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VENI, SANCTE SPIRITU!

In the January and April issues, 1932, of our Quarterly, Dr. Duncan B. Macdonald wrote on the Development of the Idea of Spirit in Islam. This development divides itself into three stages: first the beliefs of Mohammed himself as expressed in the Koran; then those of his immediate followers in the earlier traditions and theological statements which have remained fixed to this day among the masses; and third the speculations of later thinkers who added an immense amount of philosophy of their own from Ghazali (1111 A. D.) to 'Arusi (1854). Needless to say these two articles are exhaustive and indispensable to the student of Islam and the practicing missionary if he wants to understand his own vocabulary in speaking of the Spirit of God to Moslems.

Our colleague, Dr. E. E. Calverley, in the article *Nafs* (Encyclopaedia of Islam), largely based on Macdonald's study and yet carefully supplemented, also deals with *Ruh* (spirit) and the Holy Spirit (*Ruh-al-Quds*); but neither of these articles, for obvious reasons, touches on the relation of Islamic views to the Christian doctrine of the Holy Spirit.

Three hundred years before the Hegira and three hundred years after Pentecost, the Church of Christ expressed its faith in the Holy Spirit, using words that have become the heritage and the symbol of universal Christianity: "I believe in the Holy Ghost, the Lord and Giver of Life, who proceedeth from the Father (and the Son) who

with the Father and the Son together is worshipped and glorified: Who spake by the Prophets" . . . and so

"The faith of the Trinity lies,
Shrined for ever and ever, in those grand old words and wise;
A gem in a beautiful setting; still, at matin-time,
The service of Holy Communion rings the ancient chime;
Wherever in marvelous minster, or village churches small,
Men, to the Man that is God out of their misery call,
Swelled by the rapture of choirs, or borne on the poor man's word,
Still the glorious Nicene confession unaltered is heard;
Most like the song that the angels are singing around the throne
With their 'Holy! holy! holy! to the great Three in One.'" [1]

But why speak of the Holy Spirit and Islam? Is there not an incongruity in this juxtaposition of two words? Did the Holy Spirit also speak through him whom our Moslem brethren designate as the last and greatest of the Prophets? Can there be relation between the Dove of Peace and the Sword of Islam? Historically, ethically and spiritually the Upper Room in Jerusalem and the Prophet's Chamber in Medinah seem as far apart as the East is from the West, Averroes from Newton, Harun from Alfred, 'Aisha from Mary Magdalene, 'Ali from St. Paul, Bethlehem's manger from the Ka'ba at Mecca. And yet our very confession that the Holy Spirit is "the Lord and Giver of Life"—of all life and the only source of life—compels us to think more deeply and with truer judgment on this relationship.

The rigid monotheism of Islam has no true place for the doctrine of the Holy Spirit. The words "holy spirit" occur only four times in the Koran and are of very doubtful significance, as we have already indicated, in reference to the articles by Dr. Macdonald and Dr. Calverley. By arranging all the references to "the spirit" and "the holy spirit" in the Koran, we find five passages where this Spirit is identified with angels, especially Gabriel; [2] three which

[1] Quoted in Schaff—The Creeds of Christendom, Vol. 1. p. 27.
[2] 97:4; 78:38; 70:4; 26:193; 16:104.

deal with the Spirit in the creation of man;[3] five which refer to the Spirit as the channel of revelation;[4] and six passages which link the Spirit with Jesus the son of Mary.[5] The commentators on these passages are blind spiritual guides. The best of them are perplexed by the text: "They will ask thee of the Spirit: Say, the Spirit proceedeth at my Lord's command; but of knowledge only a little to you is given" (17:87). The result is that they offer an amazing complex of interpretations. The "holy spirit" is Gabriel or a supreme angel, a breath, light, faith, the Koran, prophecy, the Gospel, Jesus, pure human spirit, an influence, a victory, a being greater than angels, God's great name, etc.[6] Yet we gather from orthodox interpretation that although God's Spirit is shrouded in such mystery it proceeds from God as the breath from the body; it is limitless and capable of being infused into countless personalities without diminution or loss of identity; and it was thus in-breathed into Adam at his creation and into the Virgin Mary for the miraculous birth of Jesus. But all this is still far removed from the Christian idea of the Holy Spirit given in the New Testament.

The late Temple Gairdner loved to speculate on the Moslem doctrine of the Spirit as a possible point of contact with Moslems in preaching to them the unsearchable riches of Christ. He saw how near Mohammed came to the Mystery and yet how far off he remained. In his paper for the Jerusalem Council Meeting he wrote: "If Mohammed's awful Visitant was none other than The Spirit, then It was a being altogether higher than the angels, for he describes It as 'endued with power, having influence with the Lord of the Throne, obeyed' (by celestials, surely). There results the noblest and most convincing interpretation attempted by Islamic thinkers, namely: the Spirit is a unique Being, above all creatures, related uniquely, intimately and actively to the Lord of the Throne."

[3] 15:29; 32:8; 38:72.
[4] 16:2; 17:87; 40:15; 42:52; 58:22.
[5] 2:81, 254; 4:168; 5:109; 19:18; 21:91; 66:12.
[6] Cf. "The Holy Spirit in Qu'ran and Bible," by Rev. C. G. Mylrea and Shaikh Iskandur 'Abd-ul-Masih. (C. L. S., Madras).

"This teaching, though rare, to the multitude unknown, and even for adepts full of awesome and dangerous mystery, is a part of what Christ came not to destroy but to fulfill. It seems clear that Moslem theologians, though following the way to truth, wavered when within a step of their goal out of respect for their commendable belief in the Unity of the Deity. They saw the transcendental character of the Spirit, even admitted (some of them) that It is uncreate, but hesitated to admit Its Eternity. In many of His attributes, the Spirit of the Koran is the Holy Spirit of the Bible, or at least of the Old Testament, in all but name." [7]

Some would hesitate to endorse all of this statement. For in this connection we must not forget that among the titles given to Mohammed is that of Paraclete! Moslem writers assert that Christ in His last discourse foretold the coming of the Prophet and that the Greek word, translated Paraclete, originally signified Mohammed. This blasphemous, unhistorical error arose early and is commonly believed among all classes of Mohammedans. [8] It has been answered again and again by Christian apologetes but persists in many popular Islamic tracts and books to this day.

On the other hand, no one can read the writings of the Mohammedan mystics without being convinced that God's Spirit led them toward and not away from the light and the truth.

Ghazali's testimony to the character and sinlessness of Jesus Christ, Al-Sha'rāni's ingenious and reverent speculation on *why* Jesus is called the Spirit of God, [9] and the words of the Masnávi are instances in point:

"For granite man's heart is, till grace intervene
And, crushing it, clothe the long barren with green;
When the fresh breath (Spirit) of Jesus shall touch the heart's core
It will live, it will breathe, it will blossom once more."

[7] Report of the Jerusalem Conference, Vol. I, page 241, The Christian Message.
[8] See Faraqlit in Hughes' Dict. of Islam and cf. Rice's Crusaders of the Twentieth Century, pp. 399-341, 405-407.
[9] Kitāb al Yawāqit wa'l Jawāhir, pp. 144-147.

Whatever may be the doctrine of the Holy Spirit in Islam, we know that for those in contact with Islam as missionaries, every virtue these witnesses, (theologians, Sufīs, and pious-folk) possess, every victory won, every thought of holiness, every deed of kindness, every ministry of love, is His alone. It is God's common grace that enabled them, as even Calvin taught. Moreover, whatever values lie hidden in the non-Christian religions come directly or indirectly through the witness and work of the Spirit. For the Reformed theology has always spoken of common as well as of special grace. By the former, Calvin meant those gracious influences or restraints of the Holy Spirit exercised in the natural heart of fallen man and throughout the history of the race, by which the soil was prepared for the seed of the Word and by which human hearts were made to yearn for God. God's creative image was disfigured by the Fall, but not wholly lost.

Here is an illustration from my own experience. One morning, many years ago, sailing on the Indian Ocean, we read, with a Moslem, a little manual of Moslem devotion published at Colombo, in Tamil and Arabic. It was a book of prayers of the Naqshbandi dervishes, and is typical of this kind of literature, which is everywhere in the hands and on the lips of the people. Here is a translation of one beautiful page:

"I am truly bankrupt, O God. I stand before the door of Thy riches. Truly I have great sins—forgive me for Thine own sake. Truly I am a stranger, a sinner, a humble slave who has nothing but forgetfulness and disobedience to present to Thee. My sins are as the sands, without number. Forgive me and pardon me. Remove my transgressions and undertake my cause. Truly my heart is sick, but Thou art able to heal it. My condition, O God, is such that I have no good work. My evil deeds are many, and my provision of obedience is small. Speak to the fire of my heart, as Thou didst in the case of Abraham, 'be cool for my servant'."

The reference here is to a story in the Koran of Abraham's trial by fire.

Several articles in this issue of our Quarterly offer clear evidence of the work of the Holy Spirit today in Java

and China and among the Moros. The most interesting feature of the new English translation of the Koran by Yūsuf 'Ali, as Professor Jeffery points out, is his copious use of the Bible, in both his references and his comments. His devotional mind could not ignore the testimony of the earlier prophets, and the Sword of the Spirit will do its own work.

The witness to Christ in the Koran, the spiritual poetry and prayers of the mystics, the present-day admiration for the character of Jesus, the desire to search the Holy Scriptures, the friendliness and sympathy where formerly there was hostility and fanaticism—all these surely are the work of God's Spirit. Yet this is only preparatory to His work of conversion and should urge us to prayer for an outpouring of God's Spirit as at Pentecost. Apart from Him we can do nothing. If our stupendous spiritual task meets with success anywhere and in any way, it is not by might nor by power, but by the Holy Spirit alone. The Holy Spirit is the one and only source of all true power for evangelism, all real strength for noble endeavor, for fruitful and effective service, for sacrificial giving and living. Face to face with the new conditions of our day, the new difficulties and the new encouragements, let us go forth in the old faith of the disciples on the day of Pentecost, go forth in the possession of the power that was theirs, yet not theirs alone, with a great expectancy. "Ye shall receive power . . . . ye shall be my witnesses." "And they were all filled with the Holy Spirit and began to speak with other tongues as the Spirit gave them utterance." "And He, when He is come, will convict the world in respect of sin and of righteousness and of judgment: of sin because they believe not in me; of righteousness because I go to the Father and ye behold me no more; of judgment because the prince of this world hath been judged."

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EARLY CHRISTIANITY IN ARABIA

Moslem writers speak of the centuries before Mohammed as the "Time of Ignorance," that is, an ignorance of the true religion. During these centuries before Mohammed Arabia was an asylum for all religions. Many strange gods, with their heathen cults and practices, found refuge among the free and independent tribes of the desert. The Arabs themselves, famous even then for their skill in astronomy, astrology, medicine, poetry, and oratory, welcomed each newcomer and assigned to each new deity a place among a multitude of others. The centre of all worship was a city in the mountains of the west, the present Mecca.[1] Here stood the Ka'ba and three hundred and sixty idols, among them Allah, by whose name an oath was made binding. Among the mass of people, however, superstitions of all kinds prevailed. Legends and mysticism grew up around certain places, rocks, trees, and springs. The belief in *jinn*, then as now, was almost universal, and pilgrimages were made to various sacred spots, chiefly Mecca.

Philosophy also flourished in Arabia. Ideas of the creation, which prevailed among the philosophers, as well as many of their philosophical doctrines, resembled those of Chaldea, Egypt, Syria, and Ancient Greece. They believed in the immortality of the soul, and in punishments and rewards after death. Many of the philosophers, however, believed in one god only, the creator and ruler of the universe. These people later became known as Hanifs.

Exactly how and when Christianity came to Arabia is shrouded in legend and tradition. Our earliest definite

[1] Wright: "Early Christianity in Arabia." Note p. 8. Warner, ap. Spanheim, Introduct. ad Hist. Nov. Test. Saec. vii. Ecchelensis, Hist. Orient. p. 147. The temple at Mecca is distinctly referred to by Diod. Sic., and it was probably the temple of the sun mentioned by Theophrastus, (Hist. Plant.).

record is of Paul who after his conversion "went into Arabia." [2] We do know, however, that Christianity was introduced at an early period among the Roman Arabs. "There were Arabians present at the feast of Pentecost, and St. Paul resided for a while in the dominion of the Arabian king Hareth, or Arethas, whose territory included the city of Damascus. Agbarus, so celebrated in the annals of the early Christians, was a prince of the territory of Edessa, and Christianity had made some progress in the desert in the time of Arnobius. Bishops of Bostra (Basra), which was considered as an Arabian town, are mentioned in early records. The tribe of Ghassan was celebrated for its early attachment to the Christian faith; and during the short reign of the emperor Philip, Arabia was noted as the mother of a dangerous heresy." [3]

It is definitely certain that hundreds of Christians fled from persecutions in various countries and made settlements in Arabia. Most interesting and extensive of the early Christian kingdoms was that of the Himyarites, an account of whose struggles is recorded in the Book of the Himyarites, an ancient Syriac manuscript. [4]

The Himyarites were the inhabitants of Yemen, or Arabia Felix, which then included part of the Hadramaut. These people were descendants of Kâhtan whose posterity are called pure Arabs by Arabian historians. They were named for their fifth king, Hamyar, who was the first of the descendants of Kâhtan to reign over the whole of Yemen. These people resembled the nations about them in their religious beliefs, and like the Sabeans, recognized Abraham as their ancestor. Judaism entered Yemen before Christianity; it is said to have entered in the third century B. C., under Abu Karib. There is a tradition that Saint Thomas preached in Arabia on his way to India, but that the faith was established by Saint Bartholomew. About 326 A. D., Frumentius was bishop to Hamyar and busy establishing churches. When a youth he is said to

[2] Gal. 1: 16-18.
[3] Wright, "Early Christianity in Arabia," p. 73.
[4] Translated by Axel Moberg, 1924.

have been captured by the Himyarites and to have served first as custodian of the imperial books and treasures, and later as guardian of the young crown prince. Some time later—about sixteen years—the Emperor Constantius sent Theophilus to make an alliance with Marthad, King of Yemen. Despite violent opposition from the Jews, Theophilus built three churches, one in Dhufar, the capital, one in Aden, and a third on the Island of Ormuz in the Persian Gulf. Later, no less than four bishoprics were established in the kingdom of Hamyar.

While the Christians were growing in number and power in Arabia, Judaism grew likewise. Christianity had no stronger nor more persistent enemies than the Jews. Now and then violent persecutions broke out and the Christians were put to horrible tortures. In 490 A. D. there ascended the throne of the Himyarites a man named Masruq, or Dzu Nowass, "of the flowing hair," known at first for his beauty and later for his cruelty. He became a zealous partisan of Judaism and persecuted with unremitting activity all Christians in his domains. The Christians called on Caleb, King of Abyssinia, for help. He immediately sent over an army, subdued Yemen, and leaving a garrison in Dhufar, returned to his own country. Masruq, on the departure of his enemies, proceeded against this town. Failing to capture it by force he resorted to deception. This story is found in the Book of the Himyarites:

"And when he saw that he could not prevail over them in battle, he sent to them Jewish priests, who were from Tiberius, with a man from the town . . . . another, whose name was . . . . son of Mauhaba, who was from Hirtha dhu Na'man, and these were Christians in name. And this tyrant Masruq sent with them a letter with terrible oaths, swearing by Adonai, and by the Ark, and by the Thora: 'No harm shall befall you if you will come out to me willingly and surrender the town of Zafar (Dhufar), but I will send you back to your country, to your king in peace.' . . . .

"When the Abyssinians received from him a letter of this nature through those who were sent, and moreover the words of his messengers supported his oaths, they, in the simplicity of their souls, did rely upon his oaths and went out to him, ... with

300 fighting men, who were with him. And Masruq received them without reserve and showed them . . . . [One line missing] . . . . saying that every one of the Jews should slay the Abyssinians in that night, and in the morning their bodies should be found in one place. And those servants of unrighteousness did as he had commanded them, and at the dawn the bodies of the servants of God were found there cast upon each other." [5]

He finished up by burning the church and the two hundred eighty men who sought refuge in it. After this he issued a proclamation that all Christians should either deny Christ or be killed, and every one concealing a Christian should have his house burned and his property destroyed.

Next, Masruq undertook the subjugation of Najran, a Christian city of the Beni Haleb, who had embraced the religion of Christ at the preaching of a missionary from Syria. Again Masruq had recourse to treachery. After promising on oath that he would not injure the inhabitants if they surrendered, he immediately plundered the city and gave the people a choice between death and Judaism. He caused large pits to be dug and all who refused to renounce their faith were thrown into the flames. Masruq and his men were amazed at the spirit of courage and defiance exhibited by both men and women. Some of Masruq's men met a Najranite.

"And they said to him: 'Art thou a Christian?' He answered them: 'If I am worthy I am a Christian.' These unclean ones said to him: 'If thou art a Christian stretch thy hand up.' And he immediately stretched up his right hand, and a man swiftly drew his sword, smote him, and cut it off. Again they said to him: 'If thou art a Christian stretch up the other.' And immediately with joy he stretched up the left one also, and then that crucifier smote and cut off that as well. Again they asked him and said to him: 'Art thou still a Christian?' And he said to them: 'In life and in death I am a Christian, and praise be to God, our Lord Jesus Christ, who has deemed me worthy of this.' When they heard this, those foes of righteousness became angry and smote his feet also from behind and cut them both off." [6]

Once again the Christians appealed to the Abyssinians, who responded to the call. At first they suffered defeat,

[5] Book of the Himyarites, p. cv. (Translation by Axel Moberg).
[6] Ibid. p. cvi—cvii.

but later conquered the Himyarites, ravaged the country, and put to death numberless Jews. Nothing shows more clearly the degenerate type of Christianity prevailing than this spirit of retaliation. How far was this cry of revenge from the word of the Master, "Do good to them that hate you."

The victorious general, Aryat, ruled in Yemen for twelve years. At the end of that time he was defeated in a rebellion of the people under Abraha, "the split-nosed." This man was a Christian who had been the slave of a Roman merchant, but had risen to high rank in the Abyssinian army. Greek and Moslem writers agree in praising Abraha, who was a just man, charitable and generous. He was a zealous Christian and desirous of propagating his religion. St. Gregentius was sent over by the patriarch of Alexandria and established himself in Dhufar, where for many years he continued to be friend and advisor to the king, Abraha.

Abraha, being indeed a zealous Christian, viewed with growing grief and distress the great yearly pilgrimage to Mecca. He then built a magnificent church at San'a' and ordered the Arabs to come there to worship. But the Koreish, fearing among other things a loss of profit from the pilgrims, persuaded a member of the Kenanah tribe to pollute the great church. This indeed so angered Abraha that he determined to destroy the holy city and with it the tribes of the Koreish and Kananah. Then followed the momentous defeat of Abraha in the battle of the Elephant.

"From a military point of view it was a small affair, but it deflected the whole course of Arabian history, and in the indirect aid it afforded to the rise of Islam contributed to change the face of a large part of the world. The pagan forces in northern and central Arabia now assumed a militant attitude to the Christian Yemen and Hadramaut, and, among the southern tribes, humiliated by defeat, Christianity began to decline. In the fateful year A. D. 570, Mohammed was born." [7]

Now it must be remembered that by this time the

[7] *World Dominion*, April 1937. J. J. Cooksey, "Dawn over Yemen and Hadramaut," p. 159.

bitterness of religious controversy had destroyed every vestige of influence the church may have had. The distrust between the church at Byzantium and the Arabs had been increased until the breach was seemingly impossible to be healed. No dispute in the Eastern Church had aroused such bitterness as the controversy over the Incarnation.[8] Councils called at Constantinople, later in 449 at Ephesus, and in 451 at Chalcedon, only made matters worse. Years and years of bitterness and strife followed. The Church was torn by the tumult and the struggle. By 512, we find the bishops of Syria and Arabia fleeing for their lives from persecutions. Later we hear of the prisons of Constantinople being filled with bishops and archbishops of the Church. This persecution of their bishops roused the tribes of Arabia to harass the country of Syria. Further south the Himyarites refused to submit to the dictates of the Romans, and appointed bishops of their own. Many, however, were unwilling to accept bishops thus unlawfully created and so dissension and bitter strife arose in the Church there.

The political division was as great as the religious conflict. The northern tribes, divided between the Persians and Romans, waged incessant warfare. The once powerful kingdom of the Himyarites under the weakness of the Ethiopian rulers fell into complete anarchy. Various tribes were perpetually in strife with one another. Finally, the Persians came and conquered Yemen for themselves.

In this country of religious dissension and constant warfare Mohammed grew to manhood. With confusion in the north, hostility toward the Christians for their attack on Mecca, Persia over-running the south, Arabia stood ready for a national revival. She awaited a ruler who could form a unified nation out of antagonistic tribes; one who could bring order out of her chaotic clash of religions. That leader was Mohammed; the solution of Arabia's troubles—Islam.

[8] Wright, "Early Christianity in Arabia," note to p. 109. "Il n'y a jamais eu de schismes dans l'église plus pernicieux, et de plus longue durée, que ceux qu'a fait naître le dogme de l'Incarnation."

It is to be regretted that Mohammed's contact with Christianity was unfortunate.

"Instead of the simple majesty of the Gospel as a revelation of God reconciling mankind to Himself through His Son, the sacred dogma of the Trinity was forced upon the traveler with the misguided zeal of Eutychian and Jacobite partisanship, and the worship of Mary was exhibited in so gross a form as to leave upon the mind of Mohammed the impression that she was held to be a god, if not the third person and consort of the Deity." [9]

It is not surprising, then, to find that Mohammed's conception of Allah, the only God, great and all-powerful, stirred the nation as Christianity, weak, torn with schisms could not do.

Thus Christianity, bitter with strife, weakened by conflicts, stood at the cross-roads and allowed Mohammed to take Arabia for Islam.

Bahrain, Persian Gulf. IDA PATERSON STORM.

[9] Sell, E., "The Life of Mohammed," pps. 15, 16.

Arabic Script not dead in Turkey

The Grand National Assembly of Turkey in its session on May 10 decided that it was not against the law of the Turkish letters, to put books printed in the Arabic characters into the libraries of schools and cultural institutions as books for study and reference.

We think this decision of the Grand National Assembly is a very useful and appropriate one, as it concerns the advancement of the citizen's education.

In the face of this appropriate and useful decision we have only one question to ask.

Who is going to read these books in the Arabic letters, the existence of which in the libraries of schools and cultural institutions has been found not objectionable?

. . . . In this connection it may be worth while to consider the possibility of teaching the old writing in the upper classes of the lycées and in the Literature Faculty for a few hours a week.

—*Turkish Press Exchange.*

WOMEN AND CULTURE IN ISLAM

A popular western conception of life in the Near East is that it is rapidly becoming a copy of our own, and that the Moslem world is in a state of chaos while adjustments in that direction are being made. The theory is also advanced that in its efforts to conform to the standards of the West, in order not to be swallowed up in an unnatural competition, the Near East is quite willing, even eager, to cast out of its own culture its strict adherence to the Moslem faith and to adopt in its stead the Christian religion or a political creed.

These misconceptions may be attributed to a lack of comprehensive information concerning the developments that have been taking place, or to a misunderstanding of the real character of the Moslem people and their religion. Both are natural, almost inevitable handicaps in the thinking of the westerner who has not lived among them. For such a metamorphosis as has taken place in the Moslem world seems too inconsistent with tradition and historical precedent, as we know them, to be recognized as a natural development from conditions as they actually were.

The violent tremor that has shaken the foundations of the Moslem world is a fact. And the tottering and crumbling superstructures, when viewed objectively, have the appearance of a kaleidoscopic disc. Art, religion, colorful tradition, of the purely eastern stamp, lie in a heap for the Christian world to admire and regret.

The beauty of hand-woven rugs, with the warm, soft colors produced by vegetable dyes, and the incomparable designs embodying the mystic thought and selfless feeling of generations of dreamers; the charm of the simple life

and the powerful influence of the priests of Islam; the glamour of social custom with its pageantry of dress, with the exotic mysteries of the harem, are rapidly receding into the annals of history.

The impulsion of progress—"progress" in the western sense of the word—has been irresistible. For it is the very qualities which we regard with such curiosity and pleasure that caused us to place the stamp of inferiority upon Near-Eastern culture.

Art has been modernized. The machine, analine acid coloring and standardized design characterize rug production. Secularism and nationalism, with the accompanying antagonisms, have become the fashion of the day. The less imaginative mode of western dress is required by law. And thus the Near East has acquired the respect of the western world.

But upon the ruins of the past is being built a useful present and a hopeful future. The building process, like all traditions, has its problems and its pains, but they are not what one would expect them to be. The earthquake levelled the past suddenly, and the architects who undertook reconstruction set to work just as quickly, with clear vision and dominant purpose, to mold the future.

They have turned their people from apathetic contemplation of their glorious past towards active participation in constructing a promising future. They have revived in them the ambition and self-confidence which decadent rulers and unscrupulous foreign powers had reduced to lethargy and despair. They have rekindled in them a conviction that they can rule themselves capably and energetically in a world dominated by the material values of the West.

Turkey took the lead in this renaissance and Kemal Atatürk was its dominant figure. Turkey is, therefore, symbolic of the new life that has emerged in the Near East. The methods of reform have differed in each country, but the ideal has been the same.

Concerning the need for change, the necessity for the

western variety of progress, a great deal has been written. And the changes themselves are familiar topics: the abolishing of the caliphate, the secularization of the schools and the requirement of modern dress, the establishment of compulsory education, the economic exploitation of the country, and the spread of nationalism being among them.

But the method used, the reasons for the employment of adopted measures, and the degree and extent of their application are less clearly understood and are consequently the source of common errors.

This is particularly true with regard to the status of woman. Her position of inferiority is almost universally attributed to the Moslem religion, or directly to its founder. Mohammed is supposed to have inspired her docile acquiescence to faith, to have denied her self-expression in competition with men, and to have closed to her all doors which made spiritual and mental development possible. But this idea is contrary to fact. For one of the chief concerns of Mohammed, as well as of Atatürk, was the elevation of the position of women. They used exactly opposite methods, however, to achieve their desired end.

Mohammed, realizing that religion was an effective agent for social action, took advantage of that fact and deliberately identified the two. Atatürk, on the other hand, recognizing that religion has become a stagnating influence in the Moslem world and was preventing progress of the desired kind, found it necessary to disestablish this connection.

On the advent of Mohammed the position of woman was not enviable. [1] He found her to be little more than a chattel—a condition which was due in large part to the teaching of the Hebrew rabbis. The Hebrew religion, which was practiced throughout the area into which Mohammed carried his teaching, had placed a decided stamp of inferiority upon her. She was inherited like any

[1] In speaking of the status of woman in this connection the writer does not mean to imply that the position of inferiority accorded her in the Near East was restricted to that area. In other societies at different times the plight of woman has been no less fortunate.

piece of furniture, and the heir could do with her as he pleased. She had no protection, no recourse to law, no right of inheritance. That to the Prophet was a state of affairs no longer to be tolerated. He believed woman to be the "equal sister of man" and determined to strengthen the Moslem State by forcing a recognition of her equality. His problem, however, was to determine a method by which to bring about such a reform. He found the solution in religion, taking advantage of its power as an instrument in forcing social change.

He limited polygamy and abolished infanticide. He instituted the marriage contract, inheritance rights, and the privilege of divorce for women, while he discouraged divorce at the behest of one or the other where differences could reasonably be dissolved. He established the principle of dowry and provided for the inviolable maintenance of part of it for the woman's protection. He safeguarded her further by decreeing religious favors to those who would assist in the support of widows and orphans. He recognized woman's earlier as well as contemporary contribution to civilization, and urged her highest development spiritually and mentally as an asset to the State.

This was indeed a signal advance in the thinking of that period, and a transformation in social custom which would be remarkable in any age. But paradoxically, the very means which made this advance possible then, precluded any idea of change for orthodox Islam in the centuries that followed. The position of woman, therefore, remained essentially static.

Atatürk picked up the threads where Mohammed had left them, that is, he carried on his reforms from the point at which the Prophet had thought wise to drop them. For example, where Mohammed had limited polygamy, urging monogamy but not violating accepted convention to the extent of making it mandatory, Atatürk proceeded to establish it by law. The same policy was followed in education and in other social usages.

In instituting these reforms Atatürk at once found

himself in conflict with organized religion. One of his first moves, therefore, was directed against that institution. By abolishing the caliphate and the dervish orders, by secularizing the schools, and by making education compulsory, he disarmed what he believed to be the enemies of progress. These acts and the adoption of the Swiss Civil Code automatically released the bonds of woman and the Prophet's ideal of her equality with man was realized.

But this restriction of the civil power and authority of Islam does not preclude, as many believe, the recognition of and belief in religious values and moral ideals that Islam has fostered. Religion as such has not been cast off. But the fanatical hold of the dervishes and *ulema* upon the people and their rulers has been released. Islam as a rival political force has been disorganized and its followers have been encouraged to make religion, as the acceptance of and devotion to personal ideals, their vital concern. Fatalism and superstition have been replaced by hope and scientific understanding.

This revolutionary change was facilitated by the attitude and cooperation of the women. To them religion had always been a personal concern, since they worshipped not in the mosque, but in the privacy of their homes. As small children, of course, they had attended the *medresseh* or mosque school, but upon the attainment of maturity that contact with institutional religion ceased.

The women, therefore, have had a more objective as well as personal attitude toward religion. It is natural, therefore, that they should be quick to comprehend the significance of this departure from established usage in Islamic society—the identification of religion with politics and the social order. They recognized in Atatürk's gesture the paving of the way for their interpretation of religion as a personal faith. That is the goal of Islam today.

They continue to maintain their creed, "There is no god but Allah." They still believe in the efficacy of prayer. They still uphold the sanctity of the home and the sacredness of their national rights. And they recognize in a

confused world their duty to God, to their neighbors and to themselves.

The profound personal significance they thus give to their religion, while sustaining its time-honored simplicity, might well be emulated by the West. The wisdom of Farid ud-Din Attar [2] was not limited in place or time:

"For like a child sent with a fluttering light
To feel his way along a gusty night
Man walks the world: again and yet again
The lamp shall be by fits of passion slain:
But shall not He who sent him from the door
Relight the lamp once more, and yet once more?"

More than once spiritual leadership has come out of the East. It is only necessary that they continue to save for themselves the elements of their culture which give it significance, while adopting from the western world those elements alone which they need to protect and enrich their civilization.

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[2] Contained in his "Fragment from the 'Bird Parliament.'"

THE EAST JAVA MISSION

Seldom does one find in books about world missions anything about Christianity in the Netherlands Indies. And even if it is mentioned, it is only such a little bit that the readers must get the impression that the mission work here is rather unimportant. But that is not the case. In the Netherlands East Indies there are many more Christians than in Japan, viz., one and a half million indigenous Protestant Christians.

There are here in the different and far-spread parts of the Netherlands East Indies various indigenous churches: the Batak Protestant Church in Sumatra ("Hoeria Kristen Batak Protestant," independent 1930) having between 350,000 and 400,000 members; the Molucca Protestant Church (independent 1935) having 398 pastors, evangelists and teachers of various grades; the Minahassa Protestant Church (Celebes, independent 1934) with nearly 500 pastors and preachers; the Dayak Church in Borneo (independent 1935).

Also in Java there are independent indigenous churches: the Chinese Christian Churches all over Java; the Sundanese Church in West Java (independent 1934); the Javanese Church in Central Java, southern part (independent 1931); and the East Java Church, as an independent church established on the 11th of December, 1931, on behalf of which three Javanese missionaries are working in Bali. This East Java Church has more than 30,000 members. This result of mission work may be considered as remarkable, for East Java is Moslem.

These lands are not untouched in this moving world, and in the last few years there have been many changes. The motor car, express train, aeroplane, printing press,

radio, cinema and education have thrown the population in the stream of this modern age. By day and night the expresses go from Batavia, the capital of the Netherlands East Indies, to Sourabaya, the most important trade-city and port of these areas. Besides, this, there is connection by airway. The inhabitants of Java have their own broadcasting in their own language. Buses care for the transport of travellers to and from the more distant places. Besides the European daily newspapers and magazines there are those in Malay, Javanese and some other languages of these countries. The presence of Chinese and Japanese who have nearly all the retail trade in their hands makes the situation still more interesting and brings us in living contact with problems like that of the relation between China and Japan.

One sees beside the very old customs the ultra-modern views. This is illustrated in their dress, old national costumes beside European dress, and often one person wears both at the same time. About the influence of modern traffic, etc., upon the indigenous population I shall not say much because it can be read in many English and American magazines. The missionary work in East Java is led by the Netherlands Missionary Society (Nederlandsch Zendelinggenootschap, 1797), which is joined for the work in East Java by the Java Committee (1855) at Amsterdam.

I. *Some Types of Religious Life*

In East Java the population is Mohammedan. The number is more than fifteen million. For the whole of Java the population numbers about forty-two million. Islam here is less strong than in West Java. But in considering this we have to remember that the most important factor is that the people here are or want to be Moslems. Moreover within the last few years Islam here has become much stronger and more assertive through the promotion of some Islamic organizations. This is due also to the influence of Nationalism, the longing for self-govern-

ment. All this naturally touches the Mission directly. For the people see the Mission as hostile to Islam and also as a great handicap to nationalistic aspirations. As everywhere else, here too, the so-called Movement of the Natives sees the Mission as a tool of the "foreign" government. Besides this great difficulty, one finds here different types and each represents a distinct religious position. Let me mention three of them:

1. The first type is the conservative Moslem. He is severely orthodox. He proves his orthodoxy in that he turns away from all "modernism" and is averse to all kinds of modern tendencies. He is the one who, as it were, swears by tradition. As a religious man he looks to the past. Only that is good which corresponds with the rules and standards of former times. His holy book, the Koran, one ought to read in Arabic, the "Church language" of Islam. He turns against the present efforts of more enlightened Moslems, who translate the Koran into the vernacular because the common people do not understand Arabic. Our conservative brother does not like this at all. Throughout the ages the holy book has been recited in Arabic, therefore he too holds to the original. Our respectable Moslem has a religious school. He teaches religion, the laws and prescriptions of Islam, just as in the old times. The pupils, most of whom are boarders, come together at special hours of the day and recite in a half singing way the holy text of the sacred book, the Koran. They do not understand the contents, but that is of little importance.

This way of teaching is decreasing under the influence of all kinds of modern educational methods. Yet there are here in East Java still a few very famous schools, where the teaching is carried on in this way. Sometimes there are about four hundred students together from all parts of Java and even from abroad, some even from four hundred miles away. This proves that they sacrifice much for the cause. The students of each country or town have their own hostel on the school premises. When someone

visits such a school, he has repeatedly to put off his shoes, for everywhere on the premises there are spots which they like to consider as ritually clean. One feels in this environment unmistakably a hostile attitude toward Christianity. In a *pesantren* (that is the name of such a school) one feels that he stands before an impenetrable barrier, as the atmosphere is rather fanatical. It is a fact that from this type very few Moslems have come to Christianity.

2. Another type is the representative of the modern Islam movement, which is spreading rapidly. This Moslem, unlike our first friend, shows much more interest in the questions of today. He takes note of political and social problems. He does this with the clear purpose of expanding and deepening his own religion, Islam. He is dissatisfied with the "lukewarmness" of his Moslem brothers. Where possible, he propagates Islam. He not only asserts that Islam is an expanding religion, but he always looks for new ways of action. He asks: How can we spread Islam, the doctrine of our great prophet Mohammed, most quickly and most effectively? Thinking about these questions, his attention is drawn to the missionary activity of the Christian Church. He observes this work attentively, and it soon becomes evident to him that much can be learned here for his own purpose. The result is that the whole plan of his Islamization and the work of the Protestant Mission are as much alike as two peas. He starts organizations to propagate Islam. Meetings are called to preach the excellence of Islam. With ardor and enthusiasm the great ambassador Mohammed, the seal of the prophets, is set forth. He is proclaimed as the "comforter" who has been promised by Nabi Isa (i.e., Jesus the Prophet) himself. For Jesus said, "I will pray the Father and he shall give you another Comforter, that he may abide with you forever." According to the Moslems this "Comforter" is not the Holy Spirit but their prophet, or better, the *ambassador* of Allah, viz., Mohammed. Here Islam is already aggressive. Islam consciously takes the offensive against Christianity. They do

not stick to words. Deeds also speak of a new effective action. They build schools and hospitals and have their own colportage. They also promote the translation of the Koran into the vernacular.

The school of one of these leaders differs from that of our *guru* (teacher) who is tenacious of tradition. In the modern school the Arabic text is written on the blackboard with the translation underneath. Then follows, according to their ideas, a minute explanation. The students zealously make their annotations and their eyes show their sincere desire to understand the contents of the holy book. From this movement the Mission meets the most alert and best-planned opposition. Yet we should not be depressed, for when people think more seriously of their religion and religious life missionary activity for Christ becomes more interesting and fruitful. A Christian prefers to take his stand in the struggle of life rather than amongst indifference, self-sufficiency and complacency.

3. A third type should not be overlooked, or we would get a wrong impression of the religious state of this mission field. This type is also characteristic of the Javanese people here. I mean the Javanese mystic, whose mysticism is something vague, without clear-cut features, full of uncontrollable speculations and magic practices. Such a one is more or less religious but not in the first place a God-fearing man and not at all pious in our sense. He is truly "incalculable" (beyond every fixed standard) not in character but in his religious confession. He is more theosophical than critical. What in different religions seems to be allied, is soon put together without any sifting. With this type we may therefore discern elements from different religious systems: Animism, Buddhism, Hinduism, Islam, and in some cases even Christianity (the Gospel of John)! As a rule these people are very friendly and immediately ready to talk about religious subjects. The fact that we are missionaries is no hindrance to their receiving us with extreme courtesy. When you start to talk with them, they soon answer: "Yes, after all, all

religions are the same." In China the classic formula is *"Han san wei ji,"* i.e., "In China there are three religions and yet these three are one."

This type does not have the least objection to accepting the different prophets of various religions in their own religious systems. Moses, Buddha, Jesus, Mohammed, they all get a place in their religious system. One day a mystic said to me: "Ah, *pandita* (Reverend) we are both right." And to prove this he showed me a matchbox. I saw the yellow side of the trademark and he the blue back (Swedish matches). I would persist in saying that the box was yellow, because I could not see more than that. He, on the contrary, would insist that the box was blue. Which was right? Both of us. And the box? The same box. Therefore many ways, but only one final purpose. With such figures and illustrations they try to "prove" the essential. Where is the weakness of this figure and such arguments? Here—to continue with the figure of the matchbox: the thing that matters is the box itself, not the color. What is this box? I agree and gladly believe that there may be different ways to "repent" and be converted, but there is only one "doorway" to God, and this is Christ. None the less, this type is less fanatic than the first and second, and it is remarkable that several converts have belonged to this mystical type. One reason is that they are not hostile like the average Moslem. It is also more and more obvious that this type after conversion to Christianity still keeps much of "the old leaven." It becomes the task of the missionary to clear the Christian faith of all these magic-mystic influences.

II. *The Growth of the East Java Church*

Before proceeding to a more detailed account of the East Java Church, I shall tell briefly the story of the coming of Christianity to East Java. It is a remarkable fact that before the arrival of the Dutch Missionary Society in East Java already groups of Christian Javanese were

to be found there. We think here chiefly of Coolen, an Eurasian planter, who in Ngoro, not far from Modjowarno, reclaimed a part of the wilderness and preached the gospel in Javanese style as the true Faith (*Ilmu*). He knew how to win Wajang performers for these new religious ideas, and as they travelled round everywhere with their "shadow-play" they spread many ideas adapted from the Gospel. Coolen tried in his preaching to rid Christianity of its western form.

In Coolen's time there was a certain Embde working in Sourabaya using quite opposite methods. He was a watchmaker. When in Holland he had heard many stories from seafarers about the Netherlands Indies, a wonderland of everlasting summer. This seemed to him unbelievable, so he went to the Netherlands Indies as a sailor, to see that land of everlasting summer with his own eyes. During the temporary rule of the English he settled in Sourabaya, where he learned the art of watchmaking from a Mr. Lambrecht. He held meetings for worship at his home and distributed Christian literature. He stimulated in the Javanese mind the idea that acceptance of Christianity was on a par with appreciation of western customs and manners. He gave Bible instruction in Malay, although the vernacular here is Javanese, and let his followers be baptized in the Dutch community by the Minister of Sourabaya (December 12, 1843).

When the first missionary of the Netherlands Missionary Society, Mr. E. Jellesma, arrived in Java, he found several hundred Christian Javanese, the result of the work of these two laymen, Coolen and Embde. Jellesma helped in laying the foundations of the Christian community in Modjowarno, now one of the most flourishing congregations in the East Javanese Church.

After some time more missionaries were sent out, of whom three many be mentioned—J. and A. Kruyt (Modjowarno) and C. Poensen (Kediri). The work spread and the East Javanese Church, the result of this effort, numbered 32,665 members in 1937, which number yearly

increases. The Mission work in East Java can be divided into three periods:

1. The early period, that is, the time of Coolen, Embde and Jellesma. During this period the material for the foundation of the community was brought together, although one may not speak of laying the foundation, which was only properly begun by Kruyt (1869).

2. The missionaries Jan Kruyt and his son Arie Kruyt built up the community, especially Modjowarno, according to a fixed plan of campaign. In all their work there was system. The daily church life was organized, and spiritual care, education, medical aid and the elevation of home and economic life were not forgotten. Modjowarno became an example for all the other Javanese congregations. This period is chiefly characterized by the care given to the Christian community. This was necessary because expansion, with neglect of what already existed, would never have led to the formation of a sound Christian body.

The missionary was the head of the Christian community. He took the initiative in everything; without him nothing could be decided. He led the Church Wardens' gathering (vestry) and administered the Sacraments. He was the pivot round which everything turned. Without him much would have collapsed which had been built up with difficulty.

3. The third period, of which the work today is a continuation, is chiefly marked by the fact that the missionary seeks to rid himself of the above-sketched central position. He no longer wishes to occupy the leading position in the community. The Javanese must come to the fore. They must learn to carry responsibility and to take the initiative themselves. The resolutions made in the missionaries' conferences and innumerable personal actions all go to show that the missionaries' wish is to change the order of things. They want the Christian Javanese to become more conscious of their Moslem fellow countrymen. The missionaries have already entrusted many things to their Javanese fellow workers. For instance, the

churchwardens' meetings are now presided over by the Javanese minister. The marriage ceremonies are performed by the Javanese minister, and so on.

The missionaries are considering their task anew, and are asking themselves how Christianity can be brought most effectively not only to the Javanese individual but to the Javanese people as a whole. They ask whether the missionary should work amongst individuals or try to reach the masses. Is the Mission confining itself to certain groups only, or is it reaching the mass? It is apparent that up to the present the Mission has not come to grips with the Javanese people as a whole. On arrival here the missionaries found that the Christians belonged to the lower class, and their work has remained chiefly limited to this group. The position of the East Java Mission may be expressed in the following words: "The work consists chiefly in the spiritual care of the Christian communities, which are lying like lonely islands in the midst of a great Moslem sea."

The missionaries seek to bring all the Javanese people into contact with the Gospel. Is it not high time to try new methods of approach? Is it not better that the missionaries busy themselves more with the Moslems and give the care of the Christian groups to the Javanese themselves? How can these scattered Christian communities become increasingly a means of propagating the Gospel among their own people?

Besides these problems of the missionaries and their Board, another has commenced to play a part. This is the National Movement, i.e., the Movement of the Natives (*Inlandsche Beweging*). There is a great difference between the Javanese man of the last century and that of the present. He has awakened out of his lethargy. There is action now, ferment. There is a consciousness of his own personality and of his own capability. Formerly one could rightly speak of seeming to work in a desert, owing to the inertia of the Javanese people. This cannot be said any more. Now work has to be done amongst a people

who are daily becoming more conscious of their own power and gifts. The awakening of the East may be a disturbing thought for many people, but not for real missionaries. Missionaries are the very people who must be able to sympathize with this coming-to-life. This movement is not artificially created; it springs forth from the people themselves, and in so doing has generated a lot of energy which is also to be found in the Christian groups. This is of importance to the missionary, because this energy or force can be used in the building up of free, independent churches, real "national" churches.

In order to avoid misunderstanding, it must be stated here that this national movement, which in principle had no connection directly with mission work, was not the cause of the East Javanese Church becoming independent. It certainly made the matter more urgent, so that missionaries ceased only talking about it, and really went to work and accomplished things. The first big step was taken in 1925, when Modjowarno, the oldest and most important community in East Java was declared independent and from this time onward has been under the leadership of a Javanese minister supported by his church wardens. This was originally intended as an experiment but turned out to be very successful, so that the question very soon arose whether this example should be followed or not, so that other communities might be granted their independence. But this solution in the given circumstances would not have been at all desirable. It would have resulted in these communities making use of their independence and going their separate ways. Along these lines unity would never have been attained and unity was of prime importance, not only in the building up of the internal structure but in the exterior presented to the Moslem world. Gradually it became clear that these scattered communities should be brought together into one ecclesiastical combined church community. The communities, having their central points in the places where the missionaries resided, needed deeper and broader contact with each other.

To accomplish this, an inquiry was instituted in 1925. The various communities were asked their wishes regarding independence and autonomy. The result was not encouraging. This was probably due to the form which the inquiry took. Replies were received, but they were insufficient. Monosyllabic answers without reasons do not help much. It is just the motives which are important in forming conclusions and drawing up plans. In 1928 a commission consisting equally of Dutch and Javanese representatives was appointed. They drew up a Church Order to unite the Javanese congregations in a General Synod, to consist of Javanese and Dutch members. To accomplish this the state of the Javanese congregations had to be thoroughly investigated.

Dr. H. Kraemer, now Professor in Leiden, was asked to undertake this investigation. This he did about the middle of 1930, spending some months visiting all the Christian communities in East Java. His report on his findings was discussed and added to in several Missionary Conferences. A year was spent in reviewing the report with the Javanese themselves and with the Board in Holland. In Modjowarno, on December 11, 1931, the General Synod of the East Java Church was established in the name of the Board of the Dutch Missionary Society by the Missionary Consul, Mr. S. C. Graef van Randwijck.

The chief reason which led to the taking of this step was not that the Javanese congregations were ripe for it, nor that they could comply with the requirements, that is, that they were ready for self-government, self-support or self-propagation. Many congregations are still afraid to take on these responsibilities, and many are not yet capable of self-support. The relations amongst the Javanese themselves have not always been ideal either. Many young people thought that this independence was included in the general advancement of things, while others saw in it the opportunity for carrying out their own wishes. This awakened self-consciousness made the problem of independence urgent, but did not form a good

foundation upon which to build. The chief motives for granting independence were those of a pedagogical nature. The Christian Javanese must realize that, quite apart from all temporary circumstances, they will only be able to assume responsibility for their communities, when they accept this as a task entrusted to them by God. So long as the Javanese do not feel that the congregations are *their* congregations, and that they must bear the responsibility for them, their independence will not have much significance. It is difficult for the Javanese to believe this, when the missionaries remain occupying the same position as they did before independence was granted. Dr. Kraemer says that while the missionary occupies the central position, he unconsciously hinders the growth of the spirit of ownership. The Javanese thinks naturally in terms of authority and rule. The Christian Javanese knows that a Christian community must be different, that it must be able to move and have its being in an atmosphere of love and freedom, but he does not know how to accomplish this. It is indeed difficult for him. He regards the missionary as the guardian of the community, as the Javanese minister's head, the person who gives him his work and pays him his salary. Many missionaries have tried to create another spirit. They have endeavored to work with the Javanese minister as colleagues, realizing that they together are building up the community and furthering its spiritual life. But this has not had much success; the Javanese still regards the missionary as his head, and the person who must solve his difficulties for him. This impedes real open-heartedness. The missionary's position prevents him from being able to give the advice and discrimination necessary regarding the relations between the Javanese minister, his churchwardens and the congregation. If no change is made in this respect, there will not be much chance of producing independent and self-supporting congregations. So long as the missionary is looked on as responsible, development in becoming self-supporting, self-governing and self-propagating will be seriously delayed. It may then be

asked, How, under these circumstances, has the question of independence arisen? The answer reveals two possibilities:

a) Independence may be given whenever the congregation is quite ready for it, that is, as regards self-support, self-government and self-expansion.

b) Self-support, self-government and self-expansion may be practised in an atmosphere of independence. This last possibility has been chosen by East Java. In principle the Church has received its independence, although in fact it has still to be helped and guided by the missionary. The East Javanese Church needs practice in meeting its difficulties. After some time it will assume the leadership and become self-supporting and autonomous.

The organization of the East Javanese Church consists of some sixty communities or congregations. Each congregation has its own elected Vestry or Church Council. Small Church Councils send representatives to a big Church Council. This Council consists of representatives from congregations belonging to one Station, being in number larger or smaller, according to the number of congregations in the Station. At the head of these Big Councils is the General Synod which consists of representatives from these bodies. Within the Synod is found and demonstrated the Unity of the Church. In this way we have Church Councils, Big Church Councils and the General Synod. The Church Councils and Big Church Councils existed before December 11, 1931, but they were endowed with more authority on this occasion.

The task, responsibility and constitution of the three Bodies are laid down in a Church Regulation Order, which was first discussed in detail in all the congregations before it was accepted and became of effect.

One thing which attracts notice on reading this Church Regulation Order is that there is very little mentioned about the Sacraments, the Christian way of life or how the Church life must be organized.

These questions are gradually taking life. It would

be premature to produce a Church Order now with a complete creed as the expression and formulation of the faith of the Javanese Church. It would impede the coming-to-life of the Javanese National Church (National in the sense of "folk"; in Dutch and German, *"Volk"*). The object of the Order which is now in use is simply the temporary guidance of the Church in achieving autonomy.

The Church Regulation Order begins by stating: "The Communities (Congregations) of East Java form together a Fellowship of those who believe in Jesus Christ as their Lord and Saviour and through Him are bound together in a brotherhood, in which the power of God's Spirit will reveal itself, as the Bible teaches us." They not only consider themselves a Brotherhood of which Christ is the Head, but as witnesses of His Name among their own people, hoping that they may become the means in God's hands of letting His light shine through to others. The emphasis is laid on the fellowship and unity in Jesus Christ, and in the second place on the great responsibility towards their own people. The wish to train the Church's members in spiritual and daily life for active service for the good of their fellowmen and for propagating the Christian message must be present as a living force. The Javanese Church does not exist for its own sake; it must realize its responsibility and not think that this must be borne by an outside organization, e.g., the foreign missions. The guidance of each separate community is done by the Council, which consists of at least five members and not more than twenty. The Javanese minister is generally the Chairman, supported by a Secretary and Treasurer. The Chairman has nothing to do with the financial administration. He does not look after the income nor any of the possessions of the Community. It would not be advisable that the leader of the Community be troubled with the administration of monetary affairs, in which misunderstandings so often arise; these would seriously damage his influence and authority. For this purpose a special stipulation has been made in the Church Regulation

Order. Twice every year the missionary and a Javanese member chosen by the Big Council visit the station in order to advise and help the community (the local church) in the difficulties and questions which may have arisen. This is one of the most important of the regulations and its chief purpose is in making the way to independence easier. The task of the missionary now is to stand by and give help and advice, and to aid in teaching the indigenous church to obtain that measure of independence and autonomy that shall lead it to frame its own ceremonies, constitutions, etc., later on. A task, in my opinion, more difficult than was his before the church was given its independence.

The Big Council cares for the concerns which lie outside the range of the local community. Its chief work is in furthering evangelistic endeavor. The missionary is a member too of the Big Council. This gives both a fine opportunity to work together, with missionary ardor. It would be fatal were the autonomy of the indigenous Church to mean that the missionary must carry on his work without this spirit of cooperation.

Lastly, the "Madjelis Agoeng," the Javanese name for the General Synod, numbers thirty-one members, of which twenty-four are Javanese chosen by the eight Big Councils, while three Javanese and three Dutch members are elected by the Missionary Conference, and these together choose a Chairman.

The Church Regulation Order describes the Synod in these words: "The Christian Communities (congregations or local churches) of East Java, being together a part of the Christian Church of the World, form a unified whole through which the name of Christ may be revealed in the places allotted to them by God." The Synod is the expression of the Church's unity. Its task lies in strengthening the Church's spiritual life, in stimulating evangelistic endeavor, and in giving advice in the general organization. The Synod is the representative of the Christian community whenever necessary.

The position of the missionary and the indigenous

leaders has completely altered, owing to the changes in Church government. This does not mean that the missionary service from the West must be withdrawn. Financial and other help from the Western Church, and missionaries animated by the spirit of comradeship, are still urgently needed. This Synod and Church Regulation Order belong to a temporary state of things, during which the Church must exercise its independence, and after a time be able to assume complete autonomy. The missionaries are no longer the heads or leaders, but those who help to train and advise in attaining this object.

The object of the indigenous Church is not merely to live but to witness; this will be the great work of the future, to bring the Gospel to the millions of Moslems in Java.

Java, Netherlands East Indies. E. G. VAN KEKEM.

Why not in Cairo and Baghdad?

Commemorating the four-hundredth anniversary of the open Bible in England a Bible has been set up outside St. Paul's Church, Portman Square. It is on a stand of oak, and encased under glass to preserve it from the weather; the pages are turned daily to passages likely to be helpful to all who pause to read. The Bible and stand have been erected in memory of the late Dr. J. Stuart Holden.

The open Bible is illuminated at night, and friends have noticed that people frequently stop to read. A member of the church writes to us, "Other churches may like to follow suit, and create a chain of witness and a sign where people can hear the Gospel faithfully preached."

WITH THE MOROS OF THE PHILIPPINES

After months of expectation, when the thought of immediate return to China gave place to uncertainty, the opportunity offered to go to the Philippines to help carry the Christian message to the Mohammedans. With the understanding that such a shift in plans is only an emergency measure, I accepted.

Here in the Philippine Islands there are some 500,000 Moros (Spanish word for Mohammedans) under the American flag. The Protestant Episcopal Church has been here from the beginning of the century with the object of working with the Moros in Mindanao. Splendid work has been done, especially through the pioneering of Miss J. C. Bartter, so that today a number of the former Moro girls are fine Christians. With the center of the work in the city of Zamboanga, Mindanao, girls from Basilian and the Sulu Archipelago have passed through the school and caught the Christian spirit.

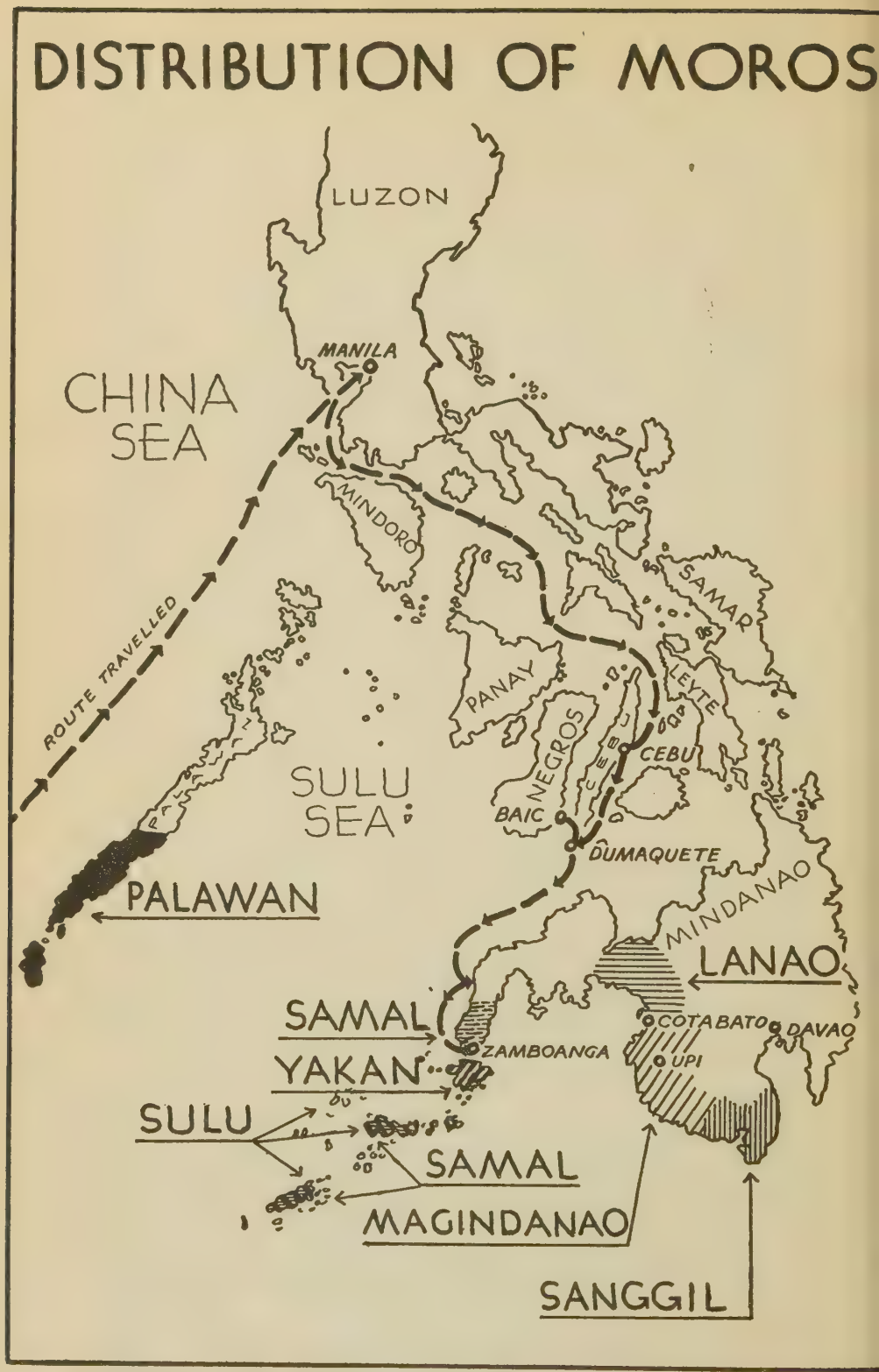
Heretofore little work has been done in the *barrios* of Moro communities along the coast line of the Zamboanga peninsula except in Cawa Cawa, where the Moro Settlement School and Brent Hospital are located. This is also true of the Island of Basilian, across the Straits of the same name. Bishop Mosher asked that I might come down here for a year and study the situation and find out what further work could be done by our Church among these Moros.

There are two other Missions working in this immediate area; the Roman Catholic Church, which has made little progress because of the early conflict between the Spaniards and the Moros; and the Christian and Missionary Alliance, who have been here about twenty-five years and done some work with them.

The Moros in the Philippines are divided into seven groups. The leading group, and the one which still retains a sultan, is the Jolano, which is the Spanish name for the Taosugs. Their capital is Jolo, on the island of Sulu in the center of the archipelago by the same name. Until the coming of the steamboat, the Spaniards found these people more than a match for them. Although the Spaniards held the Philippines for nearly four hundred years, more than three and a half centuries of that time they failed to conquer the Moros. It was only after fifteen years of struggle that America, with all the advantages of modern war equipment and supplies, was able to bring peace to this Moroland. The Taosugs, from their ideally situated harbor at Jolo, were able to harass the entire shipping of the American, British, Spaniard and Dutch nations for the time they were in these parts, until 1876, when the Spanish took the city. The Taosugs are the ruling Moros of the Sulu group, whose ruling house goes back to the founder of Islam in the islands in 1380. This house at one time controlled not only the Sulu Archipelago but portions of Borneo and part of the Island of Mindanao.

Living with the Taosugs on the islands, but more of a seafaring group, who live in boats or in houses over the water, are the Samal Moros. They are found not only on the shores of the islands but also along the coast of the Zamboanga Peninsula. They can even be found living along the Borneo coast and some are in the Celebes. There are really two groups of Samals: the Samals proper, who live in houses over the water and are more strict Mohammedans, and the Bajaos, who are rather sea-gypsies and Moros only in name. The language of each distinct group of Moros is different, although the Taosug dialect is more common and understood by groups that do not speak it.

The third group is found in the uplands of North Central Mindanao around Lake Lanao and are classified as the Lanao Moro. These are a mixture of the Malayan with the native races. The Spaniards were never able



MOSLEM TRIBAL AREAS ARE SHADED AND NAMES INDICATED BY ARROWS.

to conquer them. The Americans found them among the fiercest of all the fighters. Until the Moros were finally disarmed in 1916 the Americans were not safe except in well guarded districts. Today the Congregational Church is doing fine work with these people. Dr. Laubach has done pioneer work in teaching them to read.

Just south of this district is a very fertile valley called the Rio Grande. Here the brave Spaniard, Barbosa, made the first attempt to deal with the Moros, and was cut down, with thirty-five of his men, in 1523. The Magindanao Moros, who occupy this area, are less of the Malayan type, with the native strain predominating in the lower classes. These people are especially adept in the art of metal work. Their contribution to the Moro wars against Spain and the West was the *landakan* or small brass cannon, which was found on every Moro pirate ship, and which defended his *cotta* or fort from the white man. The Alliance Mission has a worker here who spent a short period of service in Persia.

Also on the Island of Mindanao, but at the most southern part near the Sarangani Bay and extending up the coast near to Davao, are the Sanggil Moros. They have not figured very strongly in the conflicts with the West, and are less strongly Moro than the other groups, with the pre-Islamic culture still predominating.

Occupying the Island of Basilian are a group of Moros known as the Yakans. Pagan rites still survive among them. They are easily distinguishable from the other Moros by the peculiar trousers they wear. These are long, and the lower part is very tight-fitting, like riding breeches. The Yakans are mainly agriculturists and are of a peaceful nature.

The last group is small in number, living on the Island of Palawan and known by that name. They occupy only the extreme southwest portion of that archipelago. They are a mixture of the Taosugs, Samals and the Tagbanuas of the islands.

Three-fourths of the Moros in the islands are in the

Taosugs, Samal, Lanao and Magindanao groups. The remaining fourth is made up of the Yakans, Sanggil and Palawan groups, the first being the greatest of these.

Each group speaks a distinct dialect. All use the Arabic script, though there is very little writing, so far as we know. There have been attempts, by missionaries especially, to make an English phonetic for them. The government schools teach only the English language. Only a small proportion of the Moros attend school. The government has a system, called *pensionardo*, by which Moros (and it applies to other non-Christians as well) will be paid a certain amount to continue their studies at a normal or other higher school of learning, that they might become teachers among their own people.

With what little observation I have been able to give in Zamboango and Jolo, I would say that there are great possibilities before us. The results that have been reached in Java among similar Mohammedans should be duplicated here, provided we have the patience and understanding which should accompany the Grace of God.

Zamboanga, P. I.,
December, 1938. CLAUDE L. PICKENS.

THE USE OF THE DRUM FOR MOSQUE SERVICES

In discussing the religious practices of the Muslims in the Malay Peninsula, considerable surprise has been manifested by friends from other Muslim lands at the use of the drum for the services of the mosque. Whereas in other Muslim lands the voice of the muezzin gives warning of the hours of prayer and Friday worship, in Malaya the drum is beaten at such times. In fact, the majority of mosques in Malaya are built without minarets. Only in the cities and larger towns will one find minarets, and even in the suburbs of the larger centres, mosques are built without minarets. The voice of the muezzin is seldom heard above the roar of the street traffic carried on principally by the large Chinese population which is not Muslim. Unless one places himself near a mosque at one of the hours of prayer, he may spend years in Malaya without being aware that a muezzin is associated with the mosque services, but any day in the vicinity of a Muslim community will be sufficient to bring to him the drum with its initial sharp, deliberate beats, quickening into a long run, then suddenly stopping and finishing with a few slow distinct beats at the end. Everyone knows that that is the mosque drum, and that to a large extent it has replaced the muezzin in mosque worship.

Various reasons are assigned for the substitution of the drum for the muezzin, the chief reason being that it is difficult to hear the voice of the muezzin under the conditions prevailing in Malaya. The towns are populated by large numbers of people, Chinese and Indian, who are not Muslims. They carry on their work through the hours of prayer as at other times, and too frequently the voices of the street hawkers will drown the voice of the muezzin.

I suppose, also, that in countries chiefly populated by Muslims there is a natural subduing of noises preceding the hours of prayer while people await the call of the muezzin. This is quite lacking in Malayan cities, not because Muslims there are less devoted than in other lands, but because non-Muslims, who comprise such a large part of the population, pay no heed to the hours of service.

In the country places homes are scattered far from the mosque, thus rendering the sound of a voice very uncertain of being heard, if not quite impossible. It is not at all uncommon to find homes a mile from the mosque, and in many places they may be as far as two or three miles. The sound of the drum, however, is heard above the noise of streets and across the distances of the country with certainty. It brings reassurance to those who hear it that they are not forgotten, however far removed they may be from the mosque, and someone is remembering to remind them of their spiritual needs.

I have spoken of the use of the drum in mosque services, but it would have been more accurate to have said "drums," for at least two types of drum have been involved in the mosque services, and thereby hangs a somewhat tangled tale. The large and fully authorized drum is called in local parlance the *bĕdók*. It is a cylindrical object some six to ten feet in length and a foot to a foot and one-half in diameter. The ends are fitted with leather. When beaten, it sends forth a loud booming sound which can be heard for miles around. The other drum is called the *kĕtók-kĕtók* (Arabic *nāqūs*) and consists only of a slab of wood which is hung up and beaten with another piece of wood. Its sound is much less pleasing and cannot be heard so far. It serves a variety of purposes in the Malay village life, such as, calling laborers in from the fields, giving warning of a fire, or reminding villagers of some social event. It has had no approval for use in the mosque services, rather the contrary, as we shall see, but little by little it has wormed its way into such use, until drastic action was taken a few years ago to eliminate it from such

use. Besides its use as a village bell for other than religious purposes, it was used to announce the hours of daily worship, the breaking of the fast at the end of each day, and other special occasions. Finally, in many mosques, it was used to warn of the Friday worship, thus effectually replacing the regularly authorized drum (*bědók*). This state of affairs, however, was not to continue indefinitely, for one day a Hajji returned and missed the familiar sounds of the *bědók*. On inquiry he learned that only the *kětók-kětók* was being used. When reminded that only the *bědók* was authorized, some acquiesced, but others held out for the use of the *kětók-kětók* in announcing the hours of worship, saying that it would be difficult to perceive the special warning for Friday worship if the *bědók* were used for all services. The argument assumed considerable proportions and was finally referred to Cairo (al-Azhar) for settlement.

In due time the answer came back, rooted in the history of the distant past. A tradition was recalled from al-Bukhārī's collection (Kitāb 'Umdat al-Qārī, section Adhān, p. 618), mentioned also in the collection by Ibn Anas: "In the days of the prophet, when the hour of worship came, a man went out calling and crying out: 'Worship! Worship!' This was very difficult to do, so the Companions suggested that they use the kětók-kětók to which the Apostle replied, 'That is what the Christians do.' They then suggested the use of the trumpet, and he said, 'That is what the Jews do.' Then the use of fire on an elevation was suggested, and the Apostle answered, 'That is what the Magi (Majusi) do.'"

The difficulty was evidently solved for the Companions by the building of the minaret and the use of the muezzin, but in this tradition lurked the doom of the *kětók-kětók* as an instrument for mosque services—it was used by the Christians! The *kětók-kětók* was not banned altogether from village life, but it was put in its proper place, and only the properly authorized *bědók* was permitted to be used in connection with the mosque services.

To return to the use of the drum in the services of the mosque, I am informed that this practice, common in the Malay Peninsula, is also common in all the islands of the Malay Archipelago which have Muslim populations, up the mainland as far as French Indo-China, and in South India. In China, apparently, and in North India, it is not used. Perhaps readers in these countries can inform us on this point. The question arises, Whence came this practice which, I understand, has been legalized for this country by a Fatwa? Whose idea was it originally, and why is it so localized? On the latter question of localization, I have no suggestion, but on the point of origin, I should like to suggest a possible theory.

Islam spread to this country by way of Sumatra. From very early times there has been a very close connection between India and Sumatra. In still earlier days Hinduism spread from India to Sumatra and from there to the Peninsula and the southern islands, especially Java and Bali.[1] There appears to have been no organized missionary effort on the part of Muslims from India to convert the Malays to Islam, but a slow penetration of the population through the efforts of the Indian traders. With the absorption of religious ideas there would also come the acceptance of religious practices. Now if the drum were in use among the Muslims of South India prior to the entrance of Islam into Sumatra—in the thirteenth century (a point which I have not been able to establish definitely yet), is it not reasonable to suppose that this custom, approved for the Muslims of South India, was adopted by the Malays together with their acceptance of Islam at the hands of the South Indian Muslims? My information is merely that at present the drum is used in connection with mosque services in South India. When that use was inaugurated, I have not as yet been able to ascertain.

The *bĕdók* is used almost, if not quite, universally in the Malay Peninsula. In the larger centres, the muezzin

[1] See "Ency. Britannica," art. *Malay Peninsula* by Sir Hugh Clifford; "Shaman, Saiva, and Sufi" by R. O. Winstedt, Int. p. 3, and p. 46; "Papers on Malay Subjects" by R. J. Wilkinson, pp. 8-14. Also, "Further India," by Sir Hugh Clifford, p. 18.

is also used. In some mosques of the city both the muezzin and the *bĕdók* are used. In the countryside, however, and that is where most of the Malays live, the *bĕdók* reigns almost without competition, its strong resonant tones bringing the assurance, if not the actual words: *Allahu akbar!*

The *Encyclopædia of Islam,* Supplement, pp. 215 ff., has an article on drums under the rubric TABL, but the use described therein is chiefly martial. In Nicholson's Commentary on the Mathnawī, also, (Vol. vii, p. 142) there is this note: "In Moslem lands the beating of a large drum (or playing of a band) at the palace gate five times daily was, and still is, a mark of sovereignty." I have not found in any reference book, however, mention of the use of the drum to call people to the regular services of the mosque.

Malacca R. A. Blasdell.

Plight of Moslem Papers

"You have rightly said the newspapers are the blood veins of national life, and the Muslim community has a very poor account to render of its national vitality. But allow me to make a few remarks in this connection about the so-called 'blood vein' of our national life. It is a pity that the Muslims in India have hitherto not shown a keen interest in their Press. Consequently the circulation of our papers is very limited, even disgracefully limited in some cases.

"Naturally enough the masses never encourage the circulation of the papers. Most of the Muslim papers are published in Hindustani in India. A casual glance at a week's papers will convince you that besides the news reported by Reuter, and few other local agencies very little is contributed by the editorial staff towards the social, cultural and political uplift of the community.

"It is the duty of the Press to discuss all the problems of the community and to suggest ways and means to solve these problems. Like the *Light* every Muslim paper should fearlessly point out the weaknesses of the community and should disseminate in masses the right views about the *pardah,* abolition of sects amongst the Muslims, education and rights of women, and about various other religious and political questions."

(Lahore)—*The Light.*

"THE GLORY THAT EXCELLETH" [1]

IN SOVIET PRISONS

The heavy iron door into my cell opened at an unusual time and a doctor in his white overall entered. "Be ready towards evening to be transferred to Moscow," said he to me, "but now follow me into my study." I did so, wondering what was going to happen? Whilst asking me some questions about my health, he brought forth an ink-stained pad, bade me press my thumb and fingers on it and leave their impression on an official paper. This done, I was conducted to my cell.

It seemed a small thing to do, but to me it meant much! It proved that my case had been found serious enough to send me to the Chief Political Administration and probably to the biggest and most severe prison in Russia —the "Boutyrky." My stay in the large prison "Shpalernya" was ended—there was nothing to be done, but to conform to orders given. I put my belongings into bag and suitcase, bade farewell to my two comrades in the cell and followed the soldier-guard down through staircases and corridors into the court-yard. One soldier was appointed to take me to the station. It was night when we arrived there. We had difficulty in locating our railway-car, but the barred windows led us to it. I climbed some steps, and as I was the only woman-prisoner, was put into a small compartment by myself. Next to me were several men, who had finished their term of banishment and hard-labour on the famous "Ssolovky," high up north in the White Sea. This isle had until lately for hundreds

[1] The writer of these pages from her experience in the hands of the Soviet government, where she spent 700 days and nights in eight different prisons, has done more than any other person in the translation and distribution of Christian literature among the polyglot Islamic population of the Soviet Republics.—EDITOR.

of years been a famous place of pilgrimage to the big monastery there.

I was ordered by the guard to lie down with my head next to the open door, so that he, tramping to and fro in the small corridor, might keep his eye on me continually. I was perfectly at ease and in peace and knew myself in God's care. My apprehension of Moscow had passed quickly—this was only one of the inescapable étapes on the way which I had voluntarily engaged in, and "well did I know my Guide!"

We travelled slowly, stopping often in order to let the fast trains pass. Our car, which was easily recognized as a prison-car by its barred windows, was the object of great interest to the passengers, mostly peasant-folks, who stood or walked on the station-platform. I remember a severe-looking old peasant-woman, who after having peered through the barred window into my compartment and seeing there only one well-dressed woman, shook her head over me with reproachful eyes, as if to say: "What may you have done, old *barina* (lady), to deserve being kept behind bars?" I smiled at her good-humouredly—whereupon she shook her head still more, looked ashamed for me and moved on.

We had already had our ration of coarse rye bread and a piece of salted herring at L——. But boiled water was brought us morning and evening and each was expected to have his own tin cup.

The second day at morning we reached Moscow. It was only the first of September, but the air was already biting cold. We briskly climbed into a big truck which awaited us, and surrounded by armed soldiers quickly drove towards the large building where the Political Police's (G. P. U.) Administration was located. I was the only one to alight there, being a "political"; the men, being criminals, were carried to another prison, "the Taganka."

I was conducted to a waiting-room, where some officials were at work. As I entered this room, a flood of memory-pictures awoke in my mind. Why! this very room had

formerly been the salesroom of the British and Foreign Bible Society's Agency! Here I had in years gone by more than once bought my stock of Scriptures; from here I had started with some boxes full of Scripture-portions in many a language, for my first trip as colporteur, in 1909, which took me to the Volga and up to Perm and over the Oural into Siberia. Oh, what a good time that had been! and what a change since then till this day in 1927! How strange and momentous, that just because of the Word of God, and the loving testimony to the Lord of whom it spoke, I sat in this very room, hallowed by memories,—a prisoner for His sake!

I had to sit and wait several hours, getting faint and hungry before I was called to answer some questions by the official clerk. Then a woman appeared and submitted me and my possessions to a minute inspection, after which I was escorted to a small "camera" (as cells were called in prison-jargon) which bore the humiliating name of "the kennel." Women picked up by the police, as well as regular prisoners, were kept here till orders were given for their interment in one or other of the State-prisons. Not till late at evening was I called out from this unpleasant abode and escorted to the preliminary prison nearby.

It had formerly been a hotel and as it was a long low building, its involuntary inmates of both sexes had named it "the ship"; the régime in this prison was a very strict one and there were no women-guards around us as had been the case in L——, but only soldiers. The prisoners had to speak in whispers, and the *cameras* were daily visited and inspected by police officers. Each one of us had an abject straw bag as mattress for the narrow iron beds with boards.

Hot food was given us once a day and it was worse than in any of the prisons that followed in the eight years yet to come: a bowl of soup from half-cooked barley and half-raw salted fish. Hot tea and a lump of sugar and a piece of black bread formed the rest of our food. One small table and two chairs were all we had for about ten

inhabitants of the *camera*. I was the oldest of them and the only one who was arrested for "religious" causes, which our Government insisted on calling "contra-revolutionist" ones. All my comrades were young and from Moscow; they spent their days in whispered conversation and uninterrupted smoking—the cigarettes could be had from the guard. In consequence, the air of our *camera* was thick; the one small window was kept open all the day and the cold draught made me shiver and suffer greatly.

I felt strangely weak and indifferent to all about me, as if my soul were numbed to outward impressions, but yet I felt in my spirit a living nucleus in touch with God and I could pray and rest on Him; I had been given grace in the moment of my arrest—already two months ago—to willingly put my neck under the yoke which my Father's hand had put on me, the yoke of Jesus, which He had said was "easy and light," and I was determined with His help, to carry it where, and as long, as He should will me to do.

But outwardly the days and sleepless nights passed by rather drearily. Once I was called out to be photographed. This meant, in prison-practice, the same as the leaving of fingerprints at L———, that I "was in" for a more or less long term of imprisonment. Another break in the monotony of sitting or crouching from morning to night on my unpleasant bed, was the call to the judge of instruction.

I had been through such a performance once before at L——. My instructor seemed a well-read man who thought to induce me to argue with him about religion; but when I told him after some of his remarks, that the foundation of my faith did not rest on "encyclopedic or philosophic" tenets, but had its roots in superhuman regions, he suddenly got very angry with me, put his angry face close to mine and hissed at me: "Now—what do you say to a revolver?" (I had seen one on his desk on entering). I was immediately alive in every fibre of my being! I squared up to him and for some seconds we looked at each

other eye to eye, steadfastly and challengingly. Then I said with quiet exultation: "You may do what you like! Your revolver will not separate me from Jesus Christ."

He jumped up and in a harsh voice recited the paragraph of the law according to which I should be judged. And I went back to my cell, feeling like the apostles—glad to suffer for His precious name.

So now I wondered, since I was to appear before another judge, how the interview with him would pass off I was surprised when I found him to be a man of quite another type; I was struck as I looked at him, by the utter exhaustion in his face. His eyes especially seemed to be dead-tired and satiated with all the scenes of suffering which he must have witnessed. We looked friendly and expectantly at each other; then he asked me to tell him about my life. I told him something of my experiences as evangelical and social worker at the isle of Sakhaline, in the famous slums of Moscow, "the Khitroff Rynok," also of my wanderings through Turkestan. Then he asked me:

"Why have you chosen such a difficult path? What made you spend your best years among such rejected, fallen people as criminals and slum-dwellers?"

"God put into my heart from my childhood," said I, "to be drawn to just such people, who are reckoned the refuse of the world! I have always felt that there is in every man and woman who has been thrust out from the company of 'just people,' a soft spot, a longing, by which they may be approached. Every man has the right to an advocate, a friend to stand by him—so also these fallen ones! God wants us to show to them the love, mercy and forgiveness which we ourselves have experienced from Him—in the Lord Jesus Christ."

My judge kept silent. Then I asked him:

"May I know for what reason I have been arrested? For being a believer?"

He made a gesture of indifference:

"Faith! believer! We do not care for them as long as you keep silent about that—but no propaganda!"

"How is that?" said I, "would you think a party-man faithful to his Marxist belief, if he never spoke to any one about it? and never mentioned his adherence to Marx or Lenine? Surely, you would expel him from your party! And we believers cannot but testify to our great Leader and Lord. We could not, nor would we be 'dumb dogs!'"

He now looked kindly at me and said: "We will speak again about these matters," and ordered the soldier to lead me back to my dreary corner.

When I was asked by one or other of my comrades: what was the charge against me? and I told them that it was my testimony by word and script for our Lord, they only stared at me and kept aloof. They were a bad lot, poor girls! What I saw of their behaviour, heard or understood from their day-long whisperings, their caresses, their suppressed laughter, revealed to me a sad state of heart. We were, all the same, in friendly contact and they showed pity for this shivering, worn-out, old comrade. But oh, what sadness filled my soul at the thought that in future my lot would be cast in with them and their like, perhaps for years and years! Oh, that the Lord would uphold me and give me grace to speak to them of Him and His love! Would He help me to overcome the quaking of the flesh and of the soul—the one weakened by pain and insufficient food, sleepless nights and dreary days,—the other in danger of being stifled in this atmosphere of vice of every kind! Oh, that His spirit would strengthen mine, to be able to live up to Him, the holy and merciful One! Oh, for a draught of strong, life-sustaining wine, for a drop of the "oil of gladness"!

A fortnight had passed in this transitory prison, when suddenly, about evening, I was called out with my belongings, and was escorted to a small room where eighteen or twenty men were gathered, also with their bundles. I understood then that we were to be transferred to our

final prisons. In deep silence we stood there, till we were led out into the courtyard. The "raven" was waiting for us—a small black autocar, famous through all Moscow, with one door at the back and no windows, except one small one next to the driver, where an officer sat with a cocked revolver.

At the entrance to the "raven" stood an officer of the G. P. U. who looked wrathfully and contemptuously at us, huddled together like helpless sheep, and ordered us with curses to enter the car. One after another we disappeared into it, if too slow, being helped by a vigorous push by the soldier.

As I saw my comrades disappear, I wondered how so many of us could possibly find a place in such a small car! At last it was my turn. I was cursed and threatened because of my rather big bag, and was pushed in violently and landed on the knees of a man—none of us said a word and I stayed where I fell. The interior of our car was a chaos of men and bundles and suitcases.

At last two soldiers entered, armed, of course; the door was slammed and off we started at a desperate rate, the car swinging around street corners, having ex officio "right of way" as carrying a load of prisoners. Inside the car we were thrown one at another, speechless. It was a most humiliating situation—I felt it deeply, as certainly the others did, too. Then suddenly through the small window, above the guard's head and his revolver, I saw a rift, a free space between the houses which had shut out the view of the sky, and there broke upon my vision a sunset of such overpowering beauty and majesty and unearthly glory, that instantly I was flooded with adoration through my whole being! It lasted only a few seconds whilst we were flying past the rift, but the sight of this vision remained engraved on my memory even till now, years after!

It was not only that this sunset was one of the most exquisite and majestic which I have ever witnessed: golden light flowing, moving, expanding, a living mass of fire,

amidst and over blood-red clouds, fiery spears darting upwards from a golden-red furnace! This thrilled my *outward* eye with rapture—but more was vouchsafed to my *inner* eye, to my longing, famished soul and spirit! There, in the humiliation of that abject "raven," with a future of loneliness and suffering of every kind before me, it brought to me, *even me* as forlorn as I felt just then, a message from the Sovereign of earth and heaven who was also my Father! It brought strength, comfort, joy! "Look, O soul, and rejoice! drink of the wine of exultation at my glory—'the glory that excelleth!'" These words flashed through my mind, as I sat again in the dark car, but with a spirit uplifted in adoration.

I do not remember how we arrived at the big compound of the "Boutyrky," how I was extracted from the human chaos inside the "raven." I found myself in a half-dark room, waiting with many others to be led to my appointed place in this huge ant hill of over eleven thousand men and women bereft of freedom.

And although my God had showed me His glory as it were in "earthquake, wind and fire" as of old unto His servant Elijah, yet in my heart I also heard "the still small voice" of fatherly pity and tenderness: "Fear not, I am with thee to deliver thee! when thou passest through the waters, they shall not overflow thee, and when thou walkest through the fire thou shalt not be burned, for I am with thee and thou art mine!"

So in the strength of this vision of my Lord's "excelling glory" and His "excelling lovingkindness," I stepped out into a lonely path for yet more than eight years! But not alone! In falls and failure I found forgiveness, in suffering of body and soul, comfort in the experience of His presence, in my testimony for Him joy and blessing; yea—in all I found Him faithful, Who had promised.

SHAHEEDA.

YUSUF ALI'S TRANSLATION OF THE QUR'AN [1]

This is perhaps the most considerable work on the Qur'ān that has appeared from India in recent years. It contains the Arabic text and a new English translation, arranged in parallel columns, a series of notes arranged as commentary on the lower half of the page, introductions to the individual Sūras, a kind of poetical summary preceding each of the sections into which the text is divided, excurses at the end of several of the Sūras, a general introduction, a sort of poetical introduction, an elaborate table of contents to each volume, and a brief subject Index at the end of the work.

The work first appeared in parts, the Preface to the first of which is dated April 1934: and when the whole thirty parts were completed, was issued in both a two-volume and a three-volume edition. The pagination runs continuously, the only difference in the editions being in the division of the Table of Contents. This two-volume edition before us is called the Third Edition, contains an extra Preface to the collected edition, dated 1938, and for it the earlier sections have been reprinted with corrections in a slightly revised form.

The translator is an Indian Muslim, apparently from the North, English educated, who has spent a great deal of his active life living in the West. His reading has been largely in English, and he writes English with much greater ease and distinction than those others of his fellow-countrymen who have preceded him in this work of translation. He is not a scholar, but has been apparently a man of more active life, whose reading has been along the lines of general culture rather than the exact research of those devoted to the pursuit of letters. This broad sympathy with the problems of life in the experience of men is the characteristic note of his work. In his Postscript, which he calls L'Envoi, he tells us that his manuscript was completed on his sixty-fifth birthday, and if we look on it as the mature reflections on the significance of the Qur'ān for the life of Islam, offered by a pious Muslim, who has been in the best sense a man of the world, who has felt in his own experience these problems of life, and has, out of a rich acquaintance with men and things, found some values which he can offer to his

[1] "The Holy Qur'ān: Arabic Text with an English Translation and Commentary." By 'Abdallah Yūsuf 'Alī. Two volume Edition, 1937-1938. Published by Shaikh Muḥammad Ashraf, Kashmiri Bazaar, Lahore, India. 8vo. pp. xv, xx, xxv, 1849.

fellow-believers, we shall best understand what this work has to offer. In the best sense, it is a work of piety. The author is evidently a sincerely religious man, who has endeavoured to apply his religion to the problems of life as he has found them, and tells us where he has found help and inspiration for better and fuller living. The whole spirit of his work is admirable, and makes it a real document of religious worth. As it is a work laid before scholarship it will necessarily have to submit to critical examination, but the critic is the first to pay homage to the evident sincerity of the author.

The Arabic text was newly written for this work by Pīr 'Abdul Ḥamīd, in a clear and pleasing calligraphy, and is cut up to fit the lines of English translation which face it in the left-hand column. That the correspondence is not always perfect is perhaps explainable by the difficulties of the printer in setting it up. As was to have been expected, the text is the ordinary Kūfan text of the Ḥafṣ type, but the orthography has been to some extent modernized. *Idghāms* are marked, and the pausal signs used are the rather elaborate system that one commonly finds used in Indian lithographs, and which are apparently more acceptable there than the older and simpler Kūfan system. The Masoretic signs are also given in Indian style. *Ajzā'*, *rukū'*, *wuqūf*, *mu'ānaqāt*, *manāzil*, *sajadāt* and *sakatāt* are marked in the margin, and the *ajzā'* are also marked in the English text, while the introductory Arabic words of each *juz'* and *manzil* are written in larger letters. The Kūfan verse numbering is used, following the Egyptian standard text, and besides appearing in the text the verse numbers are given in English along with the number of the Sūra at the head of each page, thus making reference a very simple matter. These Masoretic details, the Preface tells us, have had the supervision of the Indian Savant Ẓafar 'Iqbāl, the same who has had charge of the preparation of the text being published by the Lahore Anjuman.

The translation is paragraphed according to the *rukū'*, (which are labelled "Sections") and subdivisions thereof, which latter are made according to the fancy of the translator himself, and marked with flowered capitals. It is assumed that the *rukū'* were meant to represent sense divisions in the text, and the translator uses his own judgment as to how they should be subdivided. This naturally decides to some extent how the verses are to be interpreted. We know, of course, that the *rukū'* are quite a late addition to the text, added to it long after the text had been in common usage read as a whole, with no consciousness of the varied origin in circumstance and time of the pieces that had gone into its composition. Dr. Bell's recent translation has been made after a scientific attempt to separate

out the component elements and understand them in their original situations, in so far as these can now be ascertained. A translation which regards the verses as connected in the grouping of the later *rukū'* arrangement, is thus condemned at the outset to a certain artificiality of interpretation. However, as an orthodox Muslim, the translator is probably bound to accept this position, which is sanctioned by Muslim orthodoxy, and probably looked on as of divine arrangement.

The translation is arranged in very short lines, so that its external appearance is very like that of verse. It is not, however, rhythmical, and the division into lines is not suggested by anything in the Arabic text, but is the translator's own idea, which has the effect of making a pleasing appearance on the page, but results in a strangely jerky prose which quite fails to do justice to the original. A simple example will suffice. Sūra XXXII:5/4 reads—"He arranges matters from the Heaven to the earth: then shall they go up to Him on a day whose length shall be a thousand years such as ye reckon,"—but here it reads:

"He rules (all) affairs
From the heavens
To the earth: in the end
Will they (all) go up
To Him in a (single) Day,
The space whereof will be
(As) a thousand years
Of your reckoning."

It is true that the Arabic is often in a rugged, broken style—the prophetic style—where one can see the preacher, under the urgency of proclaiming a message for which his flow of language is inadequate, falling into a broken, spasmodic diction, which has a passionate eloquence and vividness all its own. But that is quite a different thing from this method of breaking up what are often smooth, well-knit, sonorous sentences, into broken lines of jerky prose, often overburdened with entirely unnecessary capitals. Why he does this the translator gives no hint, and one can only suspect that his giving it a form that looks like verse form, is to suggest the rhythmical character of the original text, which, of course, is often quite a false suggestion.

The translation and commentary must be taken together. Following the custom of the Ahmadiyya version, the commentary is confined to a series of notes on points in the text, which are numbered consecutively through the whole work. There is a certain amount of cross-referencing among these notes, which to that limited extent links them up, but like John Wesley's *Notes on the New Testament*, leaves them just notes on points which the translator feels are in-

teresting or in need of comment, not a systematic exegesis of the text, and of course it suffers from all the limitations of such isolated treatment. For this reason many shrewd and interesting observations of the translator are left, as it were, in the air, when one feels that they might have proved fruitful if systematically carried through. Perhaps the greatest present need in Qur'ānic exegesis is a historical treatment of the many points of theological interest which its teachings raise, and this could only be given by a systematic commentary, which dealt with passages as units in their historical settings, and considered them in connection with the teaching of other passages also in their historical setting. Only thus can we hope to trace the development of the Prophet's thought, and see the Qur'ān as the living document it must have been to those to whom it was first proclaimed.

Both translation and commentary are devotional and practical, that is, are homiletic rather than critical and scientific. The translator has not asked himself what these words would have meant to those to whom they were addressed, but what they can mean now to the believer who looks to the Qur'ān for help to live his religious life. His approach is thus all the way through didactic in this homiletic sense. He is interested in edifying his co-religionists, drawing moral lessons, suggesting topics for religious meditation, and strengthening their faith in the superior excellence of Islam. His interests are not in critical exegesis. A simple example will illustrate this. The story of Goliath, for example, is mentioned only once in the Qur'ān (II:249/250—251/252), a passage which bristles with critical and exegetical difficulties. None of these are taken up, but the three notes on v. 251/252 read:

> "286. Note how the whole story is compressed into a few words as regards narration, but its spiritual lessons are dwelt upon from many points of view. The Old Testament is mainly interested in the narrative, which is full of detail, but says little about the universal truths of which every true story is a parable —the Qurān assumes the story, but tells the parable.
>
> "David was a raw youth, with no arms or armour. He was not known even in the Israelite camp, and the giant Goliath mocked him. Even David's own elder brother chid him for deserting his sheep, for he was a poor shepherd lad to outward appearance, but his faith had made him more than a match for the Philistine hosts. When Saul offered his own armour and arms to David, the young hero declined, as he had not tried them, while his shepherd's sling and staff were his well tried implements. He picked up five smooth pebbles on the spot from the stream, and used his sling to such effect that he knocked down Goliath. He then used Goliath's own sword to slay him. There was consternation in the Philistine army; they broke and fled, and were pursued and cut to pieces.

"Apart from the main lesson that if we would preserve our national existence and our faith it is our duty to fight with courage and firmness, there are other lessons in David's story; (1) numbers do not count, but faith, determination, and the blessing of God: (2) size and strength are of no avail against truth, courage and careful planning: (3) the hero tries his own weapons, and those that are available to him at the time and place, even though people may laugh at him; (4) if God is with us, the enemy's weapon may become an instrument of his own destruction; (5) personality conquers all dangers, and puts heart into our wavering friends; (6) pure faith brings God's reward, which may take many forms; in David's case it was Power, Wisdom, and other gifts; see next note.

"287. David was not only a shepherd, a warrior, a king, a wise man, and a prophet, but was also endowed with the gifts of poetry and music. His Psalms (*zabūr*) are still extant.

"288. God's plan is universal. He loves and protects *all* His creatures and His bounties are for all worlds (i. 2n). To protect one He may have to check another, but we must never lose faith that his love is for all in boundless measure."

This is a characteristic sample of the commentary, both in its use of the Bible to fill out the Qur'ānic story, and its homiletic method of treatment, and well illustrates what the real value of the work is. The author's co-religionists will find in it an abundance of helpful suggestion as to how the Qur'ānic stories and pronouncements can be made to yield messages of hope, encouragement, comfort, instruction, guidance and solace in the diffcult task of living a religious life in a world which for most folk is not an easy world. His counselling is wise and on a high ethical plane—much higher, some will often suspect, than that of the text on which he is commenting. A man of deep religious feeling himself, he understands the difficulties and problems of the religious life, and having discovered how the Qur'ān can be made to feed his own devotional life, and help him in his own efforts to live religiously, in a spiritual sense and not merely in the performance of ritual acts, he has set forth, as a help to his fellow believers, what he himself has found, and has done it admirably.

To the non-Muslim student of Islam the work is equally interesting and important as a document of the modern Muslim religious life, indicating where the modern Muslim finds sources of spiritual help in his sacred book. Too often we find the old-style Muslim using the Qur'ān and its recitation as nothing more than a mechanical device to store up merit, reading or reciting its verses and chapters with an eye to the merits which the Traditions tell him will accrue to the pious Muslim who recites such and such a chapter, or the more distinguished merits which will follow the completing of a reading through of the volume within such and such a space of

time. It is true that people do find satisfaction, even a spiritual satisfaction, in this mechanical repetition of a sacred text without any reference to its meaning or message. That is a phenomenon which meets us in many religions, a species of bibliolatry, where the sacred text as text has in itself virtue and confers blessing irrespective of whether the reader understands what he reads or not. To the educated worshipper, however, this type of Scripture reading cannot long be satisfactory. He must seek in the text what message it has for him, what nourishment for his soul, what guidance for his daily life. This is what the translator attempts to do in these volumes, as he tells us in his Preface (1934):

> "It is the duty of every Muslim, man, woman, or child, to read the Qur'ān and understand it according to his own capacity. If any one of us attains to some knowledge or understanding of it by study, contemplation, and the test of life, both outward and inward, it is his duty, according to his capacity, to instruct others, and share with them the joy and peace which result from contact with the spiritual world. The Qur'ān—indeed every religious book—has to be read, not only with the tongue and voice and eyes, but with the best light that our intellect can supply, and even more, with the truest and purest light which our heart and conscience can give us. It is in this spirit that I would have my readers approach the Qur'ān . . . . What we are concerned about now, in the fourteenth century of the Ḥijra, is, what guidance can we draw for ourselves from the message of God."

It is therefore of unusual interest to follow through in these volumes, how the translator, who has lived much in the West, and imbibed much of Western outlook and Western culture, uses the Qur'ān as a book of practical religious value.

In this the reader is greatly helped by the little summaries before the Sūras and sections thereof. These are numbered C1, C2, C3 etc., on to C300, and run through the volumes (the C probably being meant to stand for Canta). C1-C41 form the general introduction, and C295-C300 the conclusion, the others appearing in the introductions to the individual Sūras and at the heads of important sections, and summarize what the author conceives the teaching of the coming passages to be. In the Preface he calls this the rhythmical commentary, but they are not rhythmical in the sense that they have any measured poetic rhythm. They are prose cut into short lines and arranged to look like verse. As a sample take the one open before us, viz., C52.

> "Who can describe the nature of God?
> The Living, the Eternal; His Throne
> Extends over worlds and worlds
> That no imagination can compass.

His truth is clear as daylight: how
Can compulsion advance Religion?
The keys of Life and Death, and the mysteries
Of everything around us, are in His hands.
Our duty then is to seek the path
Of goodness, kindness, upright
Conduct and Charity.—to grasp
At no advantage from a brother's need,
To stand by the word that is pledged,
To bear true witness, and remove all cause
Of misunderstandings in our dealings
As between man and man."

Naturally, the translation has suffered from this didactic, homiletic purpose. Meanings are read into words which they could never have had as uttered by the Prophet in seventh century Arabic, but which are fruitful for devotional purposes at the present day. Little additions are constantly made, for which there is nothing corresponding in the text, but which exalt the conception given in the text. This does not refer to the little additions necessary to bring out the meaning, which are always required when translating from one idiom to another, but to additions which are purposely homiletical. For example, *al-Ḥai al-Qayyūm* is translated "the Living, the Self-subsisting, Eternal," where "Eternal" is an addition not contained in nor justified by the text, but homiletically fruitful. It may be argued that the God of the Qur'ān is eternal, but that is not in this text, and while "self-subsisting" is a good translation for *qayyūm*, this word of Aramaic origin, meaning that which stands of itself, has no necessary connotation of eternal, and such an addition is hardly justifiable here. The same is true of the constant tendency to translate perfectly simple statements as though they were philosophical subtleties. For instance, in this same passage, II:255/256 the text says: "He knows what is between their hands and what is behind them," which is a perfectly simple statement that God knows man's present condition and his past, and is a prelude to another simple statement, that, on the contrary, no man knows aught of God save what He cares to reveal. Yet in this translation it reads: "He knoweth what (appeareth to His creatures as) Before or After or Behind," which a note explains as meaning:

> "God's knowledge is absolute, and is not conditioned by Time or Space. To us, His creatures, these conditions always apply. His knowledge and our knowledge are therefore in different categories, and our knowledge only gets some reflection of Reality when it accords with His Will and Plan."

The Christian reader will at once be reminded of certain types of homiletic commentary which have dealt in this fashion with the Bible in days which we hope are now long past. In this present

work, however, we need to keep in mind that this is what the translator intended to do. In his Preface he tells us:

> "What I wish to present to you is an English Interpretation. . . . . The English shall be, not a mere substitution of one word for another, but the best expression I can give to the fullest meaning which I can understand from the Arabic text."

For devotional and homiletic purposes this position is sanctioned by almost universal usage, but it is hardly helpful to those students who are anxious to understand what the original message of the Scripture really was. The dangers of such a method of interpretation are obvious, and every student of Christian exegesis is aware how easy it is, when we escape from the controls of exact philology and historical method, for the door to open to fantasy and purely subjective imaginings. Thus it is not reassuring to read here in the Preface:

> "I spoke of the general meaning of the verses. Every earnest and reverent student of the Qur'ān, as he proceeds with his study, will find, with an inward joy difficult to describe, how this general meaning also enlarges as his own capacity for understanding increases . . . . . How much greater is the joy and sense of wonder and miracle when the Qur'ān opens our spiritual eyes. The meaning which we thought we had grasped expands. New worlds are opened out. As we progress, still newer, and again newer worlds 'swim into our ken.' The miracle deepens and deepens, and almost completely absorbs us . . . . . we are on the threshold of realities, and little perfume from the garden of the Holy One has already gladdened our nostrils."

A statement which has a striking resemblance to the introductory sentences of the first lecture, I heard some years ago, in a series of lectures giving an utterly fantastic and impossible interpretation of the Book of Revelation.

In the interests of this homiletic purpose the translator has drawn largely on what he has learned of Western culture. Shakespeare and the English poets, modern writers and articles in the Encyclopædia Britannica, tags of Latin and quotations from the historians, are all used for illustration, and at times used very effectively. Most interesting of all, however, is the fact noted above of his use of the English Bible. To his Muslim audience this use of the Bible will be very effective, for references to and quotations from it are used on the one hand to support the Qur'ānic teaching, and on the other to demonstrate how superior the teaching of the Qur'ān is to that of the Bible. Students of the Bible, however, are sure to complain that he has not escaped a certain disingenuousness in his use of it. To take one example out of a great many. In his note on the Throne verse (II:255/256) commenting on the words "Slumber taketh Him not nor sleep," he says—"Con-

trast this with the expression used in Psalm lxxviii:65 'then the Lord wakened as one out of sleep, and like a mighty man that shouteth by reason of wine.'" The point of the citation is to suggest how much superior the Qur'ānic teaching on God is to that of the Psalter. And yet the translator knows quite well that in Psalm cxxi:3 and 4 there is this very teaching that God neither slumbers nor sleeps, and curiously enough the Hebrew in this Psalm uses precisely the same expressions for slumber and sleep as does the Qur'ān, which at least suggests that Muḥammad was here quoting from the Psalter or some Jewish source dependent on the Psalter. Still, it is a great merit in this work that where the Qur'ān is dealing with Biblical subjects, the notes refer the reader to the Biblical stories, instead of indulging in the fantastic speculations we find so often in the older commentaries. One wonders what reception this practice will have in certain Muslim circles. In Egypt in particular, there has been in recent years a growing movement to reject all the *Isra'īliyyāt* that are in the older works, and to the ardent supporters of that movement it must be somewhat staggering to find so much Biblical material used in these volumes. We are heartily with the translator in this element in his method, even though we find ground for complaint in his application of it, and it will be interesting to watch how far he can carry his own community in this matter.

A further matter from which the translation and notes have suffered lies in the limitations of the translator's philological equipment. This is evident in every section of the work. One or two simple examples must suffice. In the *Fātiḥa* the word *rabb* (Lord) is translated "cherisher and sustainer," and the note tells us that the Arabic root means—to bring to maturity. Now it is a well known linguistic phenomenon that words of quite different origin may take the same form in a language. For instance, in English, *sound* meaning "healthy" is from the Anglo-Saxon *sund*, but meaning "noise" it is from the Norman-French *son*, and meaning "to take the depth of water" is from *sonder* from the Low Latin *subundare*. Similarly the Arabic *rabb* meaning "Lord" is from the Aramaic root meaning "great, venerable, splendid," and used frequently in inscriptions from North Arabia as meaning lord or chief, is thus referred to God as Lord and chief of all; while the verb *rabba* meaning "to increase," from which come *rubb*, the thick juice of the matured fruit, is from a primitive Semitic root, probably meaning "to be thick," with which are connected also the Ethiopic *rababa* "to expand," and the Rabbinic *rebab* meaning grease. Of much the same nature is his hazardous use of etymology. Because the English word *patrimony* is derived from the Latin *pater monium*

and means inheritance coming down to one from the father, it does not follow that because *matrimony* comes similarly from *mater monium* it must mean inheritance coming down from the mother. No more does the fact that the verb *fakiha* means "to be merry, lively" provide any basis for the *fākiha*, the fruits of the gardens of Paradise, being interpreted a standing "for that specially choice enjoyment, which goes with a fastidious and well cultivated taste, ... that highest kind of joy which depends upon the inner faculty rather than any outward circumstance."

This translation is a much more sincere effort than that of the Ahmadiyya version with commentary published at Lahore. Like that Ahmadiyya version, however, it is strongly apologetic. Muḥammad lived and worked in seventh-century Arabia. The standards he observed were those of his milieu, and this is faithfully reflected both in the Qur'ān and in the earliest Arabic biographies of the Prophet. In that milieu and by those standards there was no need to apologize for the Prophet's matrimonial affairs, or his treatment of his enemies, or his political opportunism, or the crudity of many things in his message. There is no need to apologize for them now. The greatness of the Prophet is best seen when we view him as he was in his milieu. These modern translators, however, are all the time conscious of the higher morality of Christianity, and lay themselves out to gloss over in translation, or explain away in the notes, everything in the Qur'ān that does not measure up to the ideals of Christian morality. The Prophet did not recognize these standards, nor make any pretence of living by them, so that it is really doing him a disservice to expound his message in the light of the standards of another religion, and picture him as the exponent of the ethics of another Teacher. Though the present translation is an improvement on the Ahmadiyya version in this respect, its apologetic note is nevertheless very marked. Over and over again one can watch the translation being glossed in a Christian sense, and only too often when what we want in a note is information that will put a verse in its setting, what we get is an apologetic explaining away what may seem offensive to those brought up to observe the Christian standard of morality and the teaching of the Christian ethic. This is neither helpful, nor fair to the Qur'ān itself, and when as in the notes on Sūra XXXIII, the necessities of *apologia* involve the author in deliberate distortion of the plain facts written down in the *Sīra*, it becomes a shame. But this is an unpleasant subject, so let us move to another point.

The practice of providing a brief introduction to each Sūra has much to commend it. Where the material in the Sūra is

dealing with historical situations, such as Badr, Uḥud, Ḥudaibiyya, Ḥunain, Khaibar, etc., the situation is generally not immediately clear from the text. Those addressed in the first instance would doubtless understand all the references, because they were concerned in the event, but to the modern reader the force of the passage is often not at all clear without some preliminary understanding of the historical situation, and this it is difficult to give in the notes. It is thus a great advantage to the student to have an introduction to each Sūra in which the different groups of verses are assigned to their historical situation, and that situation briefly described. Even where there is dispute as to what the event referred to is, it is helpful to have the different possibilities before one at the outset. The same is true of passages of controversial nature, where it is often not clear at first from the text who the adversaries are or what the matter being dealt with is, and the passages are much more intelligible when one is advised beforehand what the controversy is about.

A certain amount of such orientation is given in the introductions to the Sūras in this work, but unfortunately very much less than we should like to see, for the author's interest here also is homiletic, and for the most part he is interested less in the situations out of which the message grew, than in finding themes in the Sūras which will suggest values for devotional use. This, of course, is legitimate, though one wonders here as one wonders in the case of similar exegesis of the Christian Scriptures, whether the best devotional use after all would not come from the strict application of the rules of scholarly exegesis, whereby each message would be considered first of all in its application to the situation which drew it forth, and studied in relation to what it must have meant then. Over and over again our author tells us that "the chronology of this Sūra has no significance," where one feels that one must demur and insist that it has the utmost significance. Each introduction of this kind the author concludes with a little summary of what he conceives the teaching of the Sūra as a whole to be. The apologetic element we mentioned above is equally obvious whenever any historical situation is dealt with in these Introductions.

The Excurses, or as the translator calls them, Appendices, which follow certain Sūras, are the least satisfactory part of the whole work. They are fourteen in number and deal with 1) the Abbreviated Letters; 2) the Taurah; 3) the Injīl; 4) Egyptian Chronology and Israel; 5) Egyptian Religion and its Steps towards Islam; 6) Allegorical Interpretation of the Story of Joseph; 7) Who was Dhū'l-Qarnain? 8) Mystic Interpretation of the Verse of Light; 9) Thamūd Inscriptions at al-Ḥijr; 10) First Contact of

Islam with World Movement; 11) Comparative Chronology of the Early Years of Islam; 12) the Muslim Heaven; 13) Ancient Forms of Pagan Worship; 14) Oaths and Adjurations in the Qur'ān. They are almost all apologetic in purpose, being designed to cut away the ground from under various non-Muslim objections to the Qur'ān, and have this interest that they clearly state what the author conceives to be Islam's line of argument in these cases; but they are his nearest approach to definite ventures into the area of exact scholarship, and as such they are singularly unfortunate.

The Preface and General Introduction are quite short. The translator tells us how he came to undertake the task, and how he proceeded with it. This is an interesting personal statement. In his remarks on his method of translating he tells us—"In translating the Text I have aired no views of my own, but followed the received Commentators. Where they differ among themselves, I have had to choose what appeared to me to be the most reasonable opinion from all points of view." Anyone who has worked with the older commentaries of aṭ-Ṭabarī, ar-Rāzī, al-Baiḍāwī, etc., knows well that it is necessary to choose not only between them, but also between the widely different interpretations one and the same commentator will record for a single passage. Unless, however, by "received commentators" he means some widely removed from the list he gives on p. xii, it is hardly true to say that he has followed them consistently. One of the interesting things about his translation is that he has aired his own views. Had he merely given a rehash of the old views of the commentators, the volumes would not have been worth the labor of reading. The thing that has repaid the reviewer for the time and labour of reading the work has been the continual discovery of fresh suggestions as to how a Muslim interpreter understands the text before him. What we are grateful for in the work is his independence in translating according to his own views as to how a verse ought to be taken. We may disagree with his ideas on various points, think that he is entirely mistaken in his understanding of some passages, and quarrel with his method, but the one thing we rejoice in in his work is that he has frankly and sincerely endeavoured to set forth how a modern Muslim, with such a background as his, feels the Qur'ān ought to be interpreted.

And why should he not air his own views? Aṭ-Ṭabarī, even though he diligently records the opinions attributed to the ancients, yet not seldom gives his own judgment. Az-Zamakhsharī aired his own Mu'tazilite opinions, aired them so freely indeed, that al-Baiḍāwī had to tone them down to orthodox standards. There is not, and never has been, any official interpretation of the Qur'ān

in Islam. The Shī'a savants have interpreted it in the light of their peculiar theology, and the Sūfis have freely commented on it in a Sūfi sense. Muḥammad 'Abdu, a generation ago, launched out into a new modernistic line of interpretation, which, however wrong in method it may appear to Western scholars, has met with enthusiastic reception in the Near East. The famous Fakhr ad-Dīn ar-Rāzī interpreted in the light of the theological conceptions of his day, so why should not a modern Muslim interpret it today according to the conceptions of his culture? One may quarrel with M. Yūsuf 'Alī's methods, but surely he has no need to disclaim airing his own views on the interpretation of the Scripture of his faith. One of the things we should like to see is a commentary on the Qur'ān written according to the standards of modern scholarship, reverent in its approach, but critical in its method, embodying the results that in recent years have been gained by critical investigation into the environment in which Islam was born, and making full use of the resources of our modern sciences of philology, historical method and comparative religion. It would be a sad thing if such a commentary, and such a modern translation as that of Dr. Bell, are to be condemned at the outset because they contain views that are not to be found in the older orthodox commentaries.

It was perhaps inevitable that a Western reviewer should find many points where he is at variance with the author of this work, for the Muslim author approaches his task with a great number of presuppositions which the reviewer does not share. The one, used to the application of modern critical methods to the study of the Bible, is inclined to be impatient at the neglect of these methods in a study of the Qur'ān, whereas to the other the application of some of those canons of criticism must savor almost of sacrilege. This, however, does not prevent appreciation of the labor of love that has gone to the making of this book, or the genuine feeling for religion which pervades all its interpretation, and which give it real value as a document of religious experiences.

The printing and general appearance of the work are excellent. It must have been an exacting task for the publisher to produce such a work, and the care expended on its production cannot be too highly praised. The setting up has been well and carefully done and the resultant page is a pleasure to read. The complete, analytical subject Index we were promised in the Preface, it has not been found practical to include in these volumes, but the Postscript holds out the hope that they may be published as a separate volume at some not too distant future.

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SHUBBIHA LAHUM: A SUGGESTION FROM THE NEW TESTAMENT

It is but a commonplace that the Islamic picture of Jesus Christ is far less true to Gospel portraiture than either the Docetic or the Gnostic. Two great facts do, however, remain, which seem to bring Islamic belief with regard to Jesus into line with Christian thinking at least in certain features. Though the Cross and the Resurrection, and to all intents and purposes the entire teaching ministry, have no place in the Qur'an, there is reference both to the Virgin Birth and to an "Ascension" of sorts. If we only had the Gospel of St. Luke as witness to the Ascension, the event itself in the fuller versions, which have ἀνεφέρετο, would have to be read as taking place on the evening of the Resurrection Day. The spurious gospel of Barnabas, however, because of its claim that Judas Iscariot suffered on the cross instead of Jesus, naturally has to place the "Ascension" a stage or two further back in Christian history.

This book tells the tale in the following terms:

"When the soldiers with Judas drew near to the place where Jesus was, Jesus heard the approach of many people, whereof in fear he withdrew into the house. And the eleven were sleeping.

Then God seeing the danger of His servant, commanded Gabriel, Michael, Rafael and Uriel, His ministers, to take Jesus out of the world.

"The holy angels came and took Jesus out by the window that looketh toward the south. They bare him and placed him in the third heaven in the company of angels blessing God for evermore." [1]

This is the Italian version; the Spanish is rather less "diffuse."

"Judas came near to the people with whom Jesus was; and when he heard the noise he entered into the house where the dis-

[1] *The Gospel of Barnabas.* (L. & L. Ragg) p. 471.

ciples slept. And God, seeing the fear and danger of his servant, ordered Gabriel and Michael and Rafael and Azrael to carry him out of the world. And they came in all haste, and bare him out of the window that looks towards the south, and they placed him in the third heaven, where he will remain blessing God, till near the end of the world." [2]

It is this story which is sometimes supposed to lie behind the words of Sura 4:156, 157; while the probability is that it is these words which lie behind the impossible story, much as *ahadith* have been used to interpret other difficult Quranic passages. [3]

At all events both versions of the Gospel of Barnabas are clear that Jesus was taken out of the world, the Spanish being a little more explicit at the end with a clause that brings the story into line with the expected return of Jesus at the end of the world. There is nothing about this in the fourth sura, where Muhammad is rebutting the Jews:

"And for their saying, 'Verily, we have slain the Messiah, Jesus the son of Mary, an apostle of God.' Yet they slew him not and they crucified him not, but *they only had his likeness.* And they who differed about him were in doubt concerning him . . . . and they did not really slay him, but *God took him up to Himself.*" [4] Compare also 3:47f.

The Gospel of Barnabas goes on to tell how it was Judas who was crucified instead, the author daring to say:

"I say that the voice, the face and the person of Judas were so like to Jesus that his disciples and believers entirely believed that he was Jesus; wherefore some departed from the doctrine of Jesus, believing that Jesus was a false prophet." [5]

Perhaps this last effort was an effort to make some meaning out of "they who differed about him were in doubt concerning him." But though the forgery is self-evident, perhaps it does bear witness to real difficulties, not only in translating particular verses in the Qur'an, but in interpreting them. The crux in translation seems to be "shubbiha lahum." But it was a puzzle to the commentators before it was a puzzle to the translators. Baidawi

[2] Idem. p. lvi.
[3] E.g., Sura 17:1 or 94:1.
[4] Rodwell.
[5] Ragg, p. 481.

has three different tales, and hints that there were others. The translations reflect the difficulty.

"The matter was made dubious to them." [6]
"He was represented by one in his likeness." [7]
"A similitude was made for them." [8]
" . . . . but it appeared so unto them." [9]
" . . . . but it so appeared unto them." [10]

In his more recent translation Professor Bell renders "but he was counterfeited for them," and in a footnote explains this as probably a "reference to the Docetic assertion that only a simulacrum of Jesus was crucified." [11] Incidentally of the whole group of translators Professor Bell is the one who has found a rendering that gives the Arabic Passive in its English equivalent. Sale who retains the passive idea really gives an interpretation. Palmer has an impersonal passive. The three Muslim translators are rather vague. Can we really be content with the usual interpretations and their origins? It is true that the Gospel of Barnabas states the figment of Judas being slain, but is there anything approaching proof that this was the theory of the supposed "Arabic original"? The *Judas solution* is rather disposed of by the Qur'an itself; it is so obviously *post factum,* that we can dismiss it as special pleading and nothing more. We are left then with the alternative of the Docetic origin—"that the body of Christ was not real, but only seemed to be; and so either the sufferings were only apparent, or else the Redeemer who could not suffer was separate from the man in whom he appeared" [12]—a view which seems to have the commendation of Professor Bell; or the contention of the Basilideans that it was Simon of Cyrene, who suffered in place of Christ, undoubtedly one of the three interpretations, which Baidawi met, and which seems to be the idea of Sale, and may possibly account for the translations of Palmer and Rodwell. Simon, it was contended, suffered "in his likeness, while Jesus tak-

[6] Muhammad 'Ali.
[7] Sale.
[8] Palmer.
[9] Pickthall.
[10] Hafiz.
[11] Bell: *The Quran Translated,* p. 89.
[12] Bethune Baker: *Early Christian Doctrine,* p. 75.

ing Simon's form stood unseen and mocked the Jews, and afterwards ascended unseen to the Father."[13] Either of these is certainly a much more "scientific guess," as Dr. Streeter would call it, than the *Judas solution.* The Jews (almost in the sense in which the Fourth Gospel uses the phrase) are a quite definite feature both for the Basilideans and for the Qur'an. The whole Gnostic system was older than Christianity and the Gospel, and has found affinity with the devotees alike of Christianity and Judaism, with traces in Islam. On the other hand there is no evidence that the Basilidean sect of Gnostics "extended itself beyond Egypt," though it did "survive there for a long time."[14] This came to an end in the fourth century, when both Epiphanius and Jerome mention the Basilideans and Basilides, the former in connection with places supposed to have been visited by the founder of the sect; the latter in connection with a hybrid group in Spain. So that it is within the bounds of possibility that, if the dregs of Basilideanism filtered westwards, they may also have trickled in the opposite direction. At the close of his study of the Basilidean theories Professor Gwatkin has a pregnant sentence which we do well to ponder with Muhammad's denial of the Crucifixion in mind:

"Wherefore if we confess him who was crucified, we are still in bondage to the creators of the body; whereas we are free, if we deny the crucified."[15]

This may be nothing more than coincidence, but even as that it is interesting. Did it all fit in very nicely and was there nothing more than that? In any case the connection between the *denied crucifixion* and the *exaltation* is common to both the Basilidean and the Quranic schemes, and of course to that of the Gospel of Barnabas. The key words, whether we look at heretical Christians or Islamic belief, seem to be *shubbiha* and *rafa'a.*

It is time we turned to the consideration of the second "key word" before that of the first, because it is also a "key word" in the New Testament. In Acts 2:33 we read,

[13] Gwatkin: *Early Church History,* Vol. ii., p. 55.
[14] *Dictionary of Christian Biography,* Vol. 1., p. 280.
[15] Gwatkin, ii., p. 55.

"Him being *exalted* by the right hand of God;" and then three chapters later on, "Him did God *exalt* with His right hand to be a Prince and a Saviour." [16] The reference in both these contexts is to something distinct from the Resurrection; and in the light of them our Lord's oft-repeated phrase that "he that humbleth himself shall be *exalted*" almost takes on a new meaning. [17] In the Arabic versions compounds of *rafaʿa* are used for the most part. So too in the Johannine texts, where the English versions have "lifted up," which is perhaps a pity. [18] But most striking and instructive of all as a commentary on what the Master Himself said is the graphic sentence of St. Paul in Philippians:

" . . . . being found in fashion as a man, he humbled himself, becoming obedient unto death, yea the death of the cross. Wherefore God also *highly exalted* him. . . . . [19]

Here there is no escape from the connection between the crucifixion and the exaltation. St. Paul returns to it again in Ephesians with his reference to God having made Christ "to sit at his right hand in the heavenly places far above all rule and authority and power." Then too there is the echo in Hebrews:

"We behold him who hath been made a little lower than the angels, even Jesus, because of the suffering of death, crowned with glory and honour." [20]

Is there not here a circle of ideas, which must have had great vogue in early Christianity, but which got twisted and perverted through contact with that Oriental Gnosticism which antedated the Gospel? Instead of crucifixion and exaltation being regarded as corollaries, it was non-crucifixion and exaltation. After all, crucifixion was out of the question in the Basilidean scheme; it was equally out of place in the ideology of Muhammad. In the Basilidean scheme the suggestion of the cross could not be entertained. Christ's work may have been to rescue mankind, but this could obviously never be accomplished

[16] Acts 5:31.
[17] Luke 14:11; 18:14.
[18] John 3:14; 12:32.
[19] 2:9.
[20] Heb. 2:9.

through the crucifixion of "first begotten mind." The New Testament, however, gave the answer, often using the very word, the second "key word," which has been the crux in the attempt to translate the Quranic passage. In New Testament terminology, of course, crucifixion was the way in which salvation "came to pass," but because Jesus "was made in the *likeness* of men," or, as most of the Arabic versions have it, *fī shibh in-nās*. The phrase comes in Philippians just before the verses quoted above. All the other New Testament occurrences of ὁμοίωμα are similarly translated by *shibh*. Romans 8:3 is a clear case in point:

"God sending His own Son in the *likeness* of sinful flesh and for sin, condemned sin in the flesh."

The fact that the Arabic New Testament did not become the possession of the Church till after the rise of Islam should not alter the main argument here that it was texts like these in Romans, Philippians and Hebrews, familiar from liturgical use, that were the cherished property of Christians, and were among the "spot" passages used in those Christological controversies which raised burning issues in the centuries immediately prior to the era of Muhammad. So that, while not suggesting that the tenets of Basilideanism may not have found their way into those parts of synchretistic Arabia where they would be most welcomed, is it not just as reasonable to think that classic passages of the New Testament likewise were well-known, and that over a wider circle than simply the bishoprics of Najran?

Furthermore this proximity of the two ideas connected with *shibh* and *raffa'a* in Philippians might prove as possible a key to the elucidation of *shubbiha lahum* in Sura 4 as the ideas of a somewhat obscure sect of superior Gnostics! There is also the interesting parallel in Hebrews, where the author says that Jesus had to be *made like* unto His brethren in reality, that He might be a merciful and faithful high priest in the things pertaining to God. [21] The

[21] Heb. 2:17.

verb is passive here, though it is not rendered as such in the Arabic. Read like this, however, it is almost the same construction as in Sura 4:156. The prepositional phrase might equally mean "to them" as "for them," so may we not have a clue as to what really lies behind the travestied version of the Qur'an? The latter says, "He was not really crucified, but he was made like them all the same." What the New Testament writers had said was "He was crucified, because he was made like them." What a shame that there was no New Testament for Muhammad to refer to! After all, the great fact in which generations of Christians had already gloried was that Jesus had become like mankind in order that mankind might become what He is—an idea, incidentally, that finds expression almost in these terms in Irenaeus, from whom also comes something of what we know of Basilides and his followers.

Muhammad had his reasons for the denial of the crucifixion; it does not matter much what they were, but what does matter is that in this denial of his, this travesty of Christian history and Christian experience, there is somehow intertwined the deep connection between the cross and the exaltation of the Christ. He did not understand the idea any more than the Basilideans, and for different reasons, but he used in his Qur'an the expression of some of the great ideas bequeathed to him from his Christian environment, partly orthodox and partly heretical—ideas which would be almost past recognition because of their application, if it were not for the "key words" still standing out alongside the travesty or rather making themselves felt in spite of it.

In his new translation Professor Bell prints what he conceives to be the material contained in first and second pronouncements of Muhammad in parallel columns. In the case of Sura 4:156, 157 the Professor suggests that Muhammad first answered the calumny of the Jews like this:

" . . . . and for their saying, 'We killed the Messiah, Jesus

Son of Mary, the messenger of Allah', though they did not kill him. Nay, Allah raised him to Himself; and there is no people of the book but will surely believe in him before his death, and on the Day of Resurrection he will be regarding them a witness."

Then the later "substitution" ran like this:

" . . . . and for their saying, 'We killed the Messiah, Jesus son of Mary, the messenger of Allah,' though they did not kill him and did not crucify him, but he was counterfeited for them; verily those who have gone different ways in regard to him are in doubt about him; they have no revealed knowledge; and also follow opinion."

This does not mean of course that the ideas contained in "being made like" and in "exaltation" only circulated separately, though they doubtless did as well as together, but, if Professor Bell is correct in his criticism, it would seem to mean that Muhammad was hard put to it to deny the crucifixion. In the first version he is more concerned to state the "exaltation" as what happened instead of death; in the second case his concern is to emphasize that in *no* case did the Messiah die; and he makes *shubbiha lahum* afford further argument, if such be needed, to *ma qatáluhu* and *ma salabuhu.* In Professor Jeffery's "Materials for the Study of the Text of the Qur'an," he gives the variant of *shabbaha* for *shubbiha* as the readings of Ibn Mas'ud, Zaid bin 'Ali and Abu Nahik, [22] which takes the difficulty of interpretation back further than Baidawi and all the translators. More interesting, however, is the reading of Ubai bin Ka'b, who after *shubbiha lahum* has the further denial, as if to make assurance doubly sure, that the very last thing that happened to the Messiah was crucifixion. In Ubai's Qur'an were the words *wa ma qatalahu alladhina ittahamu bihi,* "and they who entertained wrong opinions about him, did not crucify him." [23] In this determination not to allow crucifixion, Muhammad was in the true succession of the Basilideans. The process of denial has gone a stage further. But was it not perhaps something like this that happened? The New Testament was quite categorical about the deep connection between the cross

[22] p. 38.
[23] *Idem,* p. 127.

and the exaltation, the former rendered possible because Jesus was in all things *made like* unto His brethren; then came the Docetist explanation that suffering could not possibly be predicated of the Christ, it was imaginary, counterfeit; next came the Basilideans with something more tangible, it was Simon of Cyrene; lastly the Qur'an with the denial presumably to serve a definite end, though it does not matter what the end was; and then years afterwards, when both the great original had been forgotten and even the twisted theories of Docetists and Basilideans came the *Judas solution,* merely an afterthought, a theory with an "axe to grind," the bolstering up of the Quranic version. We had better leave the matter here, in penitence for our share in the misunderstandings of the past and the prayer that the Church in these days may be *made like* unto Him through being *"exalted* unto the same place whither our Saviour Christ has gone before." [24]

Jerusalem ERIC F. F. BISHOP.

[24] Book of Common Prayer: Collect for Sunday after Ascension day.

THE FUTURE OF ISLAM IN CHINA

In an article on China in the Encyclopaedia of Islam, M. Hartmann says:

"Although the future of Islam in China cannot be precisely defined at present, it is abundantly clear that its victory over the other religions of the country, and ultimate supremacy of the Muslims over the other peoples of the Empire is a mere dream, to follow which will bring only misfortune and destruction upon the Muslims. Even if, through some unforeseen chain of circumstances, their hope should be realized even for a brief period, this would be a grave disaster to the whole Chinese Empire. Islam is not a religion compatible with civilization; it is emphatically the bitter enemy of Frankish culture, and it is this which China is about to adopt. Muslims will always form an infinitely small proportion of the leaders of the reform movement. Nevertheless the Chinese nation will be well advised to keep a watch on the Islamic elements in their midst."

From the Christian point of view, the Moslems of China are a people who need to be reached with the full revelation of God as shown through Jesus Christ. When the two religions are found together in a land where they are overwhelmingly surrounded by paganism, it is seen that the two Western faiths have much in common. The recognition of one God as Supreme, the absence of idols, and refraining from various forms of superstition, and also the occasional use of similar terms for the places of worship, and the fact that both come from outside of China, these cause many people to suppose that the religions are closely allied. As for the Moslems themselves, they very frequently claim kinship with the Christian religion, and declare to the missionary that they are *i yang*—the same, or *ch'a pu to* not much different. They speak freely of the common heritage of the Old Testament worthies, and of the reverence for Jesus as the Sinless Prophet. But then the differences appear, and the Christian who is faith-

ful to his Lord finds the problem of evangelization is before him, and that there must be a special approach, calling for tact, wisdom, and patience.

Speaking generally, the Chinese Moslems are more approachable to the Christian worker than is the case in Mohammedan lands. The foreign visitor to a mosque is almost invariably made welcome, and friendliness is shown if the visitor observes the simple rules of politeness. The Moslem usually has no objection to entering a Protestant street chapel and listening to the Gospel. The more learned will discuss the points of similarity and of difference. They seldom try to win the Christian to their faith; but they are usually very resolute in maintaining that Islam is the correct faith, as well as the oldest of all religions, and Adam was the first Moslem.

I have received visits in my home, and have entered Moslem homes, and had good fellowship. In a certain prefectural city in Szechuan where I lived and labored many years ago, the first premises rented belonged to a Moslem who was subsequently persecuted so severely that sympathy for him led to the premises being relinquished. A few years later, when other premises were secured and residence was allowed, the Moslem group in that city always showed friendliness to us.

At another city, after making first contacts, my wife and I went to reside; our boat was wrecked a short distance from the city, and our goods soaked or lost, and we reached the city without our bedding, etc. A Mohammedan official was almost our first caller, and he supplied us with food and clean bedding, and was a friend in need, and remained a close friend during the years we spent at that city.

At the Shanghai mosque it was always a pleasure to meet the refined and scholarly *ahung*—a *haji*—, who was always hospitable and cordial, and at the same time a staunch Mohammedan.

How can we present the gospel of Jesus Christ to our Moslem friends, and lead them to a fuller knowledge of God, as Father? For those who can read, the most obvious

way is to provide suitable literature which they can carefully read and think over, when by themselves. The British and Foreign Bible Society and the American Bible Society have made grants of Arabic scriptures for wise distribution. There have also been prepared some bilingual gospels and scripture verses, in Chinese and Arabic, which are sold very cheaply, or carefully given free. Tracts and picture posters have also been widely used.

The range and supply of literature in Chinese specially prepared for Moslems have been greatly extended during the past twenty years. There is still need for more of such literature, and it is very desirable that some Chinese and foreigners should give attention to this work, which requires special qualifications, and would be all the more valuable if writers had some knowledge of Arabic. Financial assistance for the preparation and distribution of such literature is urgently needed.

A service which Mr. F. H. Rhodes many years ago found very useful was the sending of personal letters to certain *ahung* or selected Moslems. This form of effort has been less heard of recently, but it is a method which deserves to be more widely employed, and from which much might be expected.

Personal visits and talks, and the cultivation of friendship are the avenues by which most missionaries can best approach Moslems. The street-chapel, or open-air preaching, so successfully used among the Chinese population is less likely to be helpful to gatherings of Moslems. While individual Moslems are to be welcomed in any congregation, and the same message may be given to all hearers alike, it will be realized that with differing background and outlook, some variations in the way of presenting Truth are called for. Moslem terms and phraseology may with advantage be used when speaking to Moslems.

We must bear in mind that there are so many different grades of culture among Moslems, that they belong to so many different races, and have grown up in the midst of such varied environments, that we should hardly expect

one method of approach, or one phase of the Gospel, to appeal equally to all classes, and during all periods of their life. Different methods should be tried, with patience and love, in the spirit of Christ.

Judiciously paid visits to mosques are very helpful in promoting friendship and mutual interest and understanding. Occasionally a little coolness may be met at first, but this soon thaws under a genial approach, and the writer's experience in many mosques in China has been of general friendliness, sometimes of generous welcome and readiness to show and explain as fully as could be desired. Of course one will show due respect and consideration to the hosts, and to their ideas, on entering a mosque, and never abuse privilege. Shoes need not be removed, but do not tread on the matting of the place of devotions. The Koran, which will be found in the mosque, should not be touched until it is freely offered for inspection, when due interest should be shown. Moslems like to have the Arabic inscriptions noticed, and when translations are offered, we are often supplied with a good text for a few appropriate remarks.

Moslems are proud of their cleanliness, and of their bathing places adjoining the mosques, and they like to have these admired. A chat in the guest hall, over the tea usually offered, is well worth finding time for, and paves the way for friendship and for presenting literature of a suitable kind, naturally not polemical on such occasions. Any knowledge of Arabic, written or spoken, however slight, is much appreciated at such times.

Invitations to attend a Christian place of worship may be given, and especially an invitation to one's home is appreciated, and if accepted, it is worth while giving time and thought to make the guest feel welcome. We cannot have a better example than that of our Lord, who was ready to give the choicest truth to small groups, or even to a single person. Probably the best work for Moslems is done in personal talks in the atmosphere of true friendship.

On the general subject of Islam as a missionary problem, Dr. S. M. Zwemer recently wrote that there are three things which characterize it: [1]

"*First,* there has been an unaccountable *neglect* in carrying the Gospel to Moslem lands since the rise of Islam. Except for a few individuals, there were no missions to Moslems until the days of Henry Martyn. He may be called 'The Modern Pioneer,' having before his death translated the Gospel into three Moslem languages. Today there are whole sections of the Christian Church that have never attempted missions in Moslem lands, and the unoccupied fields throughout the world are largely Moslem areas or Moslem populations.

"A *second* outstanding feature in the problem is its alleged *difficulty.* This includes difficulty of approach and inaccessibility because of Moslem fanaticism and intolerance; also the difficulty of proclaiming the Gospel message, because of the character of the Moslem, and of the message. The Moslem has so much, that he feels no need of any further good news. A final difficulty is the difficulty of those who are almost persuaded, as they face the law of apostasy with its cruel provisions against converts.

"The *third* factor is the *paucity of definite results.* There have been converts from Islam all down the centuries and outstanding martyrs from the days of Raymund Lull; but there are still countries where missions have been carried on for forty years without any organized churches composed of Moslem converts. The total number of converts from Islam in North Africa is scarcely five hundred. On the other hand, in Java, the Dutch report over 72,000 Moslem converts, and in Persia there is today an indigenous church. The missionary problem of Islam is the problem of patience —the patience of prayer, the patience of love that will not let them go."

While it is true of China, as elsewhere, that there is paucity of definite results, yet we can gladly testify that Moslems in that country are singularly approachable today; there are many evidences of this from different parts of the country. Now is the time for Christians in China, by various means, to present the Gospel of Christ to the Moslems, and seek to win them to allegiance to Him. Medical work is especially appreciated, and much good is being done in the Borden Memorial Hospital at Lanchow, the capital of Kansu. This hospital, being specially in-

[1] *China's Millions,* Dec., 1938.

tended for Moslems, has many opportunities while healing the body, to lead many to find rest for the soul. Dr. D. V. Rees tells of Ma Pao-shan, who had been wealthy but was brought low through illness, and was admitted to the hospital.

"Day by day I passed his bed, but very little was said between us. One thing I noticed, and that was the great interest he took in the ward services. He drank in Mr. Tuan's preaching. Then I noted his eager reading of the Bible in common with other Moslem patients.

"One Sunday morning Ma Pao-shan was present. 'Will all those who believe and wish to follow their Lord in baptism, please stand,' was asked. Here was the supreme test, for baptism meant a public testimony in the Yellow River, with hundreds of onlookers, including Moslems, on the road above. Ma rose to his feet, and my heart danced for joy.

"Later his relatives arrived and attempted to poison him. For days he was out of his mind. Thank God, he slowly recovered, and when I left Lanchow he was going daily to the Moslem tea-shops, where he preached and disputed. What bravery!"

Another case was Ma Ahung, one of the best educated Moslems in Kansu.

"There was no need to talk to him about sin. He knew its ravages both in soul and body, His life was a tragedy. I believe his whole soul was crying out for God. 'How is Jesus the Son of God?' he asked me, as I sat upon his bed. I answered him from the Scriptures. 'Yes,' he replied, 'I admit it all, but is it necessary to believe that He *is* God?' We read through the first chapter of St. John's Gospel together, and I left him for the night after a season of prayer.

"The next night he asked me to talk with him. 'I have read right through St. John's Gospel, both in Arabic and Chinese,' he said. 'But, oh! those first few verses!' he added. 'Is it necessary for me to believe those?' He left the hospital with that question still unanswered to his own satisfaction. Pray for him, for one thing he lacketh." [2]

A young Moslem wife, after a serious operation, during convalescence became a bright Christian, and no home influences could move her. Returning to the hospital later, she pressed to be allowed to be baptized with others, but being too ill to go to the river, a simple baptismal ceremony was performed at her bedside, and she died happy.

[2] *China's Millions*, March 1937, "Medical Work among Moslems."

By various ways, individual Moslems have been converted, and some now occupy useful and important places in the Christian church. Bishop Ku Ho-lin, of Szechuan, born a Mohammedan, was influenced as a boy in a Christian school, and became the first ordained Chinese clergyman in the China Inland Mission district under Bishop Cassels. Elsewhere some who have been converted are now pastors and teachers. One who assisted me much in translating and preparing Christian literature was brought up as a Moslem. In news items from missionaries in various parts we have such sentences as "We have ten converted Moslems in our fellowship; four women and six men. One is the elder of the church here, and another is a deacon." "I have baptized three former Moslems the last two years. They are fine men, and should be shining lights among their own people." "The work at Chengchow was the most encouraging of all. Mr. Ma, the evangelist, is a converted Moslem."

The task before us is a stupendous one, and it might well be asked, "Who is sufficient for these things?" The answer must be, "Our sufficiency is of God." In this special field it is still true that the harvest is great and the laborers are few. Both missionaries and Chinese Christians have been so fully occupied with work for the needy Chinese in general that far too little has been done, or even attempted, for the Moslem population. Happily this is being more fully realized, and genuine concern is being felt, and fresh efforts are being undertaken. It is especially encouraging that many Chinese Christians are now thinking of, and praying and planning for, their Moslem neighbors. Bishop T. K. Shen writes,

"The gates of the Sian Mission compound open towards the Moslem Quarter of the city. I have been reminded many times that we have forgotten the Moslems. We have a fair number of their children in our school. But as none of us has any surplus energy to cultivate contacts with Moslems, we seem to take a defeatist attitude. We need someone who will take this up as his special work, learning Arabic and studying the Moslem religion while doing evangelistic work." [3]

[3] *Friends of Moslems*, Jan., 1937.

The Chinese church in some parts is taking hold of this problem. From the Northwest, from Shensi and from Honan news comes of the setting aside by the churches of groups of men to study how best to meet the Moslems. In Loyang, two men were given such a mission, to report back to the Church at the next annual synod. The Church in Sian prepared to do the work in that city, and opened a reading-room. In Soochow, Northern Kiangsu, a young member of the Maritime Customs stirs the hearts of the leaders of the large Presbyterian district to face the problem.

The China Inland Mission has done splendid pioneer work for many years in inland places, and by individual workers among Moslems. This Mission is still leading the field in this particular service, and the number of those actively engaged in it has increased most encouragingly in quite recent years. Some other Missions have also undertaken similar work and are nobly sharing in both quest and conquest in this hard field. Many more workers are needed, and in the large centres where several missions are at work, more attention should be given to the Moslems, perhaps by united efforts. Too often they are left out of the range of everyone's activities.

The Society of Friends of the Moslems in China has proved to be a valuable means of drawing together those who are specially interested in the evangelization of Moslems. After some preliminary years of experiment following visits to China of Dr. S. M. Zwemer, this Society was organized in 1927, and is now the centre of the movement indicated by its name. There are about three hundred fifty active members, representing forty-four missionary societies, as well as over a hundred other friends scattered throughout the world. A steadily growing number of members are English-speaking Chinese. Two magazines are published, one in English, the other in Chinese. All who are interested in the problem of evangelization of the Moslems of China should get in touch with this Society.

The Christian Church everywhere should be aroused to the urgent needs of the Moslems, and should respond more fully to the present-day opportunities. In China, the time is ripe for a forward movement. Those who can take an active share in it may well count it a privilege to give their best to this service. To support such efforts by prayer and intelligent interest may be the privilege of a much larger number scattered throughout the world.

The Late Isaac Mason.

Isaac Mason of China

Ever since the year 1917 the name of Isaac Mason has been closely connected with the literary side of the Christian approach to the Chinese Moslems. Having his heart and mind kindled by the visit of Dr. Samuel Zwemer in that year he dedicated his pen to the Christian cause along this specialized line. He went into the whole problem very thoroughly. He knew that to prepare the type of Christian literature most effective he must understand Mohammedan literature. Thus he built up the finest library of Chinese Islamic literature in the world. A catalogue of this was published in the North China Branch of the *Royal Asiatic Journal* for 1925. This library was subsequently bought by the New York Public Library.

He not only collected this set of books but mastered it sufficiently to learn the peculiar Islamic terms used in Chinese. A list of these has been published by this Society. Another by-product was the translation and publishing of the standard life of Mohammed in the English "Arabian Prophet." He rightly came to be the authority on Chinese Islam, its literature and history. At the time of his death he was preparing a new book on "Islam in New China," which would incorporate much of Broomhall's "Islam in China," but also have all the advance research of the past thirty years. This, we hope, will soon be published.

The work that Mr. Isaac Mason has done for China can never be forgotten. He spent the first 23 years of his missionary life in the Western Provinces, but, in 1915, the Friends' Mission, to which he belonged, released him for literary work in Shanghai in connection with the Christian Literature Society for China.

For ten years Mr. Mason worked hard in this important sphere, as the long list of publications that stand to his credit, both in Chinese and in English, well testify. One of his greatest interests was Christian Literature for Moslems, and he was practically in charge of that section of the work of the Christian Literature Society, contributing himself a number of books and tracts. C. L. P.

BOOK REVIEWS

The Mystical Philosophy of Muhyid Din Ibn al-'Arabi. A. E. Affifi, B. A., Ph. D. The Cambridge University Press, 1939. pp. 215, xx. 12/6.

This critical exposition of the pantheistic philosophy of the great Spanish mystic, Ibn al-'Arabī, by Dr. A. E. Affifi, Lecturer in Philosophy at the Egyptian University, Cairo, is a most interesting and valuable contribution to the literature of mysticism, and has its place also in the general history of thought in the Middle Ages.

Muḥyi al-Dīn Ibn al-'Arabī was born at Murcia, in Spain, in A.D. 1164, but at the age of thirty-eight went to the East and finally settled in Damascus, where he died in A.D. 1240. He was a prolific writer, his most famous works being the *Futūḥāt al-Makkiya* (Meccan Revelations) and the *Fuṣūṣ al-Ḥikam* (Bezels of Philosophy).

Dr. Affifi's book is divided into four chapters, dealing with Ibn al-'Arabī's metaphysical theory of Reality, his doctrine of the Logos, his epistemology, including his psychological and mystical doctrines and his religion. Ibn al-'Arabī holds that Absolute Being, which is inseparable from an Absolute Existent, is the ultimate source and ground of all existence and all that exists. It is to be viewed from two aspects, being called *al-Ḥaqq* (the Real—the Creator) when regarded as the Essence of all phenomena, and *al-Khalq* (appearance—the creature), when regarded as the phenomena manifesting that Essence. The One and the Many are therefore only two aspects of the One Reality, God, Who is both transcendent and immanent. He is the Unity behind the multiplicity and the Reality behind the appearance.

Creation, in Ibn al-'Arabī's view, is not bringing something into existence out of nothing, in time, for the universe, being the outward expression of the eternal, infinite and everlasting One, is itself eternal, infinite and everlasting. Ibn al-'Arabī replaces the ethical, personal God of Islam by a Principle, identical with the Universe, yet controlling and animating it. Ibn al-'Arabī's doctrine of God is therefore pantheistic and cannot be reconciled with that of orthodox Islam, though it is an extension of the Muslim doctrine of *Tawḥīd* (the acknowledgment of One God and the denial of all causes and intermediaries other than the One). Yet he finds a place in his teaching for the love and worship of God. "So on Him alone we depend," he writes, "our dependence on other things is in reality dependent on Him, for they are nothing but His appearance (p. 58)."

In Ibn al-'Arabī's teaching, the Logos, called sometimes the Perfect Man and sometimes the Spirit, is really the rational, life-

giving Principle immanent in the universe, considered as an aspect of the One Reality. It is the "First Epiphany" of God, and it is in the Word—the Perfect Man—that God knows Himself perfectly (p. 70), and in the Perfect Man alone are the Divine and the human united and perfectly manifested (pp. 70, 82).

Dr. Affifi devotes a chapter to the discussion of Ibn al-'Arabī's theory of knowledge, gained in, and through, mystical experience, and his view of the soul which undergoes such experience. Like other Islamic mystics, Ibn al-'Arabī distinguishes between *'ilm* (intellectual knowledge) and *ma'rifa* (direct, intuitive knowledge), the former belonging to the mind and the latter to the soul, and, as such, infinitely more important. It is the immediate perception of the Truth itself, of the realities of things as they really are, not as they are supposed to be by the intellect, and the Ṣūfīs called this *dhawq* (taste). This knowledge comes from the light of God, when, by the removal of the veils imposed by sin between the soul and God, the mystic is receptive of that light, and the "mirror" of the heart is able to reflect the divine mysteries. But in Ibn al-'Arabī's view, this esoteric knowledge is latent in the individual soul, which is itself a ray of the Divine Light.

In considering the ultimate aim of a pantheistic mysticism such as that of Ibn al-'Arabī, Dr. Affifi concludes that the mystical "union" for him means, not "becoming" one with God, for the mystic is essentially one with God, as everything else is, but the *realization* of an already existing union. As the "veils" (the hindrances imposed by this temporal world) are gradually removed, the mystic draws nearer to the Truth, and when all the veils have been lifted, then Reality is seen as it is, and the mystic has "arrived," that is, he has realized his essential unity with God. [1]

The final chapter deals with Ibn al-'Arabī's religious views, and includes a consideration of his ethics and aesthetics. As a pantheist, he was a universalist. He held that in all religions the Divine was working and was worshipped, though Islam was the most advantageous, and Ṣūfism represented its true philosophy. Since all things are manifestations of the Divine Reality, God may be worshipped in a star or an idol. Love is the basis of worship, for to worship is to love that which is worshipped. Love is a universal principle and the highest manifestation in which God is worshipped. So Ibn al-'Arabī writes, "My heart is receptive of every form: it is a pasture for gazelles (i.e., objects of love) and a convent for Christian monks, and a temple for idols, and the pilgrim's Ka'ba and the tables of the Jewish Law and the Qur'ān.—I follow the religion of Love; whatever way Love's camels take, that is my religion and my faith." [2] The ultimate aim of Ibn al-'Arabī's religion is that man should become God-like through realizing the best that is in him and comprehending his oneness with the Reality, which is the One and All. Its ethical aim is the recognition of the principle of Love as pervading and uniting the Whole, i.e., the recognition that God is Love.

Ibn al-'Arabī regards love as of three types, natural, spiritual

[1] Cf. I Cor. xiii:12, "For now we see through a glass, darkly, but then face to face; now I know in part, but then shall I know even as I am known."

[2] *Tarjumān al-Ashwāq, XI.* 13, 14, 15. Edited by Professor R. A. Nicholson. R. A. S., 1911.

and divine, and the latter is the source of all other kinds;[3] it is the eternal love of the One which led to the manifestation of Himself. The basis of love is Beauty, a doctrine taught before Ibn al-'Arabī by Ibn Sīnā (Avicenna) and Ghazālī. The Divine Beauty is the source of all other beauty, moral and intellectual as well as phenomenal. It is through beauty that the gnostic knows God and loves and worships Him. "Love is the cause of the self-manifestation of the One in the many, it is also the cause of the return of the many to the One. Love reaches its zenith in Man, the Perfect Man. Through Love, the Whole is bound together and through it the object of Creation is realized." So Dr. Affifi concludes his book.

This is the most complete survey yet published, of the later Ṣūfī philosophy, which appears also in the writings of the great Persian mystic Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī and others who wrote after Ibn al-'Arabī. Dr. Affifi regards Ibn al-'Arabī as a philosopher, rather than a mystic, but this may be because he was chiefly concerned with his philosophy; in the more mystical writings such as the *Tarjumān* and others, Ibn al-'Arabī's teaching shows itself as a true mysticism and he is, indeed, to be regarded as one of the greatest of Islamic mystics. Dr. Affifi's definition of mysticism as an "experience" and "an emotional state" appears too narrow, for mysticism includes a doctrine or belief about God, the human soul, and the relation between the two, on which is based its teaching of a way of life and the goal of the quest. Much of Ibn al-'Arabī's teaching, as given here, is found in the earlier Islamic mystics and especially he is indebted to his great predecessor Ghazālī, from whom much of the epistemology here given, is derived.

Ibn al-'Arabī's teaching is of great interest not only to students of Islam and mysticism, but considered in relation to Christianity, especially his wide tolerance, his belief in the Logos, who is Perfect God and Perfect Man, the doctrine of love as being the Essence of God, his teaching of compassion towards men and fellowship with them,—for love to man, as well as God, he holds, is the highest form of worship—and his sympathy with all who are seeking truth, under whatever imperfect forms. His teaching influenced Western as well as Eastern thought, and among those who admitted indebtedness to Ibn al-'Arabī was the Christian mystic Raymund Lull (1235-1315), the first missionary to Muslims, who sacrificed all that this world had to offer, wealth, a brilliant career, the fame to which his great natural gifts entitled him, and took as his motto "He that loves not, lives not, and he that lives by the Life cannot die."[4]

The book is finely produced by the Cambridge University Press, with a full index and a bibliography (which, however, does not in all cases give the edition or date of authorities quoted). Though some of it makes difficult reading, for it is not an easy subject, it should be read by all serious students of Islam.

London. MARGARET SMITH.

[3] Cf. John i:7, "Love is of God."

[4] After nine years of retirement and *language-study*, in preparation for his missionary work, Lull set out for North Africa, at the age of fifty-six, and after returning to Europe he went back at the age of seventy-nine, to win his martyr's crown, and to give the supreme proof of his love to God and his fellow-men.

Iqbal's Educational Philosophy. By K. G. Saiyidain, B.A., M.Ed. (Leeds). Arafat Publications. Model Town, Lahore, 1938. pp. 202. R. 2-8.

The author of this volume formerly was Principal of the Training College at the Muslim University, Aligarh, and is now Director of Education, Jammu and Kashmir State. From the words of his dedication and from the book itself, it is evident that Mr. Saiyidain is an enthusiastic pupil and admirer of the late Sir Muhammad Iqbal. He dedicates this book to the deeply loved and revered memory of Iqbal, "great poet, great philosopher, great educationist, great humanist and great Muslim." The synopsis of the book seems to have been conceived in consultation with Iqbal himself. This indicates, at any rate, that Iqbal would, if he still lived, have approved of this exposition of his philosophical and educational conceptions.

After an Introduction, in which the author rightly extols Iqbal's great gifts—he is the greatest and most influential poet among the Muslims of India, and achieved the rare ability of writing great poetry in two languages, Urdu and Persian—he describes the educational content of Iqbal's philosophy, under the heading of "The education of individuality." The different aspects of Iqbal's ideas as to this conception he explains in short chapters about Iqbal's views on the concept of individuality, the growth of individuality, the dualism of the real and the ideal, the individual and the community, creative evolution, the revolt against intellectualism and the conception of good character. After this follows a second and shorter section on "education and the social order of Islam," as it may be derived from Iqbal's ideas about Islam as a social entity in process of necessary evolution and revolution.

One can evaluate such a production as this from various points of view, and according to their differences one's appreciation will be different. Taken as a general outline of Iqbal's thinking, it is well done and trustworthy. The tone of admiration that runs through it does not detract from its trustworthiness. Therefore, it is also, to every student of modern Islam, a valuable document on the trend of thinking which has invaded the mind of many modern-educated Muslims, who virtually live by European concepts and ideals, but still want to be taken as Muslims who remain steadfastly loyal to their community. The book, as so many other productions, clearly demonstrates the interesting fact that in the present time thorough secularism and strong attachment to the Islamic community live peacefully together in many minds, inconsistent and strange as it may be.

When we turn to the proper subject of the book, i.e., Iqbal's educational philosophy, it is, in the opinion of the reviewer, somewhat of an over-statement. Surely, Iqbal's was a philosophical mind; he has ideas on education, but we cannot speak of his educational philosophy. The most we can maintain is that his ideas, which are moreover expressed to the greatest extent in a poetical way and not by way of reasoning, contain some directives for one's conception of education and its problems. The core of Iqbal's philosophy is to proclaim self-assertive, creative individuality. As Iqbal himself held the—according to the reviewer's opinion—wrong

view that this is the truest expression of the Muslim and Koranic conception of man, the author, of course, holds the same view. Iqbal was a brilliant man and now and then even a brilliant thinker. Nevertheless, he is still more a confused thinker, who mixes together modern humanism, Nietzschian self-assertion which is the denial of all true humanism and solidarity with the cultural heritage and the social system of Islam, which in many respects militates against the most cherished ideals of modern humanism. Viewed from this standpoint, Mr. Saiyidain's enthusiastic book is too uncritical. Therefore he does not discuss at all such important questions as e.g., how one can really become an independent courageous personality and at the same time accept the cultural heritage and social system of the "environment" as an authoritative form of life. In other words, Mr. Saiyidain's educational derivations from Iqbal's philosophical flights suffer from the same defect as Iqbal's thinking. Principles and life-attitudes, which in the reality of life collide and militate against each other, are too easily *thought* together as peaceful and cooperating companions.

Mr. Saiyidain presents his case in a pleasant style. The publisher has provided his production with a not less pleasant make-up.

Leiden, Netherlands. H. KRAEMER.

Die Beduinen: Unter Mitbearbeitung von Erich Bräunlich und Werner Caskel. By Max Freiherr von Oppenheim. Band I, Die Beduinenstämme in Mesopotamien und Syrien. Leipzig. Otto Harrassowitz, 1939. pp. 387+20 photographic plates and two large maps. RM. 24.

This great work, to be completed in five quarto volumes, deals scientifically and exhaustively with the Nomad tribes of Central and Northern Arabia. The author states in his preface that it represents forty years of unremitting study, travel and personal contact with leading sheikhs of Arabia, Mesopotamia and Egypt. The titles of the five volumes are as follows:

Band I: Die Beduinenstämme in Mesopotamien und Syrien.
Band II: Die Beduinenstämme in Palästina, Transjordanien, Sinai, Ḥedjāz.
Band III: Die Beduinenstämme in Arabien, 'Irāḳ, Persien (Stromgebiet des Schaṭṭ el 'Arab und des Kārūn).
Band IV: Nicht-vollblütige Beduinen, nicht-arabische Stämme, die ehemaligen Ḥamīdīje-Regimenter. Literaturverzeichnis. Register.
Band V: Kultur und Leben der Beduinen (mit eigenem Register).

The last volume, therefore, will prove of greatest interest to the general reader, and we express the hope that it may supplement what the world knows already from the books of Burckhardt, Doughty and others in the detailed picture of the daily life of the Arab tribes. The present volume, after a brief introduction and some account of the author's travels, and investigations, presents in great detail the genealogy, numbers, sheikhs and characteristics of the following tribes, together with their summer and winter camping-grounds: 'Aneze, Schammar, Ṭai, Djuhēsch, Zubēd, Al bū Scha'bān, 'Ogēdāt, Djēs, Al bū 'Assāf, 'Adwān, Baggāra, Ḥarb, Sche-

rābīn, Nu'ēm, Ḥadīdīn. (All these are in Irāq.) Then follows the second part of the book, giving an account of the tribes in Syria: Henādī, Ḥadīdīn, Mawālī, Benī Chāled, Fewā'era, Nu'ēm, 'Amūr, 'Arab el Ledjāh (El Selūt), 'Arab el Djebel, 'Arab el Ṣafāh, Faḍl (Syrische Ṭai), Sardīje.

The author is best known from his great work published in 1893, (*Vom Mittelmeer zum Persischen Golf,* 2 vols.) describing his journeys from the Mediterranean to the Persian Gulf. After the World War, during which he also had special opportunities for study and investigation, he continued to lead expeditions in Mesopotamia and North Arabia. The tribes of South Arabia, namely, Yemen, Hadramaut and Oman, are not included in this encyclopedic work. In addition to the text we have twenty photographic plates and two large-scale maps. All tribal names and geographical references are given in Arabic as well as in German transliteration.

New York City. S. M. Zwemer.

White Settlers in the Tropics. By A. Grenfell Price. American Geographical Society, New York. pp. 311. $4.00.

This special publication No. 23 is of interest to all missionaries in the tropics and would have been of greater value if its very elaborate data had included the experience of the hundreds of medical missionaries concerned with this very problem. The author deals first with the nature and history of the problem of white settlement in the Tropics, that is, those vast areas of the globe where the annual isotherm is 70° or more. The scientific invasion of the tropics has been facilitated by transport and medical-sanitary science so that the problem is not what it was a century ago. The second part of the book deals with regional studies—Florida, Queensland, the West Indies, Tropical Australia, Africa and South America. In the third part the author treats such practical questions as racial-intermarriage, acclimatization, diet, clothing, housing, exercise, etc. This section is invaluable for all who reside in the tropics, as it exposes many old fallacies. There are appendices by Robert S. Stone, giving the results of physiological research in relation to climate and humidity.

New York City. S. M. Zwemer.

The Rise and Fall of Muhammad Bin Tughluq. By Agha Mahdi Husain, Ph.D. (London), Lecturer in History and Politics, Agra College. London, Luzac & Co., 1938. pp. xvi, 274. 15 shillings.

One of the interesting and hopeful signs in modern India is the attention given by Indian scholars to making critical studies of Indian history. The work of western scholars, while deeply appreciated, obviously could not but bear some marks of bias. The Indian scholar has certain qualifications that the western scholar does not possess, and can hardly be expected to acquire. It is, therefore, a matter of real value for Indian history that Indian scholars are at work restating and reinterpreting the historical narrative of India.

Dr. Mahdi Husain of Agra College himself says, "I am convinced

that no greater service can be rendered to Indian historical research than the rewriting of the history of medieval India with a view to removing the misunderstandings that are, I fear, in spite of the efforts of modern scholars, still being perpetuated. It is believed, for example, that the lot of the Hindus under Muslim rule was that of 'hewers of wood and drawers of water' to their Muslim masters, inasmuch as Muslim rulers were in general under the influence of Muslim jurists, who regarded the humiliation of the Hindus as a religious obligation. It is with the endeavour to combat such arguments and do away with beliefs of this kind that I venture to offer to the public the present work . . . . "

The subject chosen by Dr. Mahdi Husain for study is one of the most important of the Muslim rulers of India. Next to the Moghuls, the Tughluq dynasty built up the largest empire in India, covering almost the entire country. Muhammad bin Tughluq was an intelligent and well-educated man for his day, and had both original and progressive ideas of government. The story of his rise to power, his ambitious projects, the relations with his Hindu subjects, the quarrels with his *'ulama*, his ruthless depopulation of Delhi and the transfer of the capital and its population to Doegir (Daulatabad) in the Deccan, and causes leading up to his failure, and untimely death in 1351 A.D., is well told. But there is much uninteresting detail, useful only to the technical historical research worker, which the ordinary reader will find wearisome, and which might well have been curtailed.

The book is beautifully printed, remarkably free from typographical errors, and gives evidence of faithful and painstaking research among the ordinary as well as the elusive original sources. There are two useful maps, and five full-page illustrations, as well as a comprehensive index.

Budaun, India. MURRAY T. TITUS.

Onderzoek Naar de Paradijsvoorstelling bij de Oude Semietische Volken. By Dr. Th. C. Vriezen. Wageninben. H. Veenman and Zonen, 1937. pp. 252.

As its title indicates, this book is interesting for the study of Semitic origins and Biblical relations with Babylonia. For students of Islam it is valuable for Semitic background, but is not directly concerned with Mohammedanism. The book is written in Dutch, but at the end of the volume there is in German a *Zusammenfassung,* which is very convenient for readers who are not acquainted with the author's native language.

Although *paradise* in Persian originally meant a park, it was applied to the first home of man upon earth. From the rendering *paradise* (Gen. 2:8) in the Septuagint and the Vulgate, the word has come into English and finally developed into the sense of the heavenly dwelling of the blessed (Luke 23:43; II Cor. 12:4; Rev. 2:7).

The author considers the material found in Sumerian, Babylonian, Assyrian, and Phoenician records in connection with the Old Testament passages. Copious bibliography is cited in the foot-

notes and gives evidence that a thorough study of the subject has been made. In the Old Testament sense of the word there is no paradise in the extant non-Biblical sources. In the conclusion, the author maintains that in order to come to definite results in this study, one must limit the investigation to one theme: *Wohnung des ersten Menschen beim Lebensbaum.*

In his study, Vriezen found four uses of the word in a religious sense: (a) the abode of the gods; (b) the island of the blessed; (c) the happy dwelling places of the dead, either on earth or in heaven; (d) the terrestrial paradise in primitive times. He also notes two applications of the word in a secular meaning: (a) the golden age; (b) fool's paradise or Utopia. The paradise of Genesis cannot be identified with the island of the blessed in the old Semitic literature. The conception of paradise as heavenly, other-worldly, a place of salvation, is a development found only in later Judaism, Christianity, and Islam.

Sumerian *Edinu* is supposed to have come into Hebrew through Babylon, and means *'t vrije veld* (free field, steppe, prairie), but Vriezen prefers to derive it from Phoenician *'eden* (delight). The word occurs in the Ras Shamra literature in this sense. Although we have illustrations in Babylonian art of what is supposed to be the tree of life, the literature, according to Vriezen, does not refer to it; there is, however, a plant of life besides the food of life and of death. Although there are in Sumerian, Babylonian, and Assyrian literature references to the abode of the gods and the island of the blessed, no human paradise is found there in the Old Testament sense of the word. In this non-Biblical literature there is no reference to the first human pair and no counterpart to the tree of knowledge of good and evil. The word *Cherubim*, however, has a Babylonian connection. The etymological researches to connect Eden, Adam, and Eve with Sumerian words and names lead to negative results. One gains the impression from reading this book that the Babylonian influence upon Genesis and the Old Testament in general has been overrated.

Princeton, N. J. HENRY S. GEHMAN.

Social Service in India. An Introduction to Some Social and Economic Problems of the Indian People. Written by Six Contributors. Edited by Sir Edward Blunt, K.C.I.E., O.B.E., I.C.S. (Ret'd.). pp. xxiii plus 447 plus Map. His Majesty's Stationery Office, London, 1938. 10s.6d.

This book is a very interesting and well-written study of social and economic conditions in India and the measures that are being taken to ameliorate these conditions, especially by government agencies. On the basis of the experience gained suggestions are also made of the probable directions in which future improvements are likely.

It is written primarily for Indian Civil Servants and others who are recruited in the British Isles for administrative service in India. Chapters I and II which deal with The Environment and Distribution of the Indian People and the Structure of the Indian People are by Sir Edward Blunt, the Editor. Chapter III on The Rural Community is by C. G. Chenevix-Trench. Chapters IV and

V on Agriculture are by R. G. Allan, VI and VII on Medicine and Public Health by Major-General Sir John W. D. Megaw, VIII on Education by Sir George Anderson, IX on Industrial Labor by Sir Frank Noyce and X, XI, and XII on Cooperation, Local Government, and Voluntary Effort, respectively, by C. F. Strickland. Every one of the contributors is qualified by lengthy and exceptional experience as a British administrator in India to write authoritatively of his field. Three of the contributors are retired Indian Civil Servants, the others are retired administrators who have served in the Indian Agricultural, Medical and Educational Services, respectively.

Each contributor writes from his own point of view: hence it is to be expected that there may be differences in emphasis. Surgeon General Megaw, from the standpoint of a medical man and with the background of a wide experience covering almost every province in India, seems more disturbed about the evils of over-population than the Editor. There is agreement, however, that unless India faces the problem of population-control seriously, there can be no permanent improvement of social conditions.

The book, though giving a large place, as it naturally would be expected to do, to the social system in India that is known as the "caste" system, and to indications that the rigidity of that system seems to be becoming modified, makes no mention of the great Untouchables Movement under the leadership of Dr. Ambedkar. Surely, this is the most hopeful development of recent years that points to the possible breaking of the caste system. The Editor seems to support the view that "caste and religion are not inseparably connected" (p. 54). In the last chapter Strickland, writing about Hindus, speaks of the intimate interconnection of their social and religious ideas (p. 381). Ambedkar and his followers would contend that these are so inseparable that the social revolution for which they are striving can be won only by entirely leaving the Hindu fold. The analysis of Caste and caste taboos in Chapter II is one of the best parts of the book, and ought to be read by everyone who seeks to understand the Hindu social system.

In the closing sentences of the book (p. 398) administrative officials are advised, "while searching for unofficial social workers," not to forget the missionaries, English and Indian. "They see social conditions from an angle at which he (the administrator) can never stand, some of them enjoy the confidence of the people more than the servants of government, and they are not solely engaged in proselytization." This is the only recognition in the book that is given to the missionary enterprise in general or its contribution to the work of social uplift in India. Particular pieces of work, however, such as Moga in the field of elementary education and teacher-training, and Martandam in rural uplift, are given unstinted praise, and there is evident throughout the book the willingness to recognize meritorious service, whatever be the agency that engages in it.

One is impressed with the amount and the extent of the work that the Government has undertaken in the field of social service. This book, though it was not written for that purpose, becomes an

answer to the question sometimes raised, "What is Government doing about it?" A second impression is that of the tremendous need for this service in India. Dr. Mott speaks of India as one of "the great areas of human need today." This book faces that fact, and faces it hopefully. It ought to be required reading for every one who hopes to serve in India; the reading of it ought to serve to help to bring together into united effort all agencies that seek the social welfare of India's masses.

References in the book to Mohammedans in India are very few, and add very little to our knowledge of the Moslem population. With regard to caste among them, we read, "though caste is contrary to the Mohammedan religion, yet it does exist in a modified form amongst all the converts in the lower strata of the community."

The book is beautifully produced, and contains many excellent illustrations and diagrams, and a very good exhaustive Index, which makes reference to any subject in the book easy.

Princeton, N. J. JOHN D. MUYSKENS.

Yesterday in Persia and Kurdistan. By Frederick G. Coan. Foreword by Robert E. Speer. Saunders Studio Press, Claremont, California, 1939. pp. 284. $2.50.

Here is a fascinating account of old Persia, a loving tribute also to Dr. Coan's distinguished colleagues and his wife, "the companion of over fifty years who by devotion and patience made possible the missionary work of which this book is the record" and to whom it is dedicated. It is a very human document from his boyhood days in 1851 at Urumia as the son of pioneer missionaries, his journeys and labors and sufferings, until his retirement after the World War whose aftermath sealed the tragic story of the Nestorian church. There is no more heroic tale in modern missions than that unfolded in these pages. "There is no adventure," he writes, "in the world to be compared to that of the missionary adventure, no life that is fuller of interest and thrills, none that calls for greater variety of talents and abilities. No one is happier than the missionary, and there is nothing that brings greater development of every grace and gift than the missionary life. His field is so vast, the needs are so great, and the opportunities so unlimited that they call for the exercise of his highest and best powers."

Forty years of hardship have not diminished the zeal of this warrior who preached peace among wild mountaineers and people who were hostile to the message. Between the lines we may read of the problems that face pioneer work and how they were solved. Problems of housing, of travel, of the education of missionary children, of the right attitude to governments and how to act when there is no government. Here there are differences of opinion: "It is a disputed question which each man has to answer for himself as to whether a missionary is justified in carrying arms. All I can say is that four times to my certain knowledge possession of a revolver has saved me from being robbed or killed, though fortunately I have never had to use it and always carried it out of sight." This question is raised by the narrative of narrow escapes and clever out-witting of Kurdish robbers—yet one is not altogether

convinced. But read the account of the seven months' tour in 1895, or of the thirty-one days with a pilgrim caravan, before you pass judgment. And then there is the thrilling story of how "Old Glory" was raised over the Station Compound at Urumia and saved thirty thousand refugees from massacre. Excellent photographs and good cover-maps add to the value of this narrative, which deserves and will doubtless find many readers.

New York City S. M. Zwemer.

Grammaire de l'Arabe Classique. Par M. Gaudefroy-Demombynes et R. Blachère. Paris, G. P. Maisonneuve, 1937. pp. 514. fr. 100.

A quarter of a century ago Maurice Gaudefroy-Demombynes brought out his useful manual of Moroccan Arabic. Now, in the ripeness of his late seventies, the doyen of French Arabists offers the fruits of his knowledge of classical Arabic in this grammar based on his lectures for 27 years at the Ecole des Langues Orientales and prepared in collaboration with a colleague at that school.

Wright's grammatical scheme, which goes back via Caspari to the great Silvestre de Sacy, has been considerably modified by the researches of Bergsträsser, Marcel Cohen, Reckendorf, William Marçais, the present authors, and others. Departures from Wright's method may be exemplified by the treatment of the verb under two aspects (*accompli* and *inaccompli*) rather than two tenses (perfect and imperfect), a distinction that should save the beginner much perplexity. On the other hand, radical breaks with tradition are avoided if little is to be gained, e.g.,: "It is convenient to accept, *sans illusions*, the dominance of the triliteral verbal root that the Arab grammarians have imposed on their theoretical books and their dictionaries."

Although lack of exercises impairs the usefulness of this grammar as a main text for beginners, its admirable plan and clear expositions make it a valuable companion. The section on Syntax is replete with quotations in columns. Improving on Wright, the authors cite the sources of their examples; a gratifying number are from Ibn Khaldūn's *Prolegomena.*

Two weaknesses mar the general excellence. The first is the large number of mistakes by the authors and the typesetters, giving the appearance of premature printing. The list of errata runs to 6 pp. and adds further slips: e.g., the correct *thumma* on p. 208 is changed to *thamma,* when the incorrect form is the *tamma* of the next line. The second weakness lies in the inadequacy of the indices. One is grieved to find only three entries under *jīm* in the index of Arabic words. However, these weaknesses do not destroy the worth of the body of the book. It may be recommended as an up-to-date and well-executed grammar retailing at a price to suit a student's purse.

University of California. George Rentz.

A Modern Turkish Grammar. By W. Irving Crowley. Pangloss Publications, Harrogate, Tennessee. pp. 136. $1.50.

In his preface, Professor Crowley states that this is the first Turkish Grammar conceived along conventional lines to be pub-

lished in the United States. As such it is worthy of attention and represents an earnest attempt to fit Turkish grammatical constructions into the usual grammatical forms. Your reviewer, however, could not help feeling that this very approach creates certain limitations for the work. To his mind, it has resulted in some confusion, especially in some of the verb forms. This is particularly noticeable in the confusion of the verb "to become" with the incomplete verb "to be," and inclusion in the optative mood of forms most strictly regarded as a potential mood.

It would seem also that less crowding of the illustrative forms and also more examples of some of the more difficult parts would make it easier for the pupil. The book unfortunately suffers from many mistakes in type as well as in meaning and structure. The vocabulary in the back would seem to be valuable for a good working use of the language. A teacher with sound practical knowledge of Turkish could use it to advantage.

Hartford, Conn. EDWARD T. PERRY.

A Maltese-Arabic Word-List. By C. L. Dessoulavy. London, Luzac & Co., 1938. pp. 146. 6sh.

This book has value for one who is interested in the Maltese development of Arabic and Arabic semantics in general. The work, however, is difficult to use, since it is an autographed manuscript; the lines are close together, the page is solid, and the vocabulary does not by contrast stand out from the rest of the page. In preparing books, the eyesight of scholars should be considered. It would have been well if the lexicographer had used the typewriter for the Roman letters and filled in the Arabic with the pen. In that way the work would have been greatly improved. An attractive page in a dictionary adds a great deal to the joy of studying a foreign language.

HENRY S. GEHMAN.

Daughter of the Euphrates. By Elizabeth Caraman, in collaboration with William Lytton Payne. Harper and Brothers, 1939.

Many stories stranger than fiction are packed away in the lives of those Armenians who have survived the inferno of the World War and its aftermath in Turkey. "Daughter of the Euphrates" is one of them unpacked and put in print.

The principal characters of the story are the members of the author's family: father, a man of puritan faith and rigid discipline, leading citizen of the village; mother, a woman of prayer and overflowing kindness, both of whom are educated and both brutally murdered for refusing to give up Christ in favor of Mohammed; two daughters, the elder of whom, the author, is only thirteen at the close of the story.

Besides being a valuable record of local life, customs and beliefs in the section of the country from which the author comes, it is a living, historical account of heart-moving experiences disclosing the noble and ignoble sides of human nature in a rapid sequence of

happenings during the Turkish atrocities, of which, from a family clan of forty-two, the author and her younger sister are the only survivors. Elizabeth Caraman's adventures are not unlike those of Orphan Annie, and like her she manages her own escape. The story reaches its dramatic climax when she is seen in a hospital tending a patient whom she recognizes as the murderer of her father.

There are sidelights on the work of the missionaries and the practices of the Mohammedan religion. As a significant contribution of the missionaries, the author cites with gratitude the schools and the hospitals, but laments the schism and party spirit engendered by conversions from one branch of the Christian Church to another. Alongside the Turks who are bent upon rape and massacre, she finds followers of Mohammed who look with horror upon the barbarisms of their own people.

Dr. Harry Emerson Fosdick in his introduction to the book remarks, "They (events) would be to me incredible did I not know the one who experienced them and now has written them down." The writing-down is without dramatization or exaggeration, without long-drawn or embellished descriptions characteristic of fiction literature. Yet one reads it which as much fascination and emotion as any work produced from imagination.

YERVANT H. HADIDIAN.

The Christian College and the Christian Community. A Report based on recent Research Studies by certain Christian Colleges in India. Compiled by Rajah B. Manikam. Madras, Diocesan Press, 1938. pp. 144.

This is an introductory report on fifteen studies by colleges and one independent survey of the Economic and Social Environment of the Christian Church in representative areas of India, ably coordinated by Dr. Manikam.

The wealth of well edited information will be useful in studying the way to betterment of the condition of the Indian Christian and will therefore be of interest to all who have at heart the need and the way to progress of the great Christian missionary enterprise among India's millions.

K. L. ARMSTRONG.

Hedwig von Hahn: Her Life and Work. By Margarete Unruh. Verlag der Evangelischen Muhammedaner-Mission, Wiesbaden, 1939. pp. 71. RM. 70.

Missionaries in Egypt and the Near East will remember Miss von Hahn as one of the true pioneers of the German Mission in the Upper Nile district. This little book is a tribute to her life and activities. From her earliest youth she gave herself whole-heartedly to Christian service and spent a considerable time in the new Mission at Aswan. When she retired from the field, she became the mother to a number of workers who were trained at the Mission House at Wiesbaden. The booklet is illustrated by six beautiful photographs.

S. M. ZWEMER.

CURRENT TOPICS

Educational Developments in Iran

The Government of Iran (the ancient Persia) recently announced that it has now reached the stage of development where it desires to take over all the educational work for its youth. This is a normal manifestation of a growing national consciousness and represents the logical culmination of processes which have been operating in that country for some years. Since the present Shah came into power, Iran has made great forward strides politically, industrially, and intellectually. Among other things, the country has strongly stressed the importance of education for girls as well as for boys. Primary education was nationalized by the Government in 1927. Since that time the primary schools have greatly increased in number; a university, with a number of professional schools, has been organized in the city of Teheran. Many have realized that the time might come when the Government would wish to take over, also, those secondary schools which have been run by foreigners. Few would have predicted that the demand would come so soon.

Five of the schools affected and two colleges were organized and have been supported by the Presbyterian Mission. The Government wishes to take over the properties developed in connection with all the foreign schools and has offered to compensate the Board of Foreign Missions for its properties. It also desires the continued help of some of the missionary educationalists, that the transfer may be effected without disorder and as smoothly as possible.

While none can dispute the right of a government to assume responsibility for education, many will regret it if the Iranian Government takes over a phase of mission work which has been so useful in the upbuilding of Iran, and so effective in bringing to many a knowledge of Christ. It will, however, release for other types of service that part of the appropriations of the Mission which has been devoted to the educational work and the missionaries who have been engaged in it. The net result may be no less valuable to the nation as a manifestation of the Christian spirit of love and helpfulness and no less effective from an evangelistic point of view.

Roman Catholic Interest in North Africa

We learn from *The Commonweal,* a leading Roman Catholic weekly, that there is new interest in missions to Moslems, due to historic appreciation of the past.

A Eucharistic Congress in Algiers has been drawing the atten-

tion of French Catholics to African Christianity, a subject which is particularly close to the hearts of all Frenchmen, even those who are not especially faithful in their religious practise. For Africa in the last two generations has produced two French Catholics universally esteemed in their own country: Ernest Psichari and Charles de Foucauld. The latter is so esteemed that there is an active process for his canonization under way. Both men wrote with distinction; both were freethinkers converted in the desert; both were army officers; and both epitomize the French pattern of soldier-becoming-mystic, of which Saint Louis is the great prototype.

Charles de Foucauld eventually became a priest and a missionary in the land which brought him the Faith, the land of burning sun and thirst and human misery. There has just been opened at the clerical sanatorium at Thorenc, near Grasse, France, an extensive exhibition of *Foucauldiana*—the figure of the Sacred Heart designed by Father de Foucauld himself for use behind the high altar of his chapel at Beni-Abbes, two other paintings and two banners also the work of this versatile man, his breviary, with its inscription: "Always live today as though you will die a martyr tomorrow."

Interest in these two figures, both so intimately associated with the North African mission, is beginning in the United States. Early publication is announced of an interpretative study of Ernest Psichari by an American, Wallace Fowlie. And the eucharistic congress at Algiers has given occasion for a leading article in *Temps Présent* by Joseph Folliet, on "Christian Africa." He points out what is often forgotten—that Africa is itself the seat of a historic Christianity. It is a region which produced martyrs and saints and doctors. We are likely to forget that Tertullian was an African, and Saint Augustine also; despite Mohammedan conquest, Christianity did not completely die out in North Africa; some of the popular superstitions of our own day are the same as those which so aroused the anger of Saint Augustine nearly sixteen centuries ago.

Birth Control to Give Egypt Strong Sons

(Summary of an Address given in Ewart Hall, American University by Madame Huda Charaoui, leading Egyptian feminist.)

It seems strange to talk of limiting offspring at a time when some nations are endeavoring to increase population for military reasons, and when strong nations are attacking weak ones. It has been said the present situation in Europe is due to pressure of over-population, but at the same time we see the large countries, owners of colonies, attacking others and coveting their territories.

All of us know that the idea of birth control is very old, older than Islam. The people of Sparta made a practice of disposing of weaklings. In the 19th century the theory of Malthus was brought forward because of the fear of over-population. Most of the nations of the world practise limitation of offspring. When the idea reached our land and was accepted by some, religious people agreed to it on the condition that reasonable methods be used to prevent conception and permitted resort to early abortion if there was danger to the life or health of the mother. All medical men

agree to this though they say that the methods in use to prevent conception or cause abortion are harmful and not dependable. Social workers differ in their evaluation of the usefulness or the harm of putting this plan into operation, each producing proofs and statistics for his own position. As for the politicians, they are definitely against it. They say Egypt is an agricultural country and will always need laborers.

My belief is that abortion and other medical means of birth control are not only criminal but subversive of character in the mothers themselves. If I oppose birth control on the basis that in our agricultural country we do not need to stop the growth of the population, at the same time I am inclined to the idea of using some measure of control for reasons of health and character, if it is possible to attain it by means which bring about social improvement and better health for parents and children. The first great aim for all is to increase the number of *good* parents. We need a strong race, strong in nature, not numbers. We must improve the health of villagers and the poor in the cities, for pregnant women by opening special clinics in the districts; teach mothers how to care for their children's health; provide pure drinking water and better housing; bathing places for the hot weather; soap at half price with the government paying the difference; better medical attention and hygiene classes in the compulsory schools. A doctor should be also an inspector of health. Street children should have orphanages provided for them. So living conditions will be improved and descendants will be properly spaced without harm to the mother or loss of numbers to the nation.

We must remove from birth control the harm which strikes at the mother during pregnancy and at birth. It is also our duty to prevent the chronically diseased from marriage and from parenthood—such people as those with mental disease and addicts to liquor and drugs—even before we conduct research into methods of necessary treatment.

I close with thanks to the advocates of birth control for what they have done for their country and I summon them to the task of improving the standard of living and health and especially I ask of the women that they guard well the children who will be the soldiers of the future.

Muslim Women's College Uniform

The slogan of "no cinema, no 'sari' and no lip-stick" for the students of the Islamia College for Women, Lahore, received a definite form when the Managing Committee of the Anjuman-i-Himayat-i-Islam, Lahore, decided at its meeting on July 26, to enforce a compulsory uniform for all, consisting of "salwar" and "kamiz" made of white country cotton with a light green "dopatta" and brown shoes.

It was further decided that the Muslim ladies on the staff of the College should discard "sari" and put on a plain "salwar," "kamiz" and "dopatta." Miss V. Thakardass (the first Panjabi woman to get a tripos in mathematics from Cambridge), who has been appointed

Principal of the College, will however be an exception to this general rule. The letter of appointment sent to her by the Managing Committee expects her to promote with sincerity and devotion the ideals of Catholic Islamic Culture among her students.

—*The Light,* Lahore.

Call of the Northwest Frontier of India

Lying along the Northwest Frontier of India is the extended line of Church (of England) Missionary Society outposts from Quetta to Peshawar and Srinagar, several of them organized and equipped on such a scale as to be veritable Mission bases. North again is the centre of the Danish Mission at Mardan, and stations of the Central Asian Mission in Mardan, Muslim Baltistan and Kargil in Kashmir state on the frontier of Buddhist lands, also the work of the Moravians on the borders of Tibet. This chain of outposts looks forward over a historic region where countries and nations lie spread out for more than a thousand miles north, and for three thousand miles from west to east, from Meshed, the last town on the Frontier of Iran (Persia) to Suchow, the first town within the wall of China. The great historic towns of Samarkand and Bokhara, Tashkent and Khokand in Soviet territory, Kabul and Balkh, Herat and Kandahar in Afghanistan, Hami and Khotan in Sinkiang, Lhasa, Shigatse, Gangtok and Jyekundo in Tibet are all still without missionaries.

For all difficult situations either on or across the Frontier, Government sends specially selected officers. While for nearly forty years there have been European officers, civil, political and military, and garrisons of troops, located even 200 miles beyond the Indian Frontier, and there has been besides a continuous flow of merchandise from India into the same regions, accompanied by traders who buy and sell their wares, yet all this time the missionary has been successfully shut out.

Men for such trans-Frontier posts would have to be fully qualified doctors, otherwise an occasion would immediately arise for the authorities to object to their treating the sick when they did not hold a recognized medical diploma. Any medical work now done beyond the Frontier starts with the great advantage of the reputation already gained for Medical Missionary skill by the splendid work of such men on the Northwest Frontier as the late Dr. Pennell at Bannu, Dr. Arthur Lankester at Peshawar, Dr. Holland at Quetta, the Drs. Neve at Srinagar, etc., whose fame has traveled far into the unknown regions beyond.

—*People and Realms* by Col. G. Wingate.

The Moslem Press in China

Mr. P. A. Contento of Kunming, Yunnan, writes in *China's Millions* regarding present-day activity of Islam in Yunnan. New schools are being opened in many districts. Especially he notes the enterprise of the press:

"Scores of monthly and weekly periodicals have come into existence in the last few years, and they leave no stone unturned to

present Islam to young minds in the most eloquent terms possible. They even stoop to using Christian phraseology and applying it to Mohammed! I have one before me as I write, and one would imagine the articles were about *Christ* were it not for the fact that 'holy Mohammed, the last and greatest prophet,' is the recurring phrase throughout.

"Several new biographies of Mohammed have appeared lately—utterly different from older biographies. Here he is a kind reformer and uplifter of mankind; not the *former* stern warrior with the sword in his hand, holding it over the head of his victim who was crying for mercy. Oh yes, they still make him the great conqueror, but now as a great hero—not a conquering general! Indeed, some Biblical New Testament terms are occasionally worked in to describe Mohammed.

"The Moslem presses are turning out miles of apologetic material—all of course anti-Christian. They firmly believe that Islam and Christianity will some day fight for mastery and they are fortifying their positions for the final overthrow of Christianity. We may smile at this, but the arguments they use against Christianity are mainly culled from rationalistic (modernistic too) writings from the West. Young Islam is beginning to think these arguments are conclusive against Christianity!"

Hindu Tactics to Stop Propagation of Islam

Under this title S. M. Fossil writes in the weekly *Light* (Lahore), at some length. Here are two paragraphs:

"For some time past Hindu leaders have been dreaming of making India exclusively Hindu. Dr. Moonje is a rabid Mahasabhite whose blunt utterances give one an inkling into the working of the Hindu mind. Not long ago he let himself go thus: 'Hindustan should be Hindustan—the land of Hindus. It cannot be Islamistan or Christianistan—and Muslims and Christians have no place in Hindustan. Muslims should be driven away from India even as the Moors were driven away from Spain.'

"Of late there has been an enormous output of anti-Muslim literature by Hindus, particularly Aryasamajists. The ball was set in motion by Dyananda Saraswati whose *Satyarthaprakash* is not only an outstanding example of *suppressio veri* and *suggestio falsi* but is also a deliberate and calculated attack on Islam whose teachings have been presented in the most distorted manner possible. Many anti-Muslim publications have followed in the wake of *Satyarthaprakash* but the most abominable of them as also notorious is the *Rangila Rasul* in which the Holy Prophet Muhammad has been depicted in the darkest hue conceivable."

An Itinerary for Morisco Refugees from Spain in the Sixteenth Century

Readers of Dozy's great work on "Islam in Spain" will want to add as a footnote of importance an article that appeared in the *Geographical Review,* New York (July '39), by J. N. Lincoln of

the University of Michigan. We give the opening paragraphs to illustrate how long Islam retained vitality and suffered persecution:

"After the fall of Granada, in 1492, the Moriscos in Spain were a source of considerable anxiety to the Christian church and state. Efforts were made, especially by Fray Hernando de Talavera, Cisneros, and Juan de Ribera, to convert them to Christianity and absorb them into the Spanish people; but they were both too numerous and too firmly rooted in their own religion to be amenable to any such conversion. As it became ever more apparent during the sixteenth century that they would continue to be an alien people and a menace to Christianity, more and more extreme measures were adopted against them. Thousands were deported; and of those remaining, many who claimed to be converts were still secretly loyal to their own religion. The unfortunate converts, sincere or otherwise, were in constant danger of denunciation as renegades by personal enemies, by zealous Christians, or by individuals who coveted their possessions. As a consequence of the continued uncertainty, many of them fled across the boundary; but even then they were not safe, since they might be sent back to Spain as renegades by the long arm of the church. The text under discussion was written for these converts as a recommended itinerary for their journeys toward the east, with helpful advice along the route.

"The original of this itinerary is in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, consisting of folios 37^{v} - 39 of MS 774 *fonds arabe*, formerly known as number 290, St. Germain des Près. It is bound with Mohammedan legends, prayers, prophecies, and other religious writings. The language is Spanish, but the characters are western Arabic, a combination that is called *aljamía*. Certain students of *aljamía*—Pascual de Gayangos, Eugenio de Ochoa, F. Guillén Robles, Eduardo Saavedra, and Sylvestre de Sacy—have mentioned such an itinerary, but the only one to publish it, together with a French translation, was De Sacy. Because it is possible to correct some of his readings and to supply further light on some of his identifications, it seems worth while to study this text again."

Then follow the texts and a transcription and translation of the original.

Death of Arent Jan Wensinck

With the passing of Arent Jan Wensinck, D.Litt., Professor of Arabic and Islamics at the University of Leiden, not only Holland but the world of Oriental Studies, and the world of Islamic Studies in particular, has lost a leader of outstanding character and scholarship. Born in August 1882, he has been almost all his life connected with Leiden, where he became a Lecturer in 1912 and in 1927 succeeded his old teacher Dr. Snouck Hurgronje in the Arabic Chair at the University, where he sat also as head of the editorial Board of the Encyclopædia of Islam, and as Secretary to the de Goeje Foundation, and where he died in September 1939, after a long illness.

Dr. Wensinck's earlier publications were in the field of Semitics, where he contributed a number of papers on Semitic symbolic ideas,

such as the Tree and Bird Symbolism, the Navel of the Earth, etc. His inaugural address at the University in 1912 was on *De beteekenis van het Jodendom voor de andere Semitische volken van Voor-Azie.* He was also interested in the literature of the Syriac-speaking Church, especially in its mystical literature. Besides earlier work on the Legends of Eastern Saints, he translated *Barhebraeus' Book of the Dove* in 1919, the *Mystical Treatises of Isaac of Nineveh* in 1923, in which year he also published a study of *New Data concerning Syriac Mystic Literature,* with an edition of John of Lycopolis' treatise *On the Spiritual States of the Soul.* In his last years he was devoting much time to the problem of the Aramaic behind the Gospels, in the controversy over which he was inclined to side with Prof. Torrey of Yale.

It is, however, as a master in the field of Islamics that he will be mostly remembered. In this he followed the famous Leiden tradition of Dozy, de Goeje and his teacher Snouck Hurgronje. His Thesis at Leiden in 1908 was on *Mohammed en de Joden te Medina,* a study which directed his attention to the investigation of Muslim Tradition, a field in the mastery of which he had no peer. His *Handbook of Early Muhammadan Tradition* in 1927 was our first reliable guide through the masses of material in the Canonical Collections of Ḥadīth, and eleven fascicules have already appeared of the more ambitious work in Arabic, *Concordance et Indices de la Tradition musulmane,* which when completed will be a detailed verbal index to the whole Corpus of Tradition. Out of these studies grew the numerous articles which he contributed to the *Encyclopaedia of Islam,* whose chief Editor he became in 1924. Another fruit of these Ḥadīth studies was the stout volume on *The Muslim Creed,* published by the Cambridge University Press in 1932. It was a great grief to him when, as a result of the prejudices of Muslim orthodoxy being aroused by the translation into Arabic of some of his critical articles in the *Encyclopaedia,* the invitation to him to be a member of the Arabic Academy, just forming in Egypt, was withdrawn.

Dr. Wensinck was very active in the international Academies and Congresses, and had been Rector of his own University. A man of simple tastes and charming personality, he had a host of friends among Orientalists in all quarters of the world, and was ever willing to contribute of his stores of special knowledge to the help of other students. In 1921 he contributed a paper to THE MOSLEM WORLD on "The Importance of Tradition for the Study of Islam" (Vol. XI. pp. 239-245). His Encyclopaedia article on "wine in Islam" (*Khamr*) was reprinted in our Quarterly in 1928 (Vol. XVIII pp. 365-73).

SURVEY OF PERIODICALS

By Sue Molleson Foster

Union Theological Seminary Library

I. GENERAL

The B.B.C. Arabic Broadcasts. S. Hillelson. (In *The Royal Central Asian Journal,* London. April, 1939. pp. 261-264).

Describes the types of broadcasts presented for the pleasure and improvement of the Arab world.

Contributions to the Classical Persian-English Vocabulary. The Late Dr. C. E. Wilson. (In *Islamic Culture,* Hyderabad. July, 1939. pp. 339-369).

A supplement to the author's work of the same title, which appeared in previous issues of *Islamic Culture.*

Les Fouilles de Mari. André Parrot. (In *Syria,* Paris. Fasc. 1, 1939. pp. 1-22).

An account of the findings of the fifth expedition to Tell Ḥariri, an ancient site near Babylon.

In the Ruins of Nishapur. Joseph M. Upton. (In *Asia,* New York. August, 1939. pp. 445-449).

Tells of the progress of the Metropolitan Museum's Near Eastern Expedition to Omar Khayyam's city.

The Mound of Tarsus. Hetty Goldman. (In *Asia,* New York. July, 1939. pp. 413-418).

Traces the development of excavating at Göglü-Kule, which doubtless was the heart of the prehistoric settlement.

Some Impressions of Swat and Afghanistan. W. V. Emanuel. (In *The Royal Central Asian Journal,* London. April, 1939. pp. 195-214).

While searching for 6th century Greco-Buddhist monuments, Mr. Evert Barger and his party had opportunities to become acquainted with the present inhabitants of the country.

II. ARABIA

By-Products of the Arabian Mission. The Rev. Samuel M. Zwemer. (In *The Missionary Review of the World,* New York. September, 1939. pp. 397-398).

Tells of the activities of the Friends of Moslems in China, the Fellowship of Faith for Moslems, the American Christian Literature Society for Moslems and many others.

WOMEN'S WORK IN ARABIA. Josephine E. Van Peursem. (In *World Dominion,* London. July, 1939. pp. 277-282).

Gives an intimate glimpse of contacts with Arab and Negro women at Bahrain and Moharrik Island.

III. HISTORY OF ISLAM

THE FUNDAMENTAL STRUCTURE OF ISLAM. Edwin E. Calverley. (In *The Royal Central Asian Journal,* London. April, 1939. pp. 280-302).

A study of Islam in its political, social and religious aspects.

NADIR SHAH. Laurence Lockhart. (In *The Royal Central Asian Journal,* London. April, 1939. pp. 265-279).

Biographical sketch of the last of the great Asiatic conquerors (1688-1744), who rose from obscurity to become the arbitrary ruler of the greater part of Asia.

PAN-ARAB NATIONALISM: IS IT A MYTH? Benjamin Azkin and Ameen Rihani. (In *Asia,* New York. August, 1939. pp. 451-455).

The question is answered in the negative by a Zionist and in the affirmative by one who longs to see an Arab confederation patterned after the United States of America.

IV. KORAN. TRADITION. THEOLOGY

AZERBEIDSCHANISCHE TEXTE ZUR NORDPERSISCHEN VOLKSKUNDE. Hellmut Ritter. (In *Der Islam,* Berlin. Band 25, Heft 3/4, 1939. pp. 234-268).

Folktales, with text, translation and comments.

DIE BEIDEN ERSTEN SAFĪRE DES ZWÖLFTEN IMĀNS. Javad Ali. (In *Der Islam,* Berlin. Band 25, Heft 3/4, 1939. pp. 197-227).

Deals with the lives of Utmān and his son, Abū Gafar, and the history of their times.

AN ISLAMIC SAINT OF THE SEVENTH CENTURY A. H. D. S. Margoliouth, translator. (In *Islamic Culture,* Hyderabad. July, 1939. pp. 263-289).

The biography of Toqīy al-Din Muhammad (1177-1260) by his son the historian, Quṭb al-Din Mūsā.

V. RELIGIOUS AND SOCIAL LIFE

THE DATE CULTIVATION AND DATE CULTIVATORS OF BASRAH. V. H. W. Dowson. (In *The Royal Central Asian Journal,* London. April, 1939. pp. 247-260).

Describes the way of life of the patient, charitable, courteous inhabitants of the Shatt al-'Arab area.

THE ECONOMIC POTENTIALITIES OF KASHMIR. Radha Krishna Bhan. (In *The Asiatic Review,* London. July, 1939. pp. 427-454).

Lists and discusses the numerous crafts and industries of the region.

KALEIDOSCOPIC LAND OF EUROPE'S YOUNGEST KING. Douglas Chandler. (In *The National Geographic Magazine,* Washington. June, 1939. pp. 691-738).

Finely illustrated account of Jugoslavia and its inhabitants, among whom are numbered over a million Mohammedans.

THE PHYSICAL CHARACTERS OF THE MODERN INHABITANTS OF IRAN. Dr. Henry Ford. (In *The Asiatic Review,* London. July, 1939. pp. 572-576).

Report of anthropometric investigations on 299 individuals from various sections of the country.

LE STATUT PERSONNEL DES NON-MUSULMANS EN ÉGYPTE ET SA RÉFORME. Étienne de Szàszy. (In *L'Égypte Contemporaine,* Le Caire. Avril, 1939. pp. 297-375).

A study of regulations affecting religious communities, such as Copts, Greeks, Jews, Roman Catholics and Protestants, in Egypt, with suggestions for their improvement.

VI. POLITICAL RELATIONSHIPS

LE CANAL DE SUEZ. Maurice Pernot. (In *L'Esprit International,* Paris. 1 Juillet 1939. pp. 372-387).

Discusses this many-sided question and its far-reaching implications among the Western nations and the Near East.

HITLER GOES TO THE ARABS. Albert Viton. (In *Asia,* New York. July, 1939. pp. 419-422).

The author finds that subversive propaganda against the French and British is strong in Syria, Irak and Palestine and that German methods in this direction are more effective than Italian.

THE TURKO-BRITISH PACT. Z. Niksel. (In *The Asiatic Review,* London. July, 1939. pp. 561-571).

Surveys Turkey's British and European contacts since the time of Queen Elizabeth and believes the economic agreement consummated with England in 1938 a logical precaution against the Axis Powers.

VII. PALESTINE

THE FUTURE OF PALESTINE. Israel Cohen. (In *The Nineteenth Century and After,* London. July, 1939. pp. 24-33).

Critical appraisal of England's latest White Paper on the Holy Land.

NEAR EAST IMBROGLIO. (In *The Living Age,* New York. July, 1939. pp. 457-463).

Presents two opposing opinions—"Where the White Paper Fails" by Viscount Samuel and "Arabia Awake" by *Diplomaticus.* Both authors are united, however, in their condemnation of British policies in Palestine.

PALESTINE: THE PRESENT PROBLEM. Viscount Samuel. (In *The Contemporary Review,* London. July, 1939. pp. 9-17).

Summarizes the situation in its several aspects and urges postponement of any final decision for the present.

YOUTH GOES TO THE HOLY LAND. Julietta K. Arthur. (In *Asia,* New York. August, 1939. pp. 443-444).

Discusses the plan and operation of the international Youth Aliyah movement, which, in five years, has transplanted more than 4,000 young refugees from Central Europe to Palestine.

VIII. MISSIONS TO MOSLEMS

FASL-BEGH—ADDRESS UNKNOWN. "Shaheeda." (In *The Missionary Review of the World,* New York. September, 1939. pp. 400-403).

Tells of the gradual and thorough conversion of a Turkestan Moslem, who suffered martyrdom for his new faith.

POLITICS AND RELIGION IN ALBANIA. The Rev. and Mrs. Phineas B. Kennedy. (In *The Missionary Review of the World,* New York. July, 1939. pp. 359-360).

Account of work done among the Moslems of Kortcha and its neighborhood since 1891 when Gerasim Kyrias, an American Mission Board product, founded an evangelical school.

WHERE TURKEY STANDS. Kenneth G. Grubb. (In *World Dominion,* London. July, 1939. pp. 269-276).

Describes the secularization of the country, the disposal of its religious minorities and the unavoidable concern all Christians must feel at the results.