the history behind them is age-long. The director-author's knowledge of historical and political fact and science is comprehensive and profound. A judgment of his is a nucleus of horizontal social-political truth and of perpendicular historical truth. A book of his is a network of knotted truths, to net withal universal Truth, as nearly as it may be found in human affairs. Compare his scholarly judgments, his use of microscope, telescope, and spectroscope, with the magnifying rant of the dictators, the dark-spectacled cant of the communists, even with our own window-glass of democratic common-sense, none too democratic, none too common, none too sensible, and we see that here, through the lenses of Wisdom, civilization is not only to be looked at, but further looked for, visualized, and envisaged. Such history is not Evangel, Qur'ān, or Torah for our times, but the judgment of its scientist-historian-philosopher is, humanly speaking, universal. The "Survey" is accurate, proportioned, and true. The author would doubtless disclaim hyperbole and deny, as his Institute would, the name, echo, or dream of prophetic mission. But the remote reviewer ventures to maintain that such books are in effect (as unpremediated as that of Lucretius) missionary; delegated to worldwide intellectual cooperation; devoted to the praise of scientific method as applicable in human problems; dedicated to the art of living well; destined to

[1] Based upon the Survey of International Affairs, 1936, by Arnold J. Toynbee, assisted by V. M. Boulter. Oxford University Press. Issued under the auspices of the Royal Institute of International Affairs, 1937. 938 pages, chronology, index, and maps. $14.00.

[2] "A Study of History" by Arnold J. Toynbee. Similarly published, 1934.

evoke, *in partibus infidelibus*, a world-consciousness and a world-conscience; evangelically entrusted by the Divine Mind with human expression of His Word; a saving grace of essential conformity to the real operation of the Divine will to act in freedom through reason and law, not through force, even on Earth amid our unequal opportunities, contending needs, and warring destinies.

"Et tamen est quidam locus alteis montibus, unde
Stare videntur."

The Introduction to the "Survey" for 1936 is an introduction to what we do, or suffer, in 1938. We read that rearmament was "the steadiest and the most widespread of movements in the international field" for three reasons. These are anxieties and ambitions due to weakness in collective security, weakness in democratically governed England and France (in Abyssinia, Rhineland, and Spanish questions), weakness in the lesser states recently enlarged and given illusory standing at Geneva. As the League failed to protect them, the smaller nations took refuge in neutrality, clientage, or regional grouping. England and France are already retiring while Central Europe is left, an already deserted heroine, in the centre of the stage to the rude attentions of Germany and Russia. We read: "either would be well on the way to world-dominion" with "an effective harmony over . . . . the great open spaces between Moscow and Berlin." So clear an augury leads us however to put faith in further argument that aggression and aggrandisement are not necessarily loss of courage and endurance. Similarly in the matter of rival ideologies, Nazi-Fascist and Communist. Since they both keep power over their peoples chiefly by mutual recrimination, when their natures are shown to be identical they lose their *raison d'être* and the support of their followers. The essence of these ideologies is the same, "inculcation of worship of organized human power," in fact "idolatry." These ideologies are "incompatible with the worship of the one true God." Moreover they do not divide the world between them as they claim, for religion and liberalism are also forces at work both at large in the world and within their own houses. The problem left unanswered by 1936 is this: are these post-war ideologies "adjuncts to the post-war efforts and ambitions of particular great powers" or "genuine movements of thought and feeling with a spiritual reality of their own and with a historical role far transcending in importance the destinies of the great powers that were momentarily serving as their political vehicles?" Are we returning to the nineteenth century with catastrophe again ahead? Is the world to be taken back to its old impasse by its new elements: the need of the world for world-unity even by conquest, the unprecedented instruments and agencies of human power, the impulse

of the West to "detachment." The problem today is that of 1936 writ large, but with this now in full view: religion and liberalism begin to arm themselves with thought and feeling. A book such as this is a weapon not to be neglected. Shall we act or suffer?

This vast volume of facts and figures with their coordination and their elucidation, is itself a review. The present reviewer can but tempt the reader with a few notes that, chapter by chapter, he has found or been led to. The pages on "Propaganda" remind us that the Blues and Greens of the Byzantine circus, Red and White Roses of the English baronial wars, all such symbols, thrive upon general discontents to which they bring deceptive hope, fallacious remedy, and no cure at all. The pathetic pages devoted to disarmament and armament turn on the dicta by rival statesmen: "The illusion of disarmament," "the incredible folly of armament." Shall the good gun win or the good cause, in good democratic principle "the greatest good of the greatest number"? The chapter, "World Economic Affairs," discusses in detail price-levels, new deals, currency standards and the like, but its real importance is in showing how tariffs and restrictions of commerce and instabilities of exchange hinder not only national and individual prosperity but world order and peace. A world-state (which some of us may seek through a world-religion) is required by a world-economy. Mammon may rule man but will serve God. In the chapter, "Europe," itself a book of some three hundred and thirty-three pages, "the crucial problem is the strength of law against the claims of force." Our centre of interest is in Czechoslovakia, not only because of recent events foreseen and accounted for,[3] but because the then expected explosion there is seen to be a mere note of a Danube March, "Drang nach sudösten." The British believe that even the Devil should have a place in the sun and that the Danube is his safety valve. Litvinov, with his usual perspicacity, sees that the whole sun is wanted, that the Rhineland occupation of 1936, as was probably the Naval Treaty with the British, was but a keynote, "for the purpose of setting up the hegemony of Germany over the whole European continent." Flandin with Gallic intellectual honesty has already listed the questions to which Nazi sentimental dishonesty has since been giving the answers. The "Drang" proceeds by vilification of anyone who ventures a free thought, of Russia in particular and anyone who seeks her friendship, by economic penetration and chicanerie, "by threat, blandishment and propaganda," by frontier tension and internal trouble making, "by the method of conducting international relations by the unilateral breaking of treaties." Next we come to "The Regime of the Black Sea Straits," where readers of THE

[3] See pp. 477-479 for especial prescience.

MOSLEM WORLD may begin to realize their interest in Hitler's "Drang." This gentle shepherd leads his hungry flock to pasture in Islam. Here it is chiefly to be noted that it is the Turks, in seeking treaty-revision rather than *fait accompli,* who behave at this time with the decency, gentility, and morality which are the *sine qua non,* the *lā ghaira hu,* of international relations. Here is also a suspicion that the Nazi is not the only "Drang" concerned with crossing and traversing these straits. And so to Egypt, Palestine, Syria, Irak, and Arabia!

The House of Islam, like "the House of my Father," in Christian parlance, has "many mansions." In the presence of the House-Father we and they enjoy peace. In His absence they and we suffer war. Our readers, especially interested in the welfare of the Arabic world, will hope that its treatment by the western world will have been ideologized once and for all as "Mutual Trust." Sir Miles Lampson, urging the liberation of the Egyptians from twenty-three centuries of bondage in their own house, wrote (as one does in England!) to *The Times*: "Alliance, if it is to have any real value, must be based upon respect for Egyptian national feeling," "Freely negotiated, not dictated." "Its chief condition," he said, "is that it should be inspired by Mutual Trust." This pronouncement, so eminently statesmanlike because so obviously just, found popular agreement and governmental authority, the Ijtihād and Ijmā' of Democracy. Under the aegis of "Mutual Trust," and in sight of the Medusa shield of Fascist "civilization" in Abyssinia and Tunis (England in 1936 had begun beginning to begin her agreement with Italy) the long-desired Anglo-Egyptian treaty, relegating garrisons, canal, capitulary, Sudan questions to incidental status, came into force. Egypt for the Egyptians! For what Egyptians? Will they remain static in "secular rationalist Nationalism of post-revolutionary France," or professedly-atheist Nazi, or Fascist, or Communist, or be conquered again, or return to the Middle Ages in a second Ignorance, as one may find them suffering in the pages of the Arab chronicles of Makrizi? One can imagine them with their millennial experience giving Islamic and liberal voice to their Sphinx and greetings to the sun that shines over all of us alike, to that ideal of truth whose shadow and shade is political justice. Meanwhile we may remark that "mutual trust" follows from mutual good faith and cannot survive without it. Having moved "from status to contract" according to Sir Henry Maine, we now move from contract to credit in accordance with Sir Miles Lampson.

In the section on Palestine, we glimpse both the complication of the problem and earnest desire to solve it reasonably. "Jew v. Arab" unfortunately means, roughly speaking, not only Hebrew v. Arabic, also, but modern v. mediaeval, western v. eastern, urban v.

rural, organized v. unorganized, industrial or scientific v. craft or tradition (even in agriculture), technical v. manual (with pay and standard of living consequently different), nationalist v. nationalist, believer v. believer. There is a Turkish proverb: "You cannot grow two melons under one glass" and here we have a couple of dozen and the glass is dark. On each side there are variations and exceptions to make things less comfortable; and both sides, Father Abraham be their witness, are of common Semitic stock and have formerly lived together in equity and amity. Who is to be the ultimate ruler? Who is righteously Palestinian? As for the British, till they find this missing Jebuzite, with their unworkable mandate they lose friends throughout Islam, economic support throughout Jewry, sentimental support throughout Christendom. They have local order to keep and imperial strategy (which amounts to world-order) to consider. And they are, as ever, sympathetic with Jews, even less kindly treated elsewhere, sympathetic with Arabs, newly freed from the Turks, sympathetic with Christians, newly possessed of what is their Holy Land also. Perhaps some Nazi or Fascist or Communist self-worshippers will be seen to menace Sepulchre, Dome, and Wailing-Wall alike. This, like the judgment of Solomon, should bring a solution, but not one of understanding. A partition of Palestine should not be allowed to make a sea of troubles between Islam and Christendom for racialists, nationalists, ideologists of all kinds to fish in for their own dinners. It seems unbelievable that Jerusalem, the meeting-place of the Peoples of the Book in worship of one God should not also be a centre of their unity in variety and a symbol of their common humanity.

Similarly the French in Syria have had difficulty in holding their mandate and in disposing of it. Syrian unity was largely a fiction in opposition to France. It has all the underlying antagonisms of the Arab-Jew problem, with, moreover, many races, many religious divisions, themselves divided. But League-sponsored treaties, Franco-Syrian, Franco-Lebanese, followed by boundary and customs agreement between the republics of Syria and Lebanon, have at least attempted peaceful settlement by national grouping. Even the triangular difficulty of Alexandretta was "settled," "with relief in France, jubilation in Turkey, mortification in Syria," the local Arabs then being "well content." We are led by the intricacy of all these problems and the seeming failure of the League of Nations to wonder if such internal divisions surrounded by external rivalries are capable of worldly settlement "by taking thought." St. Thomas taught that where science ends, faith begins. Without common trust in one Ruler, there can be no "mutual trust" in His people. The cure without doubt is in a higher loyalty and a larger unit.

Whose? The future may again behold Athens, Constantinople, Damascus, Jerusalem, Alexandria centres of the arts, power, luxury, religion, and commerce, but let it be in a world-republic positively charged with the active intellect of God, not a world-tyranny negatively charged with antipathies and antagonisms and a fundamental antinomianism. Let its music be a symphony of general agreement, not *"Deutchland über Alles"* in unison, to order. A centripetal higher loyalty is by no means the same as a centrifugal outward loyalty to larger but perhaps rival units, but we may note the instinctive turning of Syrian and Palestinian Moslems to the larger units of their co-religionists. This coincides with the *rapprochement* of the free Arab powers. Ibn Sa'ud's religious prestige, political eclat, military power, moderate statesmanship, and personal triumph have aligned Wahhabi Arabia, Yemen, Iraq, and Egypt, and have considerably influenced the small, but economically and strategically important, island and coast sultanates. A similar and overlapping agreement of Irak, Iran, and Turkey shows this tendency to larger groupings (as do Balkan and Baltic pacts and Pan-American understandings). The complications everywhere found should not conceal from us the genuine good will and good-sense everywhere to be found upon careful consideration, even perhaps within the censored tyrannies. The Turkish settlement of the Straits régime, the Anglo-Iraqi treaty of 1934, the Anglo-Egyptian, Franco-Syrian, Franco-Lebanese, Franco-Turkish treaties of 1936, the British negotiations in Palestine, are all attempts to settle or change settlements by reason rather than force, by treaty before war. That in Islam, as in Europe, many of these treaties have become necessary by failure of the League of Nations to afford security to small powers, in fact through fear, is deplorable but not disastrous. Rather the need is more evident for the largest possible unit, for a stronger League, a league with a soul of Justice and, if need be, a sanction of "iron." It is also clear that "the Island of Islam" is not insulated by religion from the western world of ideas, nor isolated in fact from its material civilization. The Island of Christendom is in the same sea and under the same sky. The winds blow from east and from west but the inhabitants breathe the same democratic air of modernity, unless indeed they are overcome by the Nazi blast *"nach Sud-östen"* of mediaevalism or barbarism.

Already this paper is too long but the reader will find similar interests in the Americas and the Far East. At the Inter-American Peace Conference in 1936, he will see the same will to peace at work in a world comparatively free of authority, tradition, convention, prejudice, and "problems." By reason, by Secretary Hull's "conference, conciliation, and arbitration," by law, by remaining neutral,

by encouraging peace, by reducing armaments, by controlling arms traffic, by penalizing war, by stabilizing economic relationships, by education, the mustard seeds of peace have been sown and the trees grow, spreading by units here also larger than national, if not in such a tree of life as "United States of Mankind." In the Far East we can but note that in all but unanimous opinion, a crime has been committed in the use of force rather than reason, perhaps not by the Japanese Emperor and people, but in their name by the military clique. "The use of the principles of force is contrary to the teachings of Wang-tao ("The Kingly Way" of Confucius, doubtless the scientific historian-philosopher of his day). Our world is not yet a moral world of reason actuated by the ideas of the good, the true, and the beautiful, but it is rapidly becoming a world where reason is respected, as, in the "Age of Science," is inevitable. We cannot reason without evidence, such as this book provides. We cannot establish the law without political theory, of the kind which we find in the modern company of the scientific historian who reasons from particular facts to general truths, not in the mediaeval manner of the ideologists from a formulated law to its imposition upon the facts, however reluctant to conform.

What then is this "Survey" written with authority? Is it a milestone in liberal understanding among men or a gravestone of their latest hope? It is part of a world-chronicle of good and evil since 1920. It is also one of a series of unwritten books of hope and despair from the beginning of time. So much fear, greed, war; and so little peace! It is human history in cross-section, quarter-sawed, grained and polished, of contemporary man as Aristotle's political animal. The historian becomes a political scientist, as Thucydides did in a like "post-war world." But at any moment the history may become drama. Our "accumulated and accepted knowledge systematized and formulated with reference to general truths or the operations of general laws," our book of life, may at any moment become a bloody drama. Must Puck have the last word: "Lord, what fools these mortals be!" Or can men be educated by such books as this, by scientific method, by the spirit of our times, by experience-made thought? Can barbarian and slave and criminal and idiot mentalities be enlarged before civilization is overwhelmed? Can statesman educate conqueror, or at least forstall him? A man is more than a brute, but in his conception of God more than a man, something of a hero who on his way to perfection, if he fails, fails nobly.

Hartford, Conn. ROBERT SHELBY DARBISHIRE.

BOOK REVIEWS

The Arab Awakening: The Story of the Arab National Movement. By George Antonius. Hamish Hamilton, London, 1938; J. B. Lippincott Co., Philadelphia, 1939. pp. 471. 15s. $3.00.

In this eloquent and informing book the author deals with the first two stages of the story as history, while his treatment of the third bears closer resemblance to a legal brief. The first stage is the growth of the movement from its birth about the middle of the nineteenth century down to the World War—matter essential to an understanding of the modern Levant, yet never before discovered and told in such fulness, not even in Arabic. The second stage is the Arab Revolt and the attendant negotiations with Great Britain: much new light is thrown on the genesis and progress of the Revolt and on the British promises. As a historian Mr. Antonius establishes the outlines of the story with skill and accuracy, but its sweep is so broad that here and there certain aspects are neglected and questions left unsettled. For the third stage there is a description and defense of the influence of this historical background on the Arab attitude toward contemporary questions.

The writing of this book was suggested to Mr. Antonius by ex-King Ḥusain in 1931, shortly after Antonius's retirement from a long career in government service in Egypt and Palestine. On different pages we learn that Mr. Antonius traveled widely in preparation for the work, interviewed many of the early leaders (who often showed him unpublished papers), explored the files of old Arabic newspapers, and did research in the Public Record Office, in the Mission archives in Beirut, and in many libraries. Having pieced together the whole McMahon Correspondence, he publishes it in full for the first time (very likely this is one of the reasons for Mr. Chamberlain's decision, announced in Parliament Feb. 14th, to publish the letters officially), along with the texts of other documents, the most important of which are mentioned below. He also abstracts or refers to a few more documents without giving the actual texts.

The survey begins with the reign of Muḥammad 'Alī as Viceroy of Egypt. The steps taken then, especially by the Viceroy's son and generalissimo Ibrāhīm Pasha, to arouse national feeling among the Arabs turned out to be premature, but with the impulse toward modernization sponsored by Muḥammad 'Alī's administration in Egypt and Syria began the gradual awakening of the Arab peoples, partly spontaneous and partly the result of Western influence, among whose agents were the missionaries. Before 1834 the efforts of Jesuits, Lazarists, and Presbyterians to establish their work in Syria on a country-wide basis had met with scant success. The policy of toleration shown by Ibrāhīm Pasha as governor of Syria gave them

their chance; in 1834 the Lazarists re-opened the old Jesuit seminary for men at 'Ain Ṭūra, Eli Smith and his wife founded a Presbyterian school for girls in Beirut, and the Presbyterian mission moved its printing press from Malta to Beirut (this was the first modern press in a country so backward that an observer in the 30's found not a single bookseller in Aleppo or Damascus). For their new translation of the Bible the Americans got the help of two Christian Arab scholars, Nāṣīf al-Yāzijī and Buṭrus al-Bustānī. In 1847 these two joined with Eli Smith, Cornelius Van Dyck, and others in forming a literary society in Beirut, taken by Mr. Antonius as the starting-point of the Arab movement, since here was the forerunner of the societies that afterwards labored yeomanly to create and strengthen Arab national feeling. In an ode to patriotism first circulated secretly in 1868 Ibrāhīm, son of Nāṣīf al-Yāzijī, cried with the same eloquence that had fired Rouget in 1792:

Tanabbahū wa-'stafīqū ayyuhā 'l-'arab
(Arise, ye Arabs, and awake!) [1]

"The fruits of Yazeji's efforts for the enthronement of the Arabic language and of Bustani's campaign against ignorance" appeared in the work of the Beirut secret society (founded 1875), which in 1880 placarded in the Syrian cities "the first recorded statement of an Arab political programme," demanding independence for Syria in union with the Lebanon. The linking together of Syria and the Lebanon by this group organized originally by Christian Arabs in the Lebanon was "the root of the idea of Arab unity."

The overthrow of despotic 'Abd al-Ḥamīd by the Young Turks in 1908 instilled high hopes in Arab hearts. When it became apparent that the Young Turks intended to shackle the subject peoples in the same old manner, the Arabs redoubled their activity, both above board and underground.

The cold reality of the War reduced nebulous hopes and plans to concrete action. The Arab leaders in Syria opened negotiations with Ḥusain, who by virtue of his blood and office was the only Arab figure who could rival the enemy Caliph in prestige and who could raise up loyalties across frontiers. Although the negotiations were mainly oral, one important document has been preserved: the Damascus Protocol of May, 1915, in which the leaders of the secret societies set forth the conditions for Arab support of the British against the Turks.

The analysis of the McMahon Correspondence demonstrates that according to the actual wording of the letters Palestine fell within the area in which Great Britain was "prepared to recognize and uphold the independence of the Arabs" and was not excluded by McMahon's reservations in the note of Oct. 24, 1915. Mr. Antonius weakens his case by failing to deal with McMahon's assertion that Palestine was excluded and that he had "every reason to believe" that Ḥusain understood this, an assertion made in 1922 (see Philip Graves, "Palestine, the Land of Three Faiths," pp. 53-4) and repeated as recently as 1937 (see *The Times*, July 23, 1937, p. 17, col. 5). As a matter of fact, though McMahon may have in his own mind excluded Palestine in 1915, he undeniably neglected to make this

[1] Mr. Antonius gives us only this one line of Ibrāhīm's *qaṣīda*, emblazoned in Kufic characters on the dust-cover and on the title-page.

plain in his engagement to the Arabs, while the statement that Ḥusain understood the exclusion of Palestine is questionable. As far as I know, no documents have been advanced to show that such was the Sharīf's understanding. The Arab Revolt began on the same day that Kitchener went down aboard the *Hampshire*.

In the account of the Revolt the hero is Faiṣal, not Lawrence. Later on in the book Mr. Antonius makes a "tentative and provisional" appraisal of Lawrence's contribution. Lawrence hardly understood the Arab movement; at least his picture of its background is a compound of fiction and topsy-turvy facts. Nor was he heart and soul in the movement, else he would not have wearied of it in the trying days after the War. On the other hand, Mr. Antonius perceives the genuineness of "Lawrence's genius in guerilla warfare, the skill and daring of his feats,[2] his remarkable powers of endurance, and the greatness of his military services," while the post-War weariness probably grew out of "the factor of uncertainty that was at the root of Lawrence's beliefs, the strain on his mind after two years of relentless effort, the injury caused to his spirit by the sordidness of the bickerings at Versailles."

After the issuing of the Balfour Declaration (Nov. 2, 1917) D. G. Hogarth as special envoy of the British Government told Ḥusain at Jidda (Jan., 1918) that "Jewish settlement in Palestine would only be allowed in so far as would be consistent with the political and economic freedom of the Arab population." When the Arabs learned *via* the Bolsheviks and the Turks of the Sykes-Picot Agreement, it was necessary to send a second reassurance. Bassett, the acting Agent at Jidda, transmitted (Feb. 8, 1918) a note from Balfour, which, making no mention of the Sykes-Picot Agreement, ran in part: His Majesty's Government re-affirm their former pledge in regard to the liberation of the Arab peoples.

Early in 1918 seven Arabs at Cairo addressed a memorial to the British Government requesting information on Britain's plans for the Arab lands. On June 16, 1918, the Government replied in the Declaration to the Seven, "by far the most important statement of policy made by Great Britain in connection with the Arab Revolt; and yet . . . one of the least known outside the Arab world." The British Government announced with regard to the territories occupied by the Allied armies (the greater part of Iraq and the southern half of Palestine, including Jerusalem and Jaffa) that "the future government . . . should be based upon the principle of the consent of the governed. This policy will always be that of His Majesty's Government."

The last stage of the story lacks the documentation that enhances the value of earlier passages, but it merits painstaking attention as perhaps the clearest and most closely reasoned statement that we have of the Arab case *vis-à-vis* France, Great Britain, and the Zionists. Praise should be given for the fairness shown to the other side, despite the passions that roil the questions of the day. There is much in the record of Britain and France during the past two decades deserving condemnation, but Mr. Antonius never loses his understanding of the frailties of our common nature. Nor is he blind to

[2] Not "feasts," which is one of the fairly numerous typographical errors in the book.

the sad lot of the Jews and the hopes so many of them have centered on Zion. Yet his theme is "that the violence of the Arabs is the inevitable corollary of the moral violence done to them, and that it is not likely to cease, whatever the brutality of the repression, unless the moral violence itself were to cease."

The book is dedicated to Charles R. Crane, whose rich and fruitful life of eighty years came to an end Feb. 15, 1939, only a few weeks after he received this tribute.

University of California GEORGE RENTZ.

The Puzzle of Palestine. By David H. Popper. The Foreign Policy Association, New York, 1938. pp. 110. $.95.

The political problem of Palestine has become a favorite theme for many writers, regardless of their qualifications. It is, therefore, reassuring to see the Foreign Policy Association commission an able writer to treat this vexing question. Mr. Popper succeeds in presenting the interested public with a very readable book, but fails to explain the puzzle, still less to solve it. This is probably due to his fragmentary treatment of the historical background, his naive faith in British diplomacy, and his seeming unwillingness to admit that the Arabs have any grievance at all.

Mr. Popper places too much emphasis on the historical right of the Jews in Palestine as the Promised Land of Israel and on that later "dispensation" of Lord Balfour. The Balfour Declaration must be viewed side by side with the McMahon Correspondence and the Sykes-Picot secret treaty. Viewed as such, it shows the bad faith of the Allied Powers and the pitiful naivety of both the Jews and the Arabs.

In dealing with the present conditions in Palestine, Mr. Popper makes much of Jewish enterprise and Arab backwardness. This is both superficial and misleading. The apparent prosperity of the Jewish settlements is artificial, sustained by a continual inflow of money from outside. The Jewish return to the soil seems unfounded when over eighty per cent. of the Jewish immigrants are settled in cities. And Arab backwardness must be considered in the light of four hundred years of Turkish misrule and, above all, of four long years (1914-1918) when the whole country was a battlefield, with every plowshare beaten into a sword and every pruning hook into a spear.

How can these two kindred people live peacefully together? Palestine cannot, for physical reasons, solve the world Jewish problem. With over four hundred thousand Jews and over a million Arabs, the population is now near capacity. The answer is simple, and will point the way for the solution of the world Jewish problem. Judaism must be a religion not a race theory. Hitherto it has been both, with emphasis on race. As such it is as dangerous and false as Hitler's race theory.

Princeton, N. J. NABIH AMIN FARIS.

The Antiquities of South Arabia, being a translation from the Arabic, with linguistic, geographic, and historic notes of the eighth book of al-Hamdāni's *al-Iklīl,* reconstructed from al-Karmali's edition and a MS. in the Garrett collection Princeton University Library by Nabih Amin Faris. Princeton University Press, 1938. 8vo, pp. 4, 119. $2.50.

Of the famous archeological, historical, and genealogical encyclopedia *al-Iklīl* "the Crown," which was composed about 940 A. D. by the great South-Arabian author al-Hamdānī, there were until lately only two parts known out of ten, viz., the Books VIII and X. The first MSS. discovered were announced in 1872 by S. B. Miles. In 1879-81 the Austrian orientalist D. H. Müller published extracts from Book VIII with a German translation under the title "Die Burgen und Schlösser Südarabiens nach dem Iklîl des Hamdânî," 1-2; and twenty years later, as an appendix to his "Südarabische Alterthümer," Vienna 1899, some minor fragments of the same book. No complete edition of Book VIII existed until 1931, when the Carmelite Father Anastas in Baghdad published the entire text with variants from four MSS. and notes. Of Book X nothing as yet has been published.

Dr. N. A. Faris at the University of Princeton, who is preparing a new critical edition of Book VIII, has taken upon himself the task of making an English translation, in order to make the contents of the book, which are of considerable interest from the geographical and folkloristic point of view, accessible to the public. As a result of his labor, we now possess a very readable translation, accompanied by numerous notes. The translator has omitted, according to p. 6, firstly "all astrological drivel" (*cf.* however pp. 9ff., where some of these passages are translated, while Müller evidently did not dare to translate them), further "several verses of poetry" and "the entire section entitled 'The Elegies of Ḥimyar.'" The rendering of the remaining verses is in paraphrase, sometimes too free (e. g., p. 20, "Its people will ever victorious be," *cf.* Müller, "auf einem hochgelegenen, schmalen Bergpasse"), but made with considerable skill, as is also the prose translation.

The tradition of the text of Book VIII is by no means good: all the known MSS. are comparatively recent and present a great number of corrupt passages. So the translation, which is as a rule based upon al-Karmalī's text, often has a tentative character. The Princeton MS. of the Garrett (formerly Bārūdī) collection, used now for the first time, seems to be a rather poor copy (*cf.* the facsimile) and will not afford much help. The critical value of the translation therefore is somewhat unequal. Several renderings should have had a mark of interrogation, to indicate that they are very uncertain.

The notes contain some good conjectures and attempts to identify the names of places and persons. As an aid to textual criticism the readings of the Princeton MS. (= B) and of the texts of al-Karmalī (K) and Müller (M) are cited in numerous places. Unfortunately the details are not always correct; a collation has revealed on pp. 20-23 more than ten substantial errors. The conjecture *anbā* "a story" (!), for *abnā* "sons" = descendants of the Persian invaders in Arabia, on p. 20 is needless.

The Introduction (pp. 1-6) comprises a biography of al-Hamdānī, taken over almost literally from the article in the *Encyclopaedia of Islam,* a fact which ought to have been mentioned in the footnote, and also a short sketch of South-Arabian historiography, from the legendary 'Abīd bin Sharya to Nashwān. As to the account of MSS.

and previous editions, I only remark that there is no exhaustive list of MSS. given, and that Müller's "Burgen u. Schlösser" is a different work from his "Südarabische Studien."

Being myself engaged in the study of the unique Berlin MS. of the first two books of *al-Iklīl*, I want to thank Dr. Faris for his contribution to the "Hamdani-Forschung" and to express the wish that he may be able to give us in the near future a sound critical edition of Book VIII. For this purpose it will be necessary to provide fresh collations of the Berlin and the British Museum MSS. (the texts of Müller and al-Karmalī being not always reliable) and to extend the study of special South-Arabic literature. For the final establishment of numerous passages we must however set our hope in the discovery of a good and reliable MS.

The typographical appearance of the work, which forms Vol. III of the series "Princeton Oriental Texts," is first-class.

Uppsala O. Löfgren.

Yesterday and Tomorrow in Northern Nigeria. By Walter Miller, M.R.C.S., L.R.C.P. Student Christian Movement Press, London. pp. 182. Price 5s.

This is an interesting but also a provocative book. In one sense it is a supplement to Dr. Miller's earlier volume, "Reflections of a Pioneer." Here we have the record of the dark days when Nigeria was in many respects a closed land and Kano, the capital, lived in stagnation and Islamic self-satisfaction. The author draws the contrast between the past and the present, tells of village life and more especially describes the character of the Hausas. Western civilization has done its best and its worse, i. e., "Islam as religion, already emptied of most of its spiritual driving-force, has largely broken down in Northern Nigeria. This crisis was not unexpected. Islam is here a bar at present rather than a help. Too weak itself to stem any measure of the tide, it is yet strong enough to block the way to any other arresting power."

The later chapters contain startling proposals which are so radical that we doubt whether they are to be taken seriously, for example: "My second suggestion is that the Missionary Societies, following such a principle, decide to withdraw all their missionaries, both European and American, from the whole of Nigeria, and all funds as well, and to continue this measure of self-denial for seven years, with the prospect of permanency in the offing."

. . . "The West African Church has its bishops, its clergy and ministers; catechists, schoolmasters, and schools; churches, Synods, and ample wealth in its people, not only to continue the support of its own Christian regime, but also to evangelize the whole of pagan and Moslem Nigeria."

. . . "Let us give a time limit so as to enable the Church to get into its stride, while help in prayer, experience, and counsel is being freely given, for, say, one to three years, and then clear out, lock, stock, and barrel—leaving of course, all premises, houses, property, schools, material, hospitals, drugs, churches, etc., absolutely in the hands of the whole African Church as a solemn Trust."

Altogether this book will arouse not only interest but controversy as regards missionary method.

S. M. Zwemer.

Studies in Popular Islam. A Collection of Papers dealing with the Superstitions and Beliefs of the Common People. By Samuel M. Zwemer. London, The Sheldon Press; New York, The Macmillan Co. 8vo, pp. xi, 148 with four illustrations. 7/6d.

It is frequently made a subject of complaint that writers on Islam, as indeed writers on other Oriental religions, deal too exclusively with the religion as set forth in books, and too little with the actual religion as practised by the people, the religion which moulds their daily thought and motivates their daily actions. This latest volume of Dr. Zwemer's definitely devotes itself to the religion of the ninety-five per cent illiterate masses, the beliefs, customs and superstitions of the undertow that is continually at work dragging back where the modernists want to press forward.

The volume is a collection of essays which have been published at various dates since 1910, mostly in the pages of THE MOSLEM WORLD. To some extent they have been revised and brought up to date, but it is a pity that some time was not given to editing the various pieces before they were reprinted.

The essays deal with the Rosary, the Ka'ba as the Palladium of Islam, the famous Sword of Muḥammad, Islamic time reckoning, the Qarīna or Familiar Spirit, and superstitious practices connected with hair, fingernails and hand. Then follow four essays of a more bookish nature on the Translations of the Qur'ān, the problem of whether Muḥammad could read and write, the Ḥadīth Qudsī, and the problem of the angels worshipping Adam. Dr. Zwemer always writes interestingly, and many a student of Islam, and missionary among Muslim peoples, will be glad to have this mass of information on popular Muslim beliefs and practices available in so convenient a form.

Columbia University,
New York City. ARTHUR JEFFERY.

Ancient Arabian Musical Instruments, as described by al-Mufaḍḍal ibn Salama (9th century) in the unique Istanbul manuscript of the *Kitāb al-Malāhī*. Text in Facsimile and Translation edited with notes by James Robson, including Notes on the Instruments by Henry George Farmer. Glasgow, Civic Press, 1938. 4to, pp. ix, 19 with 23 plates. Price 10/6d.

Dr. Farmer is indefatigable in his labors at the History of Arabian Music, and not the least of his projects is the editing of a "Collection of Oriental Writers on Music," the fourth number of which is this tractate translated by Mr. Robson. The translation, as a matter of fact, appeared in the *JRAS* earlier in the year, and is here reprinted with emendations by Professor Fritz Krenkow and a photographic reproduction of the beautifully written Arabic text.

Al-Mufaḍḍal b. Salama, who died in the early years of the tenth century, is best known from his *Kitāb al-Fākhir*, and had some fame as a writer on *belles-lettres*. He belonged to the Kūfan School, where he was in contact with such famous personages as al-Farrā', Ibn as-Sikkīt, Ibn al-A'rābī, and Tha'lab. His little tractate on the Musical Instruments of the Arabs is thus of unusual importance because of its early date.

In view of the very general prejudice against the use of musical instruments in the Muslim society, he commences his tractate with references to Traditions which may be quoted to show the legitimacy of their use, since the Prophet was known not to have objected to their employment. Then in the usual manner of the Arab writers he introduces the names of instruments of music and quotes verses from the old poetry and little anecdotes and scraps of antiquarian learning to illustrate these instruments and the technical musical terms used in connection therewith. His antiquarian learning, as usual, is dependent on Jewish sources. Important as his information may be to the student of the history of Music, the little tractate is even more valuable for its philological interest.

Columbia University,
New York City ARTHUR JEFFERY.

La Mecque, Ville interdite. Par Jean Barois. Paris, 1938. Éditions Corréa. pp. 162 with five illustrations. 8vo.

This latest account of a European on pilgrimage to Mecca is a contribution to belles lettres, rather than a travel book or a contribution to the study of Islam. Not that it has no travel interest in its accounts of troubles with Custom officials at Jiddah, and descriptions of the cities and their crowds, or no Islamic interest in its impressions of the religious life in the Holy City, but essentially it is a bit of fine writing, not a book of travel or of religion. This time the pilgrim is a French man of letters, a poet, a novelist, who frankly knows nothing about Islam, and who, from his account of the pilgrimage ceremonies, obviously had no background of knowledge against which he could put his experience, so as to make some contribution to our information about Arabia or the Holy Cities. As literature, however, it reads well, and the poet constantly peeps through the prose narrative.

This pilgrimage started from Stambul, where the author joined the Turkish and Anatolian pilgrims on the pilgrim boat journeying via Port Said and Suez to Jiddah. At Jiddah he was met by Hajj Brahim, a military officer whom he had known in Turkey, and whose task it was to smuggle him, in spite of his being no Muslim and knowing no more Arabic than the few prayers he had memorized, from Jiddah to the pilgrim cities of Mecca and Medina. He states that the rule now is that the European who professes conversion to Islam and wishes to make the pilgrimage, must remain three years in Jiddah, to let the authorities test the sincerity of his or her conversion, before being allowed to proceed.

M. Barois does not wait in Jiddah even so long as three days. Under the guidance of Hajj Brahim he is smuggled by night into an auto (une sorte de camionette-char-à-banc), and taking full advantage of the sleepiness of the guards at the various stops where passing vehicles are inspected, they arrived without disaster at Mecca. "J'ignore toujours par quel prodige je suis là et par quel autre j'en sortirai. Je ne veux pas le savoir. Hajj Brahim m'a fait passer: nous avons franchi la porte du Djeddah et les controles successifs. Je m'en remets à lui pour le reste, à lui et à la Providence."

Immediately on arrival he is taken to perform the circumambulation of the Ka'ba, the run between Safa and Merwa, and the visit to Zemzem, and then after a vain attempt at resting for what is left of the night, he moves in the early morning to a room the Metawwaf has provided, and from the window of which he can look right down into the court of the Mosque, and for the four days before the departure to Minā, can observe at his ease the crowds performing their pilgrimage devotions at the Ka'ba.

Happily immune in that vast pilgrimage crowd drawn from all quarters of the world, he is able to visit the city, and even attend a reception given at the palace by Ibn Sa'ūd, followed by a banquet of two thousand covers. The best pages in the book are those descriptive of the city, and the account of Ibn Sa'ūd, who seems to have impressed M. Barois even more than he has most other Western observers.

From Mecca they proceed to Minā, and thence to 'Arafāt, and accomplish all the rites of pilgrimage in due order, though the author finds himself overcome by squeamishness when it comes to sacrificing his sheep with his own hand, and has to cling hard to the strong arm of Hajj Brahim, who, an old officer of the Turkish army, is unaffected by the sight of blood. The rite accomplished, they proceed to Medina for the customary visit, and back to Jiddah, again by car, over a road worse even than that which joins Jiddah to Mecca.

It would be futile to pick out the numerous little inaccuracies in this account, for these are but "souvenirs de voyage." Though Ibn Sa'ūd has made many changes in Arabia, some things are unchangeable. Mecca still lives on the pilgrimage as it did in pre-Islamic days, and the same methods of exploiting the pilgrims appear in this account as in the very earliest accounts of the pilgrimage that we have. There is still a clandestine trade in slaves, particularly female slaves, for "si les croyants doivent, pendant le temps du pèlerinage mener la plus sainte et la plus chaste des vies, il leur est loisable, ensuite, de se rattraper." The money-changers still vary their rates at their own sweet will. The Meccan merchants still descend on Jiddah when the pilgrimage season ends in a last effort to liquidate their stocks. The Metawwafs still take possession of their victim's body and soul, and the ecstatic enthusiasm of the crowds at the sacred spots has not changed with changing times. If this little book makes no contribution to knowledge, it is at least an interesting and pleasant account of a venturesome journey.

New York ARTHUR JEFFERY.

Al-Hidayatu'l-Amiriya and an Appendix Iqa' Sawa'iqi'l-Irgham. Edited with an Introduction and Notes by Asaf A. A. Fyzee. Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press, 1938. Pages 21+39.

This treatise is an epistle of the tenth Fatimid Caliph, al-Amir bi-ahkami'llah, and is such a message as the Imams sent to their followers to guide them in critical situations. It deals with one of those pregnant moments of the Fatimid dynasty which split the Isma'ilis into two parts, which continue until this day. Written by the son and successor of Mustali himself, it is both early and authoritative.

The Arabic text is the result of the collation of six different

MSS. but since none of these is more than a hundred years old, the editor considers this text to be only tentative. The style is dignified, but the language is "bombastic, full of stylish tricks, high sounding epithets, most pious words." The argument in favor of the Mustalian claims is unorganized and many events referred to are difficult to identify.

The appendix deals with the criticisms that the epistle gave rise to, but it adds nothing to the essential argument. It is also written by al-Amir. Of both of these epistles the editor says: "No useful purpose would be served by a complete translation of these epistles —their logic and flowery style can only be appreciated when read in the original."

The introduction by the editor includes a succinct statement of the historical situation dealt with, and critically considers the evidence that the epistle presents.

JOHN N. HOLLISTER.

Moeurs et Coutumes des Fellahs, par Henry Habib Ayrout, S.J., Payot, Paris, 1938. 8vo. pp. 191, with 3 plans and 32 photographs. 25 fr.

This is the most recent volume of the series *Collection d'études, de documents et de temoignages pour servir à l'histoire de notre temps,* published by the Maison Payot at Paris, and is a study, by one born and bred in Egypt, of the Egyptian peasant. In 1927 we had Miss Blackman's *The Fellahin of Upper Egypt,* in 1934 H. A. Winkler's *Bauern zwischen Wasser und Wüste,* but both of these were by foreigners, and both were limited in their scope to a particular area. This new book is by one who speaks their own language as his native tongue, and thus was in danger neither of being deceived and giving false emphases as was Miss Blackman, nor of looking at things from too detached a viewpoint, as was Dr. Winkler. As a document his study thus has the same value of personal contact as the charming Arabic volume *Ar-Rīf al-Maṣrī,* published in 1935 by Ibnat ash-Shāṭī. He, however, has had the advantage of training in the methods of the French Sociologists and Demographers, and his book is written as a demographic study of the modern Egyptian peasant.

The physical, social and political setting of the life of the Fellah are first sketched, and then M. Ayrout devotes four full chapters to "Le travail du fellah," "Le corps du fellah," "Le village et le groupe paysan," and "La maison et la famille du fellah," with four briefer concluding studies on the soil-steeped traditions of the fellah, the soul of the fellah, the evolution of the fellah, and "La misère du fellah."

The outstanding feature of the life of the fellah is its static quality. It is today what it has been through countless centuries. Civilization moves on, dynasties come and go, one type of ruler and form of rule gives place to another, but the life of the fellah, his joys and his sorrows, his problems and his miseries, his beliefs and his customs, go on as before, and very, very few are even the changes in his methods of cultivation brought about in all the developments that have taken place since in prehistoric days he first cultivated his corn by irrigation from the perennial stream of the Nile.

There is very little about religion in such a book as this. The great majority of the fellahin are officially Muslims, but M. Ayrout assures us that they know very little about it, and the Sheikhs are not interested in telling them. What real beliefs they have are all associated with the soil, and associating their religion with the soil they are humble and in their way devout. To our delight the author is a champion of the fellah, and will have none of the commonly expressed opinion of the city dwellers that the fellah is essentially stupid, irresponsive to education or higher influences, and little above the animals among whom he lives and works. He points out truly that the fellah transplanted into another environment rarely fails to make a success there, and that the common opinion of him, so glibly expressed by the smart young men in the cities and by interested Government officials, is due to their not knowing the fellah. He is the source of all the riches of Egypt. He makes possible the life of the big cities, of which the Egyptians who travel abroad are so proud, yet of all classes of Egyptians he is the most neglected and the worst treated.

There are signs of a changed attitude, and the understanding of men like Lord Cromer and Lord Kitchener is beginning to be appreciated, so that projects are being undertaken to relieve the misery of the peasant class. In all this projected improvement, however, there seems little interest in his religious life, and it is interesting that M. Ayrout, even as a Sociologist, is impressed by the work the Missions are doing to treat him as something other than a producing animal.

The book has a critical bibliography and a glossary of the Arabic words used in the text, which will be useful to the reader unacquainted with the Egyptian colloquial tongue, but unfortunately there is no index.

Columbia University,
New York ARTHUR JEFFERY.

The Turkey of Atatürk. By Donald Everet Webster. The American Academy of Political and Social Science. Philadelphia, 1939. pp. 338. $2.50.

The book, "The Turkey of Atatürk" by Donald Everet Webster, as stated in the preface (p. vii) "is marked by the advantages and handicaps of being the first to treat the material from the sociological angle." Such it certainly is but before enlarging upon this we must deal with the viewpoint of the author.

"If he (the writer) be adjudged a Turkophile, let it be remembered that his attitude is a product rather than the stimulus of predisposition of his study of and acquaintance with the Turks and their history" (p. ix). Only one who is friendly to a people can at all do them justice, but a friendly attitude has its dangers. While it is necessary to essential insights it may keep one from penetrating to the heart of a movement. Few know better than the reviewer the difficulty of being penetrating yet not critical in an unfriendly sense. We who have a long tradition of free speech little appreciate the perfectly natural pressure which association with the Turks puts upon one to avoid anything that might be interpreted as unfriendly. We in the United States are more sensitive than we think to what foreigners,

even the most understanding and friendly, say about us. The Turks in their tremendous changes have often necessarily had difficulty in choosing their course. It is wholly right that they should be troubled by foreign comment which would make their difficulty greater. The attitude of the writer and the reason for it must therefore be born in mind in evaluating the book.

In his selecting of the ground to be covered the author has been inclusive. Part One, Backgrounds, is composed of six chapters, covering seventy-two pages, designed to give the facts of history, geography and general characteristics of Turkey and the Turks which make a setting for the study. The eighty pages of Part Two tell of the struggle for independence. Part Three, nearly half the book, is devoted to setting forth the ideas and plans that dominate new Turkey.

Though the bibliography is not impressive, nearly every page of the book shows a splendid first-hand knowledge of Turkey, her peoples, and the publications from which facts are gleaned. Here is found the most comprehensive and authoritative collection of facts on Kemalist Turkey which has as yet appeared between the covers of an English book.

Part One, which is calculated to lay the foundation for the understanding of the post-war developments in Turkey, unfortunately does not bring out clearly the trends from 1520 to 1920. Serious Western historians tell us that under Suleiman the Magnificent, 1520-1566, the Turkish Empire was the greatest and most respected human institution in the world. By 1699 it had lost its ability to menace Europe. In 1774 a very humiliating treaty made a good many leading Turks very conscious of the fact that Turkey had fallen behind the European nations. June 15, 1826 the destruction of the Janissaries marked the turning point. What has happened since 1920 is but the flower of a trend which had its beginning at this turning point a full century before. One is not made to feel the striking rebound of Turkish self-respect which had been under a cloud for some two centuries. The golden thread which makes the story of modern Turkey so thrilling has been slighted, but the great merits of the book should not be hidden by this defect.

The great changes which the Turks' new estimate of themselves has brought about, have been fully and carefully recorded. "The Turkish state is republican, nationalist, populist, étatist, laïque and reformist." (p. 163). These six words are keys to Kemalist ideology and are explained in detail. How these are worked into practical plans is indicated under such chapter headings as: The Party in Politics, Propaganda: By the Party and Other Agencies, The Press, Education, Returkification: History and Language Reform, Etatism in Practice, Rural Uplift, Population Factors, etc.

All who wish to understand the many-sided change through which Turkey has been going will do well to read this book and keep it at hand for ready reference.

Washburn College,
Topeka, Kansas R. F. Markham.

Al Hadis: An English translation and commentary with vowel-printed Arabic text of Mishkat-ul-Masabih (Containing sayings, doings and teachings of the Holy Prophet and events before and after Resurrection) with suitable arrangements into Chapters and Sections. By Alhaj Maulana Fazlul Karim, M.A., B.L., Book 1, pp. 739. Mohammadi Press, Calcutta. Rs. 7.

This title is both comprehensive and suggestive of the character of this ambitious work, which is to be completed in four volumes. The author has toiled in an old field, but he nowhere tells the reader that we have here, in new form, the century-old and long out-of-print translation of the *Mishkat* by Captain Matthews. The material has been arbitrarily rearranged, the translator (or compiler) has added a long Introduction (pp. 1-52), and the Traditions given in Arabic and in English, are accompanied by introductory remarks and explanatory footnotes. If the work had been well done it would be a valuable addition to the library of books on Moslem Tradition, but the author, in spite of his heroic efforts and painstaking method, described in the Preface, betrays a weak English style and a scant knowledge of Arabic. His system of transliteration was that "no fixed standard of short and long vowels have (*sic*) been observed in this work . . . and the cumbrous procedure of placing dots, lines and comas (*sic*) above, below and sides of a word have been generally avoided." The printer may be to blame for such errors as: *exempli gratia,* the *Yahya* of al-Ghazali, *Mazhare Hoq,* etc., etc., but the author is responsible for the frequent faulty translations of the text. Chapter VII, Sec. 4, deals with the use of the *Miswak* and is entitled "Teeth Cleansing." The translator has a long paragraph on modern dental hygiene and how the Holy Prophet anticipated it, and then translates simple Arabic as follows: "*Ayesha* reported that the Messenger of Allah said: There are ten things of nature: (*sic*) Shortening the moustache, lengthening the beard, cleansing teeth, giving water to nose, pairing of nails, washing finger-joints, shaving the hairs of armpit, shaving the hairs below nipple and shortening of water (*sic*) meaning removing impurities. The narrator said: I forgot the tenth except that it might be gurgling."

These are also typical traditions and indicate the punctilious observance of puerilities in the life of "the Holy Prophet." But the English rendering is unpardonable. Chapter IV, Section 5, is entitled "Missionary activities in Islam," which in the original relates rather to *Jihad* or holy war! The omission of all the chapter headings in this case and throughout the book is confusing. It is not justified by the statement in the Preface: "A slight deviation has been made in the matter of classification of the subject matters into chapters and sections . . . this has been done to place in the forefront the subjects which greatly occupy the modern minds, tastes and societies." The result is confusion. One cannot easily compare the various sections with the earlier literal translation of Captain Matthews, nor with the constant references to the *Mishkat* by Orientalists, e.g., in Hughes' Dictionary of Islam. A final criticism is that the whole work in its footnotes savors of the Woking school of Ahmadiya teaching. It was in fact dedicated to them in its first manuscript; but when financial stringency prevented their publish-

ing it the author says he "cancelled the dedication" and had it printed at his own expense. We admire his self-sacrificial devotion to Islam, his courage in undertaking so large a task single-handed and the measure of success he has achieved. The work will prove very useful, especially to missionaries in India.

S. M. Zwemer.

Verzeichnis der Schriften von Carl Brockelmann. Zusammengestellt von Otto Spies. Leipzig, 1938.

Professor Dr. Otto Spies has done honor to his predecessor at the University of Breslau and at the same time rendered an important service to Orientalists in publishing the titles and other data of the writings of Dr. Carl Brockelmann.

Separate works, encyclopaedia articles and reviews have been flowing from Dr. Brockelmann's mind and pen from 1890 until the present time. Colossal industry, amazing accuracy, grateful fulness of information, concise expression and soundness of judgment are the characteristics of his scholarship. His *Geschichte der Arabischen Litteratur* early placed him in the front rank of Orientalists. These with the *Supplement-Bunde* by themselves will keep all Islamic scholars in his debt as long as Arabic is studied anywhere in the world.

Hartford, Conn. E. E. Calverley.

Arabian Antic. By Ladislas Farago. Sheridan House, New York. pp. 319. $2.50.

The author, born in Hungary, is still a youthful, roving foreign correspondent for a British newspaper, and in this volume sets forth his rather hasty impressions of present-day conditions from Suez to Aden and in the Yemen. He complains at the outset that he could find no books or authorities on the district which he expected to visit, which seems astonishing when one recalls the bibliography on Southwest Arabia and the Hejaz. In lively style he tells of his exploit, but the book as a whole is disappointing. The publishers tell us on the jacket that "if Sir Richard Burton wrote in *Esquire* and *The New Yorker*" the style would resemble that of this author. There are some resemblances to Burton's lack of reticence regarding the darker side of Moslem life, but Burton was a scholar, and the present writer lacks all evidence of scholarship. Ordinary Arabic words and geographical terms are misspelled, and instead of furnishing his readers with a good map of his itinerary he wanders from place to place giving sensational accounts in journalistic style. Such statements as the following can only discredit a traveler's narrative: That the rails of a dismantled railway on the Island of Kamaran were sold to junk dealers; that the tanks at Aden hold twenty million gallons of water; that one house in Aden accommodates five hundred poor Jews; that the Parsees collect the bones of their dead from the Tower of Silence and ship them to India; that "male and female pilgrims enter the Tent of the Black Stone at Mecca"; and finally, that whole oxen were barbecued at "the annual market of Eunuchs" in one of the coast towns on the Red Sea!

One wonders what the object of the writer was. Apparently it

was partly political, to describe in sensational fashion the aggression of Italy through submarines and naval bases in the Red Sea. "In my effort to gather more and more evidence of Italy's ever-increasing foothold in the Red Sea I had been ordering the *nachoda* to change his course every time I smelled a new clue. Our last position had been 14 degrees North, 43 degrees East, after having sailed by more than a hundred miles of the Southern part of the Yemeni Coast." (page 286).

As a record of lively personal experience, the book is readable, but for accurate information one must turn elsewhere.

Z.

Revue Marocaine de Legislation, Doctrine, Jurisprudence Cherifiennes (Droit Musulman Malekite, Coutumes berberes, lois Israelites) ; Trimestrielle, en langue Française et Arabe.

Fondée par Paul Zeys, Membre de l'Académie des Sciences Coloniales; Conseiller à la Cour d'Appel de Paris; Ancien Inspecteur des Juridictions Cherifiennes à Rabat et Ancien President de Chambre à la Cour d'Appel de Rabat.

Published by the Société Anonyme de la Librairie du Recueil Sirey, Paris.

This quarterly review appearing simultaneously in French and Arabic deserves attention because, as far as we know, it is the only periodical that deals exclusively and rather exhaustively with Mohammedan jurisprudence. The present issue has articles on such topics as The Expropriation of *Waqf* Property, Slavery, Marriage and Divorce, together with detailed account of actions by the various courts in Morocco. The most interesting section to us seems to be the Bibliography which includes a dozen new books on Moslem law, all in the French language.

Z.

Im Lande der ewigen Sonne. By Emanuel Kellerhals, Evangelischer Missionsverlag, Stuttgart und Basel, 1938. With maps and plates. M. 1. 60. pp. 91.

These sketches describe the travels of the Inspector of the Basel Missionary Society in Cairo and Upper Egypt. He acquaints us with the missionary work in Egypt and Nubia as well as with the Coptic Church. The visit to the Wiesbaden Moslem mission at Cairo, Assuan, and Nubia closes the account. This book contains excellent pictures describing his experiences and we are introduced to all branches of the Moslem mission.

G. Simon.

Werfet die Netze aus: Erinnerungen. By Johannes Warneck. Martin Warneck, Berlin, 1938. pp. 250. 5 Mk.

In this work the well-known former Director of the Rhenish Missionary Society, Dr. Johannes Warneck, son of the late and equally famous Professor Doktor Gustav Warneck, describes his eventful missionary career. The most important period of his life was at the head of the Batak mission in the island of Sumatra. This mission has succeeded in resisting the onward push of Islam, brought its advance to a standstill, and embodied several thousands of former

Moslems in the young church, composed mostly of Christians formerly heathen. This church now comprises 400,000 Bataks. The author describes in a clear and striking way the building of the church which he himself directed for fifteen years after a long missionary service. He tells also of the continuous struggle of the church against the surrounding Islamic tribes. G. SIMON.

Die Pyrenäen-Halbinsel als Ausfallstor für die Ausbreitung des Christentums. L. Ungelenk, Dresden, 1938. pp. 30. 0.60 M.

In this book by the well-known professor of missions and Indology at the Univ. of Halle, Dr. Schomerus, we find much interesting information regarding the time of the occupation of Spain by the Arabs. We are told that by that occupation Western Christendom was cut off from the heathen African population. If we should succeed in bringing the Gospel into Spain it would mean a great step forward in Moslem missions in Northern Africa, for according to the book's title the Iberian peninsula is a sally-port for the propagation of Christianity. G. SIMON.

Diwan of Khaki Khorasani. Persian Text, edited with an introduction, by W. Ivanow. Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press.

This is a collection of lyric poetry by Imam Quli, "the slave of the Imam," under the *nom de plume* of Khaki. The present work is an abbreviated version of the original. But "all poems that are typical, or those that contain interesting ideas, references to dates, or names of persons, etc., are given here." The majority of the poems "are *awamm*, or in popular style," without "a spark of originality."

The Editor's introduction discusses the combined Shi'ite, Sufi and Isma'ili strains in the poetry, the ordinary reader being able to "admire the deep Shi'ite feelings" of the author, without ever realizing that he was an Isma'ili." This is in part due to *taqiyya*, dissembling, but more fully accounted for by the "homogeny of the elements of which Shi'ite Sufism and the form of Isma'ilism followed by Khaki are based." These Isma'ili doctrines alluded to in scattered verses are summarized in the introduction. Among these, as would be expected, the references to the Imam hold the chief place. Of especial interest and value are references by Imam Quli to the Imams of his period. But these are not without their own problems for some names are referred to which are difficult to identify. Even so such contemporary evidence has its value regarding a subject that is still very obscure.

There is a helpful verse index for persons, dates, places and technical terms.

Bijnor, United Provinces,
India. JOHN N. HOLLISTER.

True Meaning of Religion. By Shihabu'd-Din Shah al-Husayni. Persian text and an English translation by W. Ivanow. Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press. iii+28 pp. Persian text. 1933.

This treatise is a presentation of the principles of the Isma'ili religion, written by the son of the 47th Imam of the Nizaris, who

died in 1885 while his father yet lived. It was written at the request of some of his "brethren in the religion," and purports to set forth "the principles which should guide them in their lives, showing them the right way of moving amongst their brethren in this world." It is written in simple, direct, almost conversational style.

The reader finds himself immediately facing the principle of the hidden meaning, *batin*, in a reference to the *jihad i akbar* as "a war against one's own vile instincts to bring them under control," and to *siratu'l-mustaqim* as the direct, or straight path of religion for which God has provided a Guide, or Proof (*hujjat*). Obedience is declared to be the same as devotion, which in turn is the basis for religious knowledge. The possessors of Truth are the Imams, in whom the sacred Light of Muhammad and 'Ali is continued. One half of the tract is devoted to the Imam and the "close relatives" (*'Itrat*).

Having dealt with these basic truths the author briefly defines true religion as love for 'Ali "even if you do not show much outward piety." Or to use an illustration, love for 'Ali is the foundation without which no building can stand, and with which, even if "the walls have no paint on them, the building is indeed strong."

Students of Islam in general, and of Isma'ilism in particular, are indebted to the Islamic Research Association and to W. Ivanow for this careful translation, and for making this work available.

JOHN N. HOLLISTER.

Kalami Pir, A Treatise on Isma'ili Doctrine; also (wrongly) called Haft-Babi Shah Sayyid Nasir. Edited in original Persian, and translated into English by W. Ivanow. Bombay. (pp. Introduction, lxviii, Translation, 113, Indexes, 115-146, Persian translation 117.)

The sectarians who regard this work as most sacred consider it to be the "word" of their Pir, Nasiri Khusraw. Internal evidence shows that this cannot be true, and the author remains unknown. The doctrine set forth is that of the Nizari school and the author is very conversant with his subject, although the opening account of the conversion of Nasir Khusraw is rejected by the editor as "purely fictitious." In a useful introduction the editor deals fully with the question of authorship, manuscripts and an outline of the teaching. In an addendum he is able to record the finding of a copy of the original version of the Kalami Pir, although it was too late to alter the present edition. This fact, however, fortunately finds record in this work so that the reader is enabled by supplementary notes to know the difference between the two. It is worthy of note that the edition here translated includes almost everything in the original, only two short passages being omitted, while much material has been added.

The significance of the work is found in the rather full account it gives of the Nizari system of teaching. Philosophical matters are avoided. The first part is taken up with controversial matters and sometimes the treatment is acrimonious, while the second part deals with the basic doctrines of the Isma'ili sect, dogmatically treated. In his discussion of these topics the editor has listed the

following headings: God and Creation; Religion; Prophethood (*Nubuwwat*); Imamat; *Hududi Din,* The System of Ethics; and Salvation and Future Life. The treatment by the author is not well organised, and it is difficult to be sure what is really the teaching of the Nizari School and what is only the eclectic value.

To a large extent the text is composed of quotations from other works both Isma'ili and Ithna 'ashari, and often it is impossible to identify the source from which a quotation is made.

As here presented with text, indexes for names of persons, geographical and ethnical names, books referred to, technical terms, and quotations from the Quran and *hadith,* the edition is extremely useful.

JOHN N. HOLLISTER.

Two Early Ismaili Treatises: Haft-babi Baba Sayyidna and Matlubu'l-mu'minin. By Tusi. Persian Text. An Introductory note by W. Ivanow. Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press. Pages 8+64.

This little book, No. 2 in the series of the Islamic Research Association, contains two treatises in Persian, together with an introduction in English.

The first treatise adds nothing substantial to the account of Isma'ili doctrine already available in the Kalami Pir. But as "the earliest known genuine work belonging to the Alamuti school" it sheds light on the religious life of the period in Persia. It was compiled about 1200 A.D. and cannot, therefore, have been written by as-Sabbah who is usually meant by the term Sayyidna. Its frequent reference to the Isma'ili literature of the Alamut period affords some information concerning the extent and nature of that literature, although it has probably been lost.

The second treatise, "The Aim of the Faithful" "was probably intended as a school book for elementary religious instruction." It is from the thirteenth century A.D. and is fairly common among the Isma'ilis of the upper Oxus provinces. It gives in brief the basic Isma'ili doctrines; sets forth the moral virtues of the true Isma'ili; deals with *zahir* and *batin*; and explains in the usual way the "seven pillars" of the Islamic *shari'at.*

JOHN N. HOLLISTER.

Caucus Race, by Henrietta Sands Merrick. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York, 1938. pp. 272 with 29 illustrations and a map. $3.00.

The title of this book is an apt description of its contents. The author began when she liked, left off when she liked and so "it was not easy to know when the race was over." Mrs. Merrick has traveled in the Near, Middle, and Far East; she crossed uninhabited country along the western border of Tibet; she met with some of the Arab Nationalists in the Lebanon hills; she ran into so much red tape in Persia that she was forced to change her plans for extensive travel there; she speculated about the mystery of the Four Faces of the Bayon at Angkor Thom, Cambodia; she gathered opinions about communism in China and about the industrialization of Japan. When she describes and contrasts the peoples and the countryside in

Java, Bali, and Sumatra she shows some neatness: Java, overpopulated, unhappily westernized, "like a ripe fruit sucked dry"; Bali, orderly, exceedingly beautiful, but nevertheless, "a flower held under glass for awhile . . . destined to the same fate"; and Sumatra "more wild and free," with its Mohammedan Meningkabaus and its Batak bartenders who were cannibals a hundred years ago. Elsewhere one must look in vain for organization of ideas or penetration of thought.

There are several references to Islam: The chapter entitled "Iraq" does not contain anything but a description of a conversation with an official there and a few generalizations such as, "The Mohammedan religion is said to be the only growing religion in the world, increasing at the rate of five million converts a year; not merely by birth rate." Twice Mrs. Merrick stayed with missionaries as a paying guest. The vignette entitled "Famine" in the chapter about India describes a drab, repressed woman and her domineering, sarcastic husband. At the Moravian Mission in Leh, Bishop and Mrs. Peter earned the author's gratitude for their kindness to her when she dislocated her spine.

As an indication of the completely unreliable character of Mrs. Merrick's writing, one need only glance at the bibliography which consists of seventy-four book titles, selected quite indiscriminately and listed in a slipshod manner.

MARY M. BRITTAIN.

Kapitel XXXIII der anonymen Arabischen Chronik **Kashf al-Gumma al-Gami li-Ahbar al-umma** betitelt Ahbar Ahl Oman min Auwal Islamihim Ila Htilaf Kalimatihim; ("Geschichte der Leute von 'Oman von ihrer Annahme des Islam bis zu ihrem Dissensus")—auf Grund der Berliner Handschrift unter Heranziehung verwandter Werke herausgegeben. By Hedwig Klein. J. J. Augustin, Hamburg, 1938. pp. 66+46.

The full title of this doctoral thesis in philosophy indicates its character and importance. The province of Oman lies in a backwater and its early history is still somewhat obscure. Pliny and Ptolemy mention a town in southeast Arabia called Omana which has been identified with Suhar, an old trading center. But when and how Islam entered and how the Ibadiyah sect secured foothold is an obscure page of history. Dr. Hedwig Klein by her work on this manuscript chapter of an ancient anonymous chronicler has unveiled many interesting historical and geographical facts. She is a pupil of Professor Strothmann and Dr. T. Khemiri, and her study of this portion of the world of Islam bears the marks of scholarship. The Arabic text is reproduced with 46 pages of German footnotes and an index to names of persons and places, not to mention the various readings and corrections of the manuscript in the transcription. These latter are based on a comparison with earlier and partial translations of this history by G. P. Badger (London, 1871), E. C. Ross (1874) and another anonymous MS. in E. G. Browne's catalogue. The Arabic text opens with the statement: "It is related (and Allah knows best) that the first of the people of Oman to accept Islam was Mazin ibn Ghadhuba . . . . . of Samail who worshipped an idol called *Najir*." While sacrificing

to this idol he heard a voice proclaiming the advent of the true prophet Mohammed. This miracle was repeated and when an Arab from Hejaz came and preached Islam, Mazin immediately smashed his idol and set out for Mekka to meet the Prophet. The chronicle goes on to tell of how Islam then spread over all Oman, until divisions arose among the faithful and discord led to tribal warfare. The sudden rise of the Ibadiyah sect is not satisfactorily explained by this chronicler (p. 34). For the general reader it is also unfortunate that no translation of the Arabic text is given.

S. M. Zwemer.

Donkey Beads. By Miss Anna Ratzesberger. Chicago, Albert Whitman & Co., 1938. pp. 62. $1.75.

Parents of children living in the Near East, as well as others who wish their children to know of peoples and customs in the land of Iran, will welcome Miss Ratzesberger's new book, "Donkey Beads."

The author has spent a number of years teaching in Iran and has previously published several other books for juniors; "Ali Hassan of Hamadan" was good, "Camel Bells of Baghdad" was better, "Donkey Beads" is best. Its imaginative style is the kind most relished by the age group for which it was written and its humor can be chuckled over by any adult who might find an excuse to read it. Whatever the excuse might be, the book is overflowing with true pictures of the country's life and habits.

The illustrations, by Kurt Wiess, are caricaturish and paradoxically realistic, adding just the needed touch to make the book a real attraction.

New York City. Charlotte E. Young.

To Persia for Flowers. By Alice Fullerton. Oxford University Press, New York, 1938. pp. 195. $3.

Mrs. Fullerton has given all of us who like to read about Persia a rare treat. For those who have seen the blossoming of its desert spaces in the springtime, this volume induces pleasant nostalgia.

Only the ten-page appendage at the close of the book is meant for botanists, and even that can be read by the novice with ease, so clear and simple is the style. In fact, it is the simplicity of the whole tale which gives it rare charm.

Mrs. Fullerton and her friend, Miss Lindsey, went to Persia in 1935 under the auspices of the British Museum. They had work to do of the kind they enjoyed (botanical research) and they went about accomplishing their mission regardless of difficulties and hardships, with the zest of true scientists. Would that more scientists and research workers, to say nothing of missionaries and foreigners in other capacities, with whom village folk of Persia come in contact, were as warmly human and as full of loving kindness as Mrs. Fullerton. Quite without realizing it, the author has given us a picture of a true Christian. With unassuming naturalness she takes up her life among the village people, healing their ills with simple remedies, meeting discomforts with true sportsmanship, and in the

same spirit she tells the story of their response to the practice of "Good will among men."

The following comment on the mission work Mrs. Fullerton observed is most gratifying:

" . . . everywhere I came across missionaries in Persia, both American and English, I was struck by their true love of the people and their complete devotion to their work. I had always been against missions before, believing that the religion of a country was such as suited its needs, and that there was so much misery and distress in our country that our money would be better employed there. However, now that I have seen the work of both American and British missionaries in Persia, I have completely altered my mind. Their religion goes hand in hand with love and service, and their help to those they come in contact with is both physical and moral."

Other books about Persia may be more exciting or more scientific or more historically factual, but among travelogues only Gertrude Bell can approach this story from the standpoint of delightful and refreshing human interest.

New York CHARLOTTE AND HERRICK B. YOUNG.

Simple Colloquial Persian. By C. L. Hawker, M.A., published by Longmans, Green and Co., London, 1937. pp. 80. 3s.

Arranged in twenty lessons and with a vocabulary of about 1500 words, this book will be particularly helpful "for English-speaking people who are making only a short visit to Iran and cannot afford the time required to learn the script and the intricacies of grammar, or for those who are resident in Iran and who are beginning to study the language without learning the script." Simple and practical Persian sentences are employed, and there is a valuable supplement of words and sentences "required in managing the household." While the system of transliteration is not strictly conventional, it is easily understood and represents the actual pronunciation of the Persian words equally well.

D. M. D.

Asking Them Questions. By Ronald Selby Wright. Oxford University Press, New York, 1938. pp. 233. $1.25.

The second series of "Asking Them Questions," leads youth who are seeking Truth to new windows of light. In this volume, forty vital questions concerning the relationship between man and God are answered. Most of these questions represent barriers which prevent the young people of today from entering into a vital relation with God, and hinder the development of a strong faith in Him. The answers to their questions are here presented in a brief, direct and simple form by persons representing a wide range of scholarship and training, in the field of religion, who are in close touch with the spiritual and physical problems confronting young people.

Princeton, N. J. DAVID S. KAIN.

CURRENT TOPICS

Islam in Pemba

Mr. Harold E. Heath writing in *The Wayfarer* describes this fertile Island as follows:

On the fertile coral island of Pemba, with its wooded hills and marshy valleys, live some 98,000 people of varied races, of whom the majority are Africans. The Omani Arabs are today the owners of the majority of the big plantations. The other section of the Arab community is the Shihiri Arabs who come from the Persian Gulf bringing in their fine dhows cargoes of dates, salt and dried shark, and return taking with them rice and mangrove poles. Many of these Shihiri Arabs are the small traders of the villages supplying such things as sugar, tea and oil, and dealing in a small way in cloves and coconuts. There are also many Indians in Pemba who are the town shopkeepers and for generations have carried on the bulk of the commerce of the island.

There are two groups of native people—the Wa-pemba and the Wa-swahili. The Wa-pemba inhabit chiefly the eastern and extreme northern parts of the island. They are of mixed Persian and African descent, many of them claiming to be descended from the early Persian settlers, ruins of whose buildings are still to be seen on the island. During the time of the slave trade, when thousands of slaves were brought to Pemba every year, these people maintained their independence.

The Wa-swahili are ex-slaves and their descendants. Enough has probably been written about the horrors of the slave trade and we may be very thankful that such a crime against the people of Africa has ceased. But in thinking of the Wa-swahili we should keep in mind the stock from which they have come, and that Zanzibar was once the greatest slave market in East Africa.

All the people of Pemba, except those who have become Christian, are nominally Moslems. Islam has, however, adapted itself to the practice of magic, even the Koran being used in the making of charms. The name of Allah may be constantly upon their lips, but he is not the potent force in their lives; that place has been usurped by a hierarchy of malevolent wizards and devils. Islam has not set free from this fear those who have come under its influence. There is a Swahili name for God—Mungu—to whose inscrutable will are ascribed all calamities and woes, even those resulting from laziness and vice. It would be safe to say that every section of the community at some time or another has resort to the witch-doctor and his charms. Fear and superstition cannot be driven out by educa-

tion and civilization alone; only a more powerful and liberating belief can do that, so clearly illustrated in our Lord's parable of the house swept clean but left empty.

There are three established Friends' Meetings for Worship, each in the care of a leader drawn from the people themselves. None of these helpers earns his livelihood by this ministerial service, but works at some other occupation. In Meetings for Worship, Elders' Meetings and Yearly Meetings, there are definite signs of spiritual growth.

By various means—evangelistic, educational, agricultural and medical—Friends in Pemba are seeking to serve the purpose of God, to spread abroad that knowledge of Him which comes through Jesus Christ, to overcome the ex-slave's distrust of himself and to bring him into a place of spiritual freedom, for "if any man be in Christ, he is a new creature."

The Madras Conference as seen by a Moslem

In the magazine called *The Light,* a Mohammedan writer speaks as follows of the Madras Conference:

I do not know how many of your readers have gone through the proceedings of the World Missionary Conference held last December, at Tambaram, a suburb of Madras. Though the Conference was not open to the public, periodical reports of the discussions and the findings of the various committees were published in papers.

The object of the Conference was two-fold; firstly to unite the various denominations amongst Protestants so that clash, particularly in regard to evangelical work, may be avoided, for it should be noted that there has been much unhealthy rivalry amongst them in the matter of winning converts; and secondly to devise new methods of propagating Christianity, which as every one knows, has been rejected by the West.

So far as the first object is concerned, it is an incontrovertible fact that there are fundamental doctrinal differences amongst the various Protestant denominations. Some Christian leaders have realised that these doctrinal differences should be subordinated to a nobler cause namely, propagation of the Gospel. To what extent unity amongst the various Protestant Churches can be achieved is a question which need not be discussed here. As one who has known Christian Missionaries for a long time and who has also carefully studied the tenets, doctrines and dogmas of various Christian sects, I can say without any fear of contradiction that unity amongst them is impossible. Dr. Mott, the Chairman of the Conference, in his concluding remarks made much of the unity which the Tambaram Conference in his opinion had achieved but I am inclined to think that this unity is only factitious and fictitious.

The second noteworthy point is that, particularly from Africa and Asia, a good number of delegates attended the Conference. Dr. Mott has made much of this also, evidently to prove that the Christian Church is above racial prejudices. It passes one's comprehension how the presence of representatives of the coloured races at the World Missionary Conference could be construed as the ex-

istence of racial equality in the Christian Church. It is a well-known fact that white Missionaries are given higher emoluments than their non-white confrères. All the leading ecclesiastical dignitaries are white-men. Coloured priests cannot officiate at the marriage of a white couple. In the Chapel itself, this racial discrimination has been carried to such an irritating extent that non-white worshippers are segregated from the white ones. Yet Dr. Mott would have us believe that the presence of the coloured delegates at the World Missionary Conference is proof positive of the absence of racialism in the Christian Church. Those who know the real state of affairs will not certainly be deceived by the sweet words of Dr. Mott.

The whole conference split itself into a number of committees to discuss the Christian solution of the problems which are now agitating the human mind such as War, Nationalism, Capitalism, Socialism, Racialism, Dictatorship, Democracy and so on. The resolutions of these committees have been published. They are lengthy and long-winded. Those who have gone through them would know that what is called Christian solution is not Christian at all. I say this because none of them have been fortified with any quotation from the Gospels. It is hardly necessary for me to state here that whenever a Muslim offers the Islamic solution of a problem, he bases it on a Quranic verse or Hadis. But the Christian Missionaries who met at Tambaram and adopted a number of resolutions have not based any of their resolutions on the dicta of Christ. Here again they want to hoodwink the world which thinks and rightly too that Christianity cannot solve the modern problems.

The World Missionary Conference has got an important moral to Musalmans who should realise that it is much easier for them to achieve Intersectional Unity than for Christians to establish Inter-denominational Unity; for the differences between one Muslim sect and another are not at all fundamental. Yet it is a pity that Muslim religious leaders would not co-operate. If they still continue to quarrel among themselves about silly and superficial things, Islam will be weakened. The real danger to Islam is not so much from without as from within. If Musalmans are united, no power on earth can shake them. This simple fact has not been realised by our Mullahs and Maulanas. I devoutly hope that the various sects of Islam will unite. Let there be unity in things essential, diversity in things non-essential and charity in all things.

The Difference between the two Ahmadi Sects

This question was asked of the editor of *The Light,* Lahore. We reprint the question and the answer:

What is the difference between "belonging to the Qadian Section" and "being a life-member of the Lahore Anjuman"? Please be lucid in your answer.

A. The members of the Qadian Section of the Ahmadis believe that Mirza Ghulam Ahmad Sahib was a prophet; while the members of the Lahore Anjuman believe that he was not a prophet and that he never claimed prophethood in the technical sense of the word.

He is believed by this Anjuman to be the *Masih,* whose coming in the latter days was promised by the Holy Prophet of Islam (may peace and the blessings of Allah be upon him). He is also believed to be the *Mahdi,* whose advent was being expected by the Muslims all over the world. And lastly, he was the *Mujaddid* for the present century of Islam and came, in this respect as in the other two, in fulfilment of a prophecy of the Holy Prophet to the effect that at the head of every century there will be a *Mujaddid* in the Muslim Community. In a word, Mirza Sahib is believed by the Lahore Anjuman to be *Mujaddid, Mahdi* and *Masih Ma'ud*—to be a holy man raised by God for reforming the Muslim Community and raising it to the standard of early Islam, the Islam of the days of the Holy Prophet and his saintly Companions. He is regarded as a servant of the Holy Prophet as he claimed himself to be and not as another prophet after Muhammad the Last Prophet (may peace and the blessings of Allah be upon him).

Tunisia

In *The Living Age* there is an article translated from the *Paris Topical Weekly* describing modern Tunisia. The author contrasts the past with the present as follows:

I remembered that about fifty years ago the ruins underfoot were a fit symbol of Tunisia. There were no hospitals, no other centers of education except the Koranic schools and the *medersas.* The people were ruled by the unbridled will of the Bey, and the public treasury was open to the whims of his favorites. Periodically epidemics ravaged the country. There were only primitive means of transportation, no postal system, no highways.

Today 3,700 miles of good highways and 1,200 miles of railroads have been constructed. The native population, then about 1,500,000, has been almost doubled. The trade that in 1881 had amounted to 23,000,000 francs, has already passed the three-billion mark. The agricultural aspect of Tunisia, too, has been changed. From 500,000 hectares the amount of arable land has grown to something like 2,000,000 hectares, and the cultivation of vineyards and olive groves has shown astonishingly good results. An unbelievable sum of French capital has been invested here. The construction of ports, of mines, railroads, electric stations has demanded money that this poverty-stricken country could not supply.

Such is the record of French achievement in Tunisia. Certainly, it has not been free of mistakes and of bitterness. It is impossible to change completely the entire character of the country without running into obstacles. But the work is still going on, and in spite of everything, the sovereignty of France has remained unchallenged. It will be able to withstand the challenge that has been hurled at it by the Italian ambitions.

There are today in Tunisia 108,000 Frenchmen and 94,000 Italians. This is due to the fact that in the beginning of the French settlement of Tunisia, there was a lack of manual workers; Italian workers were used to break the ground and Italian masons built the houses for the European settlers. These workers, who came to

Tunisia, driven by their needs rather than by any imperialistic ambitions, had no intentions of creating an Italian colony.

But they found work and land and eventually stayed here. After a while many of them were able to lead a comfortable existence and some even made fortunes, thanks to the considerable amount of French capital invested in Tunisia. Certainly those people, whom poverty has forced to leave their own country, can consider themselves only as debtors to France. Their work cannot give to the country whence they came any political rights in Tunisia. Nor will France allow any revision of the Franco-Italian treaty of 1935 that is unfavorable to her. As a matter of fact, we would be justified in taking away the special rights conceded to the Italians by the terms of this treaty.

Tunisia, situated in the middle of the Western Mediterranean, separated from Libya by an imaginary boundary that the Treaty of 1935 was not able to mark more clearly, appears to the beholder to be the bulwark of French Africa. Abandoning it as a result of diplomatic or military action would undermine the security of French North Africa, and endanger the French possessions of Tchad and the Cameroons. This bastion is now being menaced.

Numerous airdromes have recently been built in Sardinia and in Sicily. The Island of Pantellaria has been fortified without any apparent reason, and Marshal Balbo is maintaining an army of 80,000 men, almost entirely motorized, on the Libyan and Tunisian frontiers, thus commanding the most powerful concentration of white forces in Africa.

But France also has taken protective measures. We have fortified our South Tunisian port by a "Maginot Line," where French sharpshooters are keeping vigilant guard. In the North, Bizerta represents one of the best equipped and securest aero-naval bases of the Mediterranean. In the event of conflict, all our North African forces will be rapidly brought to the spot of trouble by means of a great strategic highway and railroad that join Marrakech with Tunis. The command of the Army has been given to one of our best tacticians, General Blanc, an expert in African questions, whose exploits during the Riff rebellion are well known.

Let those who cry "Tunisia, Tunisia!" come and get it if they can.

In the E.M.M.S. Hospital, Nazareth

Dr. Doris Wilson writes in the Edinburgh Medical Missionary magazine regarding the Hospital at Nazareth, in the midst of war and confusion. We have here a picture of love and friendliness:

"All around there was tension—the European crisis was uppermost in people's minds, and for those of us in Palestine there was a background of our own political troubles. Curfew made the night unusually still, and, looking from the hospital grounds, a red glow in the Jordan valley indicated that the Iraq pipe line had been punctured yet again, while searchlights from the Plain of Esdraelon lit up a valley or hillside here and there. Nazareth lay quiet, and almost in darkness.

"Inside the hospital were wards full of Arab patients, some with

gunshot wounds from British rifles, a British private who had lost his arm, thanks to an Arab land mine, and the Arab and British staff working together. I thought again of the bitterness there must be, and, partly out of curiosity, peeped into each ward as I passed. The friendliness and happiness there almost took one's breath away. It happened to be a night when the wireless was on in the men's ward, and a group sat round in evident enjoyment, listening to Arab songs. A lusty *mukhtar*, whose fractured femur (a gunshot wound) was trussed up to a Balkan frame, seemed the gayest —he waved his hand and called out an Arabic phrase, 'This is of your kindness.' Operation cases on the other side of the ward had forgotten their aches and pains, and were beaming broadly. Boys with the inevitable tuberculous lesions squatted in any corner, preferably the noisiest.

"It was the women's turn for a lantern lecture, and the Syrian evangelist (temporary) was showing views of Palestine and pictures of Bible stories interspersed with an occasional view of the Forth Bridge or the Mound! All were appreciated, especially as for some of the patients this was the first experience of a magic lantern. Looking around, one felt for the hundredth time that these were the type of simple village folk with whom Christ so often dealt.

"Nowadays the patients come in groups—there is a lull if the roads are unsafe, and then one morning a number of villagers will band together, risk the bus journey, and arrive at the hospital or dispensary, agitating to be seen at once, as they must get home while the roads are still safe. Some refuse to be admitted, as they are afraid to be away from their homes; others insist on hospital treatment, as the roads will be too unsafe to risk a second visit to the dispensary! Some enlarge on the difficulties, others use them to soften our hearts as regards payment, but all are friendly and appreciative—amazingly so when one considers the circumstances. As one patient said to me the other day: 'Your medicine did me no good at all, but I shall always come to you, for your hand is blessed!' Joking apart, however, their trust in us is a priceless boon these days, and it seems sometimes as if these simple people were trying to make us realise that they are as much our friends as ever. Interest in ward services seems keener, and there is a readiness to talk and to hear of the things of God. It would not be true to say that the national feeling is not a difficulty—the feeling is strong and sometimes very bitter, and to keep calm and sane and friendly needs much grace. But we do feel that the prayers of our friends have been, and are being, answered in the attitude of the patients to ourselves, and most of all to our message."

The Ministry of Health in Turkey

We learn from the Turkish press that the ministry of health has prepared a vast program:

There is a plan of building 150 new hospitals in all the country, which will accommodate 17,000 patients. (*Jumhuriyet*, October 6, 1938.)

The Ministry of Health has prepared a ten-year health plan. According to this plan, in the 150 provinces (*vilayet*) of the country,

hospitals containing in all 17,000 beds will be opened. Apart from these, schools for midwives, health institutions, anti-tuberculosis and similar organizations, museums and serum-farms will be established.

The Ministry of Health which is responsible for all the health and social relief enterprises in the country, has, in accordance with the programmes of the Party and the Government, determined those matters of urgent need which claim first attention, and has prepared a plan and a fundamental work programme to extend over several years.

The undertakings which are to be carried out under regular government appropriations of this and the next few years are divided by the Ministry into two sections: "Social relief" and "Preventive Medicine" enterprises.

The enterprises which are to be accomplished in ten years may be summed up as follows: Hospitals with 50 beds each in 27 *vilayets;* hospitals with 100 beds each in 4 *vilayets*; hospitals with 150-500 beds each in 10 *vilayets*; in 25 townships (*kaza merkezi*) health centers; in two places hospitals for tuberculosis containing 500 beds each; in two places tuberculosis sanitariums with 500 beds each; in two centers surgical-tuberculosis sanitariums with 200 beds each; in two centers preventariums with 200 beds each; in 30 *vilayets*, new tuberculosis dispensaries; in four places hospitals for mental diseases with 500 beds each; in Istanbul one central hospital for mental diseases with 2,000 beds; in 16 places delivery-homes with 30-35 beds each; in five places institutions for incurable patients with 250 beds each; in two centers poor-houses for the poor and the aged, with 500 beds each; 5 hospitals for children, two with 100, and three with 50 beds each; and in Istanbul one hospital for children with 250 beds, and five hospitals for curable sicknesses, two of these having 100 beds each and three, 50 each.

SURVEY OF PERIODICALS

By Sue Molleson Foster
Union Theological Seminary Library

I. GENERAL

Biographische Fragmente über Ibn Quzmān. A. R. Nykle. (In *Der Islam*, Berlin. Dezember, 1938. pp. 101-133).

Arabic texts only, with notes on the manuscript sources.

The Contribution of Ibn Muḳlah to the North-Arabic Script. Nabia Abbott. (In *The American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures*, Chicago. January, 1939. pp. 70-83).

Discusses the origin of the Khaṭṭ al-mansūb, a mathematical device by which the letters of the alphabet were brought into a proportional relationship with the basic *alif*.

Die Gelehreten Sklavinnen des Islams und Ihre Byzantinischen Vorbilder. Albert Wesselski. (In *Archiv Orientalni*, Journal of the Czechoslovak Oriental Institute, Prague. Vol. IX, No. 3. December, 1937. pp. 353-378).

Discusses the literary relationships of the story of Tawaddud in The Arabian Nights.

Kamâl Atatürk, Le Père des Turcs. Louis Jalabert. (In *Études*, Paris. 5 Décembre, 1938. pp. 647-653).

An appraisal of the wonderful creative accomplishment of the founder of modern Turkey.

Muḥammad Ibn Habîb and his Kitâb al-Muḥabbar. Ilse Lichtenstädter. (In *The Journal of The Royal Asiatic Society*, London. January, 1939. pp. 1-27).

Describes the scope of this important work, which contains a store of the most varied information on Arabian history, manners, customs and anecdotes before and after the advent of Mohammed.

Phoenician and Syrian Ivory Carving. R. D. Barnett. (In *Palestine Exploration Fund*, London. January, 1939. pp. 4-19).

Finely illustrated account of finds dating from the 14th to the 7th centuries B. C. and showing pronounced Egyptian and non-Egyptian origins.

PHILOLOGIKA X. Hellmut Ritter. (In *Der Islam*, Berlin. Dezember, 1938. pp. 154-173).

Tells of the career of Farīdaddīn 'Attār, who lived about 1119-1230, was physician and traveller and by turns a Sunnite and a Shiite. The article includes, also, the full synopsis of his long romantic poem Hosraunāme.

THE STRUCTURE OF THE ARABIAN AND PERSIAN LUTE IN THE MIDDLE AGES. Henry G. Farmer. (In *The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, London. January, 1939. pp. 41-51).

Quotes five authors' accounts of the making of this instrument from the IX to the XV century.

II. ARABIA

AFRICAN CONTACTS WITH ARABIA. H. St. J. B. Philby. (In *The Journal of the Royal African Society*, London. January, 1939. pp. 33-46).

A provocative article barely touching the possible materials suggested by the subject.

ALOIS MUSIL. J. Rypka. (In *Archiv Orientální*. Vol. X, No. 1-2. June, 1938. pp. 1-34).

Portrait and biographical sketch of Professor Dr. A. Musil, describing his invaluable studies of the topography and tribal life of Northern Arabia.

CLIMATE, IRRIGATION AND EARLY MAN IN THE HADHRAMAUT. G. Caton Thompson and E. W. Gardner. (In *The Geographical Journal*, London. January, 1939. pp. 18-38).

Technical article, covering these features.

AN EXPLORATION IN THE HADHRAMAUT AND JOURNEY TO THE COAST. Freya Stark. (In *The Geographical Journal*, London. January, 1939. pp. 1-17).

Describes a trip from Hureidha to Balhaf on the Gulf of Aden.

THE NEW DAY IN ARABIA. Joseph J. Cooksey. (In *World Dominion*, London. January, 1939. pp. 67-72).

The initiative shown by Ibn Saud has produced greater changes in Arabia during his lifetime than it has experienced in several preceding centuries; opportunities for mission work are not lacking in this development.

III. HISTORY OF ISLAM

BUDDHISM, ISLAM AND HINDUISM IN ENGLAND. G. F. S. Gray. (In *The Chinese Recorder*, Shanghai. February, 1939. pp. 78-83).

Tells of the missionary work carried on by these great cults

in England, where they are making progress in London and its neighborhood.

TONYUKUK'S EPITAPH. M. Sprengling. (In *The American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures,* Chicago. January, 1939. pp. 1-19).

Account, with original text, of the life and accomplishments of a grand vizier, who lived in the 8th century and whose memorial inscription is a true masterpiece of old Turkish literature.

IV. KORAN. TRADITION. THEOLOGY

THE ULEMA OF ALGERIA. Fazal Kareem Saunders. (In *The Islamic Review,* Woking. January, 1939. pp. 18-24).

The intellectual association of Algerian nationals, known as the Ulema, represents rationalism in religion and, according to its rules, must not concern itself with political matters.

V. RELIGIOUS AND SOCIAL LIFE

THE SAIYADS OF SISTAN. Melvin Hall. (In *Asia,* New York. February, 1939. pp. 99-100).

Describes the simple life of Iran's most primitive people, who inhabit the marshy land about Lake Hamun.

THE TRANSFORMATION OF TURKEY. Douglas Chandler. (In *The National Geographic Magazine,* Washington, D. C. January, 1939. pp. 1-50).

Profusely illustrated account of the amazing progress of the last thirty years.

LA TURQUIE À UN TOURNANT DE SON HISTOIRE. Louis Jalabert. (In *Études,* Paris. 20 Mars, 1939. pp. 743-760).

A study of the background and political outlook of Ismet Inönü, Turkey's new president.

VI. POLITICAL RELATIONSHIPS

ATATÜRK'S SUCCESSOR. Harry N. Howard. (In *Asia,* New York. January, 1939. pp. 21-22).

Outlines the public and private life of Turkey's new president, Ismet Inönü.

THE ITALIANS IN TUNISIA. George Martinelli. (In *The Nineteenth Century and After,* London. January, 1939. pp. 44-50).

Indicates French and Italian development in North Africa and the strategical value of Tunisia to each of them.

THE MEDITERRANEAN QUESTION. Edward Hutton. (In *The Nineteenth Century and After,* London. February, 1939. pp. 150-164).

Discusses the various implications for Great Britain and France in Italy's threat to their colonial communications with Africa, the Near East and India.

THE NEW BALANCE OF POWER IN THE LEVANT. Tomaso Sillani. (In *Foreign Affairs*, New York. January, 1939. pp. 336-350).

A careful study of England's and Italy's positions in the Mediterranean and adjacent lands and waters.

THAT STORMY INDIAN FRONTIER. B. Shiva Rao. (In *Asia*, New York. March, 1939. pp. 131-136).

Discusses Great Britain's frontier policy and finds a woeful lack of progress during the fifteen years the situation has been under consideration.

VII. MISSIONS TO MOSLEMS

A CHRISTIAN APPROACH TO THE MOROS. Rev. Frank C. Laubach. (In *The Missionary Review of the World*, New York. January, 1939. pp. 31-35).

In the Philippines, conversions from Islam have not been numerous, but a steady advance in evangelization is made through service and through the study of Islam and Christianity with the Moslems.

FORTY YEARS IN THE SUDAN. Gilbert Dawson. (In *World Dominion*, London. January, 1939. pp. 53-61).

From one mission station in 1898, there are now about 250 stations and a staff of about 900 missionaries—a growth as impressive as the development in the political and economic fields.

A KASHGAR MOSLEM'S STORY. Recorded by Mrs. Glenn B. Ogden. (In *The Missionary Review of the World*, New York. March, 1939. p. 130).

Drawn to Christianity by the teaching of a Swedish mission school, Joseph Ryehan was baptized, witnessed at Yarkhand and nearly suffered martyrdom in a Mohammedan uprising.

THE POSITION OF THE CHURCH IN EGYPT. "Onlooker." (In *World Dominion*, London. January, 1939. pp. 45-52).

Although the Christian Church is a minority group in an overwhelmingly Moslem community, up to the present there is no need for fear that the day of Christian educational and medical service has passed.

A SURVEY OF THE YEAR 1938: THE NEAR EAST. (In *The International Review of Missions*, London. January, 1939. pp. 40-55).

Summarizes work in all sections of this area and finds encouraging features on all sides, although governmental legislation is often difficult to cope with.