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An Outline History of Gujarati Theological Literature—II

R. H. S. BOYD

IV. THE GOLDEN AGE, 1891-1920

We come now to what has so far undoubtedly been the most fruitful period of Gujarati theological writing, and it is instructive to note that for the greater part of it the work of Bible Revision was going on steadily and strongly, providing a background of incentive to careful scholarship and prompt publication. The work began in 1883, and the complete Bible finally appeared in 1899. The Indian members of the Committee included in the earlier years the Revs. Sorabji Kharsedji and Hormazdji Pestonji, and later Mr. Upkar Ajubhai, and among the missionary translators were the Revs. W. Beatty, J. Shillidy, G. P. Taylor, and later J. F. Steele and H. R. Scott. The Revision was largely based on the English Revision of 1884. This Bible appeared in a Reference Edition in 1908, the only Gujarati Reference Bible ever published, and still a most valued possession of those fortunate enough to have it.

(a) Books on the Bible

In 1893 J. Shillidy's *Chronological Summary of Biblical History* (pp. 196) appeared. This is a pre-critical book in a sense, and for the O.T. gives Hales' and Ussher's datings in parallel columns. Much of the N.T. chronology is still useful. In the same year, 1893, came a *Commentary on Matthew* (pp. 347) by R. W. Sinclair, and in 1895 the Bombay Tract Society published *How We Got Our Bible* (pp. 28), a translation from English. In 1889 appeared the first of the fine series of commentaries by J. F. Steele, *Introduction to the Gospels and Acts* (pp. 96). This was followed by *Romans*, 1911; *Ephesians*, 1912; *Colossians and Philemon*, 1913; and *Philippians*, 1915. These are all full scale commentaries, some of more than 200 pages, with full critical Introductions, and drawing on the latest scholarship available at the time. They are not translations, but are written with the special needs of the Indian Church in view.

Only three brief commentaries on O.T. books have so far appeared in Gujarati, apart from general Introductions. They are

those on *Haggai* (pp. 55), 1900, by Job Bhanabhai, *Malachi* (pp. 108), 1905, translated from the Urdu by Daniel Dahyabhai, and *Judges* (pp. 38), 1958, by G. Wilson. On the popular level— but used also as a textbook for training women workers—came *Women of the Old Testament* (pp. 104), by Mrs. L. Bissell, translated from the Marathi by Ratanchand Karamchand, and followed in 1903 by *Women of the New Testament* (pp. 153).

In 1905 began the series of textbooks by G. P. Taylor, son of J. V. S. Taylor, and first Principal of the Stevenson Divinity College in Ahmedabad. The needs of a large and growing theological college stimulated the production of theological literature, and many of Dr. Taylor's books were in fact written up by him from the Gujarati lecture-notes taken by some of his students. First came his *Introduction to the New Testament* (pp. 530), a very comprehensive work, with detailed introductory chapters for each book. This was followed by *The Canon of the New Testament* (pp. 76) in 1908; *Introduction to the Manuscripts and Versions of the N.T.* (pp. 70) in the same year; and *Introduction to the Old Testament*, in two volumes of 386 and 415 pages respectively in 1917. All Dr. Taylor's works are marked by a depth of scholarship, both linguistic and theological, and they still form a substantial part of Gujarati theological literature, as they have gone through more than one edition.

Other commentaries, mainly translations, were published in this period. In 1895 came a commentary on *James* (pp. 65) by R. W. Sinclair. In 1905 there appeared translations—by Miss A. Montgomery and the Rev. Kahanji Madhavji, whom we shall meet again later—of little study-books on *Ephesians* and *Galatians* by G. S. Eddy, and in 1909 a book on *The Parables of Our Lord* (pp. 152), translated by Harkhaji Keshavji, whose original authorship is unknown to me.

One of the most striking features of this period is the remarkable series of Bible Handbooks compiled, translated or adapted by an outstanding group of Indian Church leaders. The name of Yakub Gopal is still remembered and revered in the Ahmedabad Theological College, where for many years he was a teacher. In 1906 he published his *Bible Student's Companion* (pp. 300). In 1910 appeared *Shāstrano Abhyāsi (Aids for the Bible Student)* (pp. 337) by the Rev. Ramsingh Khandas, who followed this in 1915 with *The Geography of the Bible* (pp. 190), and in 1927 with *Shāstra Pratikdarshak Kosh (Bible Text Dictionary)*, the nearest approach to a Concordance in Gujarati, and a most useful book for students and ministers. In 1912 came Dipsingh Shambhai's *Dictionary of Bible Proper Names* (pp. 561).

In 1915 there appeared a translation by Bavaram Madhavji of Baba Padmanji's *Life of Jesus Christ*. In the same year was published a translation of G. H. Gilbert's *Life of St. Paul* (pp. 149). This book, translated by the Rev. Yusuf Dhanjibhai and published

by R. D. Bisbee, Principal of the Florence B. Nicholson Theological School in Baroda (Methodist Episcopal), is indicative of the widening ecumenical range of Gujarati theological literature, which has been increasingly enriched by traditions other than the L.M.S. and Irish Presbyterian, which had hitherto been dominant. The American Methodist Episcopal Church had established work in Gujarat in 1875, and the Baroda Theological School had been opened in 1906. Also from America had come the pioneer missionaries of the Church of the Brethren, who had begun work in Bulsar in 1895, and started a Bible School there in 1913. From this period onwards both of these Churches have made a considerable contribution to theological literature, through books written, first for their own students, and, since 1942, for the Gujarat United School of Theology, in which they co-operate with the Gujarat Church Council of the United Church of Northern India. The Anglican contribution has been smaller. The S.P.G. worked in Ahmedabad from about 1830 to 1850, and so were the first in the field in North Gujarat, but few if any Anglican publications in Gujarati from that period are extant and it is doubtful if there were any. There is one fragment, bound up with some tracts which gives a translation of the collect 'Almighty God, unto whom all hearts be open...', followed by the Ten Commandments, which may possibly be part of a printed Communion Service. The type would indicate a date before 1850. Later, in 1880, the Church Missionary Society started the Bhil Mission which, with a number of garrison congregations and their successors, today accounts for the majority of Anglicans in Gujarat. A number of Anglican publications will be noticed later.

(b) *Systematic Theology*

In this period we have J. F. Steele's *Explanation of the Shorter Catechism* (pp. 96), and also a translation from the Marathi of A *Garland of Christian Doctrine (Siddhānta Ratnamālā)*, published in 1903 (pp. 99). From the Methodists came *Lectures of Theology* by Dr. A. A. Parker, translated by Philip F. Rathore (pp. 108, Baroda, 1915). This is an excellent outline of Systematic Theology, with very full Scriptural references, written for the Baroda theological students. Later came *Ishvarvidhyāno Sār (Christianity in Doctrine and Experience)*, by Dr. P. M. Buck, translated by Frederick Wood and P. F. Rathore (pp. 272, 2nd Edition, Baroda, 1926). Mention should also be made of a Gujarati *Biography of John Wesley* (pp. 80), published by Frederick Wood in 1913.

From the Anglicans came in 1917 *A Brief History of the Rite of Confirmation with an Exposition of the Church Catechism*, by the Rev. L. Hari, Bombay (pp. 77). This is a teaching book, containing an exposition of the Apostles' Creed, and one's attention is inevitably drawn to the considerable differences between Anglican vocabulary and that of the other Churches in Gujarat, for example in the use of the Hindi *kalisiā* (ecclesia) for 'Church', where others

use *mandāḷi*, and the English *sacrament* for *sanskār*, *catholic* for *sārvatrik*, and *krus* (cross) for *vadhasthambha*. It is worthy of note that Anglicans, Methodists and U.C.N.I. all use different forms of the Apostles' Creed, though a joint committee is now attempting to draw up a version which could be accepted by all. There are also at least three entirely different versions of the Nicene Creed in existence, one in the Anglican Prayer Book, one in J. S. Stevenson's *Hymns Ancient and Modern*, and one in M. C. Parekh's *Church History*. The need for some kind of standardization of theological terms is here very apparent.

(c) *Pastoralia*

Two practical books for students and ministers should be noted here. They are J. V. S. Taylor's *Elements of Homiletics* (pp. 66), written before 1881, but perhaps not published until 1895, when it appears in a Tract Society list; and *Workers with God* (pp. 114), 'a handbook for the work of the Ministry'. This book is a translation by Upkar Ajubhai, but I cannot discover the name of the original author. Another book useful for ministers in instructing communicants is *The Communicant's Companion*, translated from Marathi by the first ordained Indian minister of the Church in Gujarat, the Rev. Rambhai Kalyan, and published in 1900 (pp. 144), the Marathi text being based on 'Bickersteth on the Lord's Supper', published in 1822. Also to be noted are Dr. R. D. Bisbee's *A Brief Study of Homiletics* (pp. 71, Baroda, 1916), and W. D. Hyde's *Practical Ethics*, translated by B. I. Bhatt (pp. 127, Surat, 1923), both published for the Baroda School of Theology.

(d) *Devotional Books and Christian Verse*

In 1903 appeared the first part of *Daily Light*, translated by J. Sinclair Stevenson, and followed by the second part in 1906. J. S. Stevenson made a strong contribution to the devotional life of the Church in Gujarat, through his own great interest in 'the beauty of holiness' which inspired him to design so many Church buildings, including the Ahmedabad Theological College, with its famous pierced stone windows of his own design, which are themselves a profound example of the transformation of Christian Theology into Indian forms. He produced a *Prārthnāpustaka* ('Book of Prayers') (pp. 24) and, in 1896, *Some Hymns of the Ancient Church*, an interesting exercise in the translation of early Latin hymns into Gujarati, in which he was helped by men like Rambhai Kalyan and Kahanji Madhavji. Later editions included a few modern hymns, and the name was changed to *Some Hymns Ancient and Modern of the Christian Church*. Perhaps the best justification of this experiment lies in the fact that congregations in Gujarat sing these Gregorian chants, such as 'Come, Holy Ghost' and 'O sons and daughters' very much better and more naturally

than modern Western tunes. Stevenson also published in 1923 *Ragāsangraha*, the first attempt to print Gujarati *rāgas* in Western staff notation. The experiment, though surprisingly comprehensive in scope and well finished in detail, is hardly successful, as the Western harmonies obscure the character of the *rāgas*, but it was a memorable pioneer effort. In later days the Rev. W. G. Kenzie of the Church of the Brethren produced two booklets of Gujarati *rāgas* in Western notation, in which the attempt at harmonization is rightly omitted.

The Methodist Church in 1903 published, under the editorship of E. F. Frease, its first hymnal, *Gitasangraha* ('Collection of Hymns'), called in later editions *Dharma Gitasangraha*. Later editions included selections from the prose Psalms for responsive reading, and also Forms of Service. Many of the hymns in the later editions, which were edited by F. Wood and Rev. Virji Khojabhai Makwana (Master), were from Wood's own *Gītāvalī*, published in 1920. The *Dharma Gitasangraha* had the great merit that only about one-third of its hymns were in English measures.

In 1911 the C.M.S. brought out the *Gujarati Church Hymnal*, or *Bhaktirāsa*, arranged according to the Christian year, and consisting mainly of translations from English. Of 100 hymns, 17 only are in Indian metres. In 1909 a conference of all Christians in Gujarat published a book of 74 hymns entitled *Ishwarstutinā Gita* or *Hymns for Divine Worship*—a collection sold at the bargain price of two pice! From the Methodists came a small collection of lyrics called *Uddhārnā Gito* ('Songs of Salvation').

The translation of John Bunyan continued with the second part of *Pilgrim's Progress* by Upkar Ajubhai in 1904, and the *Holy War* (*Shuddha Prayuddha*) (pp. 284) in 1905, the latter a translation made many years previously by J. V. S. Taylor and Manilal C. Shah. *Grace Abounding*, translated by S. Gillespie, appeared in 1913, and in 1915 a new translation of the first part of the *Pilgrim's Progress* by H. R. Scott, with very good line engravings in Indian style.

1916 saw the publication of *Bhajansevāni Paddhati* (pp. 141), the translation by J. F. Steele, of the *Forms of Service* of the then Presbyterian Church in India, which has since been in constant use, despite the formation of the United Church of Northern India in 1924. That Church has now, in 1962, produced its own *United Church Worship* which, in its Gujarati translation, will eventually replace the older book.

In the field of Christian verse the great name which now emerges is that of Kahanji Madhavji Ratnagrahi. A young man of high caste, he had become a Christian through the ministry of the devoted Esther Khimchand of Porbandar, the birthplace of Mahatma Gandhi. For the sake of Christ he had lost all that he possessed, but he lived to become the best known Christian poet of Gujarat, whose hymns are full of deep theological meaning, and

are still on the lips of thousands. His first work, published in 1895 while he was still a student in the Stevenson Divinity College in Ahmedabad, was a booklet of Christian poetry of 24 pages, in two parts entitled *Prema-pachisi* ('Twenty-five Love-poems') and *Prema-bodha* ('The Teaching of Love'). In 1904 came *Khristā-khyān*, the story of the Life of Christ in verse, now unfortunately out of print. In 1908 came *Subodha Garbāvali*, a book consisting chiefly of Christian hymns for women and girls to sing at weddings. *Lalita Kāvya-mālā* appeared in 1923, and *Nātālnā Gīto*, a collection of Christmas hymns, in the same year. Some of Kahanji Madhavji Ratnagrahi's hymns, such as *Svarnī Sukh Tē Mukhi Didhi*—'Heaven and its joys Thou didst leave behind Thee'—are among the finest that I know in any language.

(e) Comparative Religion

There was no slackening in the stream of books comparing the Christian faith with others. In 1892 a *Manual of Hinduism (Hindu Dharmanī Svarupa)*, translated by Dahyabhai Jivabhai from the Marathi of Baba Padmanji, is listed as a Divinity College textbook, and in 1886 we find *Dharmaprakāsh (Christianity Explained to a Hindu)*, translated by H. R. Scott from the 'Madras English Series'. A *Comparison of the Jain and Christian Religions* (pp. 146) by 'a converted Jain priest', Jaimal Padmanji, appeared in 1901, and in the same year a translation from Marathi by the Rev. Lazarus Tejpal of *Hinduism and Christianity Compared* (pp. 96). In 1904 G. P. Taylor published his *Life of Mohammed*.

(V) MODERN TIMES, 1921-1962

Forty years is perhaps rather a long period to include in a single section, but most of the theological books now available in Gujarati were written between 1921 and 1962, and few of the books written even at the beginning of this period have yet been replaced by anything more modern. An important date here is the establishment in 1942 of the Gujarat United School of Theology, in which the co-operating bodies are the United Church of Northern India, the Methodist Church in Southern Asia, and the Church of the Brethren. Since the foundation of this united institution, which is affiliated to Serampore at the L.Th. level, encouragement has been given to the production of theological books suitable for use by the students and ministers of all these Churches.

(i) The Twenties

(a) Biblical

Once again Bible Revision provided a stimulus for theological literature. This last major revision of the Bible was begun in 1924 and completed in 1927, and was the work of H. R. Scott,

assisted by Mr. Morar Dugarji and a Brahmin pundit. The gain of this Revision is to be seen, in the O.T., in the adoption of many of the R.V. marginal readings and, in the N.T., in the greatly improved translation of the Epistles. Over the years Dr. Scott's contribution to theological literature had been great, and after his death in 1929 his memory was fittingly commemorated by the Scott Memorial Publication Fund, which has been devoted almost entirely to the production of theological literature, and has made possible the publication of many substantial works of theological scholarship.

In 1921 came the publication of *Anantjivanani Vāto* (*Words of Life*) (pp. 123) a series of studies on the Life and Teaching of Jesus by R. H. Boyd. In 1925 there followed a translation of J. D. Robertson's *Our Lord's Teaching* (pp. 156), and in the same year Mr. J. K. Frank published privately a book entitled *The Apostle Paul* (pp. 152). In 1928 a *Commentary on John* (pp. 372) was published, translated from English by Manilal C. Parekh, whom we shall come across later. In 1930 came a translation of Torrey's *What the Bible Teaches* (pp. 265), by Dr. G. K. Satvedi of the Church of the Brethren.

(b) Church History

In 1916 there had appeared a *Brief History of Indian Methodism* by the Rev. Virji Khojabhai (pp. 50, Baroda), and this was followed about 1924 by a translation of W. G. Kunz's *Junior History of Methodism* (pp. 71, 2nd Edition, Baroda, 1927).

In 1927 the first standard *Church History* (pp. 400) since J. V. S. Taylor's adaptation of Barth was published by Manilal C. Parekh, whose subsequent history until the present day has been a sad one of compromise between Christianity and Hinduism. This book is still the Church History in use by theological students. Another book which is of primary importance for the Church in Gujarat was published in 1930—*Gujarātma Khristi Maṇḍalino Uday* ('The Dawn of the Christian Church in Gujarat') (pp. 132)—by the Rev. Lazarus Tejpal. This is a history of the Church in Gujarat, drawing on original sources not available elsewhere, and the Church in Gujarat is indeed fortunate to have had a writer with such a deep sense of the historical as Lazarus Tejpal. In 1928 from the Church of the Brethren came *Khristi Maṇḍali* ('The Christian Church') (pp. 93), by Dr. G. K. Satvedi, mainly on the doctrine and practice of the Brethren Church.

(c) Christian Verse

Two new names come to the fore in the twenties—Daniel Dahyabhai and Yusuf Ashabhai, the former for his *Madhur Kāvya-vāṅikā* ('Garden of Sweet Verse') and *Jivanamrutkāvyā* ('Verse of the Nectar of Life') (1927), and the latter for his *Sakhimaṇḍal*

Sangit Garbāvāṇī (1928), a collection of *garbas* for women and girls. It is interesting to note also in 1930 the first appearance of a name that is to become very familiar—*Bhajanasangraha* ('Collection of *Bhajans*'). This name, later to be used for the joint hymnal of all the Churches of Gujarat, was first applied to the hymn book of the Christian and Missionary Alliance, published in that year.

The first missionaries of the Alliance Mission had come to Gujarat about 1890. In recent years their output of Christian literature, mainly translations, has been considerable, and they have pioneered in the production of Christian novels. Their publications are all marked by a high standard of layout and cover-design, a feature all too rare in most Gujarati Christian literature.

(d) Devotion and Christian Biography

During this period we find a biography of *Sadhu Sundar Singh* (pp. 98), first published during his lifetime, in 1923. Later his book *At the Master's Feet*, translated by G. K. Satvedi and V. M. Khambhatta, was also published. *The Practice of the Presence of God* of Brother Lawrence appeared in 1926, the translator being Manilal C. Parekh. In 1927 the Methodist Church published *Prabhu Bhojan* (pp. 60), a Manual on the Lord's Supper by Bishop F. W. Warne. Translations of several books by Harry Emerson Fosdick were made—*The Manhood of the Master*, translated by Manilal C. Parekh in 1922; *The Meaning of Service* in 1927; and *The Meaning of Prayer* in 1935.

(ii) Before and After Independence (1947)

The name which occurs with greatest regularity over the next thirty years is that of W. G. Mulligan who, specially set apart eventually for literary work, produced a long series of books marked by careful scholarship, wide interests, theology of a liberalism characteristic of the earlier part of the period under review, and a highly Sanskritized Gujarati style with a very wide-ranging technical vocabulary.

(a) Biblical

Dr. Mulligan's first Commentary was that on *Revelation* (pp. 354) published in 1931. It was followed by *Matthew*, 1933; *Mark*, 1934; *Luke*, 1939; and *Romans*, 1949. These are all full-scale original commentaries, based on the leading English commentaries of the period, but in no sense translations.

Note should be taken here of the series of studies on Biblical background translated by the Rev. Himmatlal Ashirvad, who has also put the Church greatly in his debt by many other translations, devotional, theological, constitutional and ecumenical. In 1937 appeared his translation of James S. Stewart's *Life and Teaching of Jesus Christ*, and thereafter translations of three books by W. M.

Grant—*Religion and Life of the Patriarchal Age* (pp. 192, 1939); *Judges and Kings of United Israel* (pp. 188, 1940); and *The Founders of Israel* (pp. 174). In 1942 the Rev. James Ukabhai published a translation of a book called *Kings and Prophets* (pp. 126), whose author I have not identified, and from the Church of the Brethren in 1942 came *Ishvarno Prema* ('The Love of God') (p. 210), by Dr. G. K. Satvedi, a life of Christ designed especially for use in evangelistic work.

In the forties a stream of books began to come from the pen of the veteran Dr. George Wilson of the U.C.N.I. In 1942 came *Junā Karāno Sandesho* ('The Message of the O.T.') (pp. 56) and at about the same time a short commentary on *Acts* entitled *Mārā Sākshi* ('My Witnesses') (pp. 68). These were followed by an introductory booklet of 28 pages on the *Twelve Minor Prophets* (1943), *A Short Commentary on St. John's Gospel* (pp. 48, 2nd Edition, 1955), and *Notes on the Book of Judges* (pp. 38, 1958), the first commentary on an Old Testament book since the two on Haggai and Malachi near the turn of the century. These booklets were intended in the main for Bible Study groups, but they prepared the way for Dr. Wilson's two major works, *Introduction to the Old Testament* (pp. 460), 1958, at present the standard work on the subject, and *Introduction to the New Testament*, which, at the time of his death in 1959 was almost completed, and is now being prepared for publication.

In 1953 came a translation by W. G. Mulligan of E. F. Scott's *The Apologetic of the New Testament*, and in 1957 *Navā Karāno Shabdakosh* (pp. 120), a translation by R. S. Dickey of 25 articles from William Barclay's *New Testament Wordbook*. A *Commentary on Acts*, adapted by W. G. Mulligan from Barclay's *Daily Study Bible*, appeared in 1962 (pp. 212), and Dr. Mulligan has recently completed a similar adaptation of Barclay's *Commentary on St. John*.

(b) Theological

In 1943 there appeared Mr. Yusuf Ashabhai Parmar's *Prabhu Isu Khristni Jivancharitra* ('Life of Christ') (pp. 164). 1948 saw the publication of Dr. Mulligan's monumental *Dharmanī Tattva-gnāna* (pp. 687), a Philosophy of Religion with three main sections on God, the World, and Man, and including detailed consideration of such topics as the problem of evil, the existence of God, the individuality of God, the principle of *karma*, etc. In 1949 came his new translation of the *Westminster Confession* (pp. 75), and a translation of William Stewart's book on *Baptism* (pp. 32). In 1952 he published *Khristi Ishvaravidhyana Tattvo* (*The Elements of Christian Theology*) (pp. 406), which is used as the standard textbook for systematic Theology, though indeed it is beyond the range of many theological students, and perhaps leaves still unmet the need for a clear and simple handbook on Christian doctrine. As always, Dr. Mulligan's use of technical terms is interesting and

illuminating, even if at times controversial. To take an example which we have already glanced at in other authors, his preferred term for the translation of 'Person' in connection with the Trinity is *vikaran*, 'modification'. If *vyakti* (which he also uses, as it is the commonly accepted term) verges too far towards Tritheism ('three individuals'), then surely *vikaran* goes too far in the direction of Sabellianism (the Godhead appearing in three 'modes' or 'modifications'). One wonders whether the search for satisfactory translations into Sanskritic languages of Greek and Latin terms like *hypostasis* and *persona* will go on indefinitely—what about the claims of the word *patra* ('dramatis persona') for example?—or whether the whole Christological and Trinitarian problem together with its terminology may not become reopened and transformed as Indian Christian theologians reinterpret it in the light of their own intellectual and devotional tradition.

In 1953 Dr. Mulligan translated *The Heart of the Faith* (*Vishvāsasār*) (pp. 90) by J. L. M. Haire, an exposition of Christian doctrine based on five articles from the Apostles' Creed, and in 1954 Carnegie Simpson's *The Fact of Christ* (*Khristabābat*). In 1950 there had appeared a Methodist exposition of the Apostles' Creed, *Pitruono Vishvās* ('The Faith of the Fathers') by the Rev. Ishvardas Narsinhbhai (pp. 88). *The Ten Commandments and Jesus' Teaching* by D. M. Kennedy and S. D. Parmar should also be noted.

Two comprehensive works on the Holy Spirit have appeared. They are Dr. G. K. Satvedi's *Pavitra Ātma Vishe Vichār* ('Consideration of the Holy Spirit') (pp. 140), 1948, which is a mine of useful Biblical information and teaching, and a translation in two volumes of *The Holy Spirit, or Power from on High*, by Dr. A. B. Simpson, founder of the Christian and Missionary Alliance, published by the Alliance in 1951. Mention should be made of two portions from the 1960 Book of Common Prayer of the C.I.P.B.C. which have been translated into Gujarati—the *Catechism* and the *Order of Confirmation*. In 1960 Dr. Satvedi published *Behold the Man* (pp. 64), a study of the Life and Work of Christ.

(c) Pastoralia

The field of Pastoralia has been largely left to the Church of the Brethren, though books like *Khristi Mānasnī Jivan* ('The Life of a Christian Man') (pp. 80, 1939) by Dr. Mulligan of the U.C.N.I. may be noted. For example, the year 1939 saw the publication of the first edition of E. K. Ziegler's *Grāmya Maṇḍaḷiṇi Bhajan-sevā* ('Worship for Village Churches'), a fine practical handbook which in its way has become a classic. The years 1947-48 saw an amazing output of highly useful books on Pastoralia by Dr. G. K. Satvedi, who was then Principal of the Church of the Brethren Bible Teachers' Training School in Bulsar. In 1947 came *Psychology for Preachers* (pp. 42); in 1948 *Pālakvidyā* ('Pastoralia') (pp.

68); and in the same year *Upadeshapaddhati (Homiletics)* (pp. 95), and *Khristi Updeshaka* ('The Christian Preacher') (pp. 60). This group of books is indispensable for theological students and ministers.

Books on Christian Stewardship should be noted here. As long ago as 1912 the Methodist Church had published Bishop F. W. Warne's booklet *Tithes and Offerings* (pp. 16) in Gujarati, and in 1927 from the U.C.N.I. had come the Rev. Ramsingh Khandas' *Giving to the Lord* (pp. 77). Among several more recent books on the subject may be mentioned three from the Church of the Brethren, *Khristi Kārbhāripanū* ('Christian Stewardship') (1958, pp. 10) and *Konū Thashe?* ('Whose shall it be?') (1960, pp. 48) by Dr. G. K. Satvedi; and *Ishvarnā Kārbhārio* ('God's Stewards') by Dr. P. G. Bhagat.

This is perhaps the place to give honourable mention to what the Germans call 'narrow-gauge' theological writing—simpler and briefer works for Sunday Schools, village work, and religious education in general. It is not possible here to list such books in detail, for they have long been available in large numbers, but special mention should be made of the quarterly Sunday School notes *Sābbāth Shālānā Pātho*, begun by Dr. J. M. Blough in 1906 and published from then until 1942 by the Church of the Brethren, and from 1943 to 1955 by the Gujarat Tract Society. *The Sunday School Union Graded Series* was also published in Gujarati, and translations of the books of Mr. and Mrs. Annett have been familiar since 1915, including various publications for the training of Sunday School teachers, such as *Palestine the Chosen Land* (1933) and *The Sunday School of Today* (1937). Since 1955 the I.S.S.U. Graded Course has been in use. Of books of instruction for village Christians mention may be made of *A Course of Study for Village Christians* (pp. 70), a useful outline of Christian faith and practice published by a committee of the Methodist Church in 1941, and two booklets by H. J. Brooks of the Church of the Brethren entitled *Shāstrashikshannā Pātho Grāmyajano Sāru* ('Scripture Lessons for Village People').

Books on methods of evangelism have not been lacking, as for example Dr. Stanley Jones' *Personal Evangelism (Vyaktivār Suvārtāprachār)*.

The Methodist Church and the Church of the Brethren have led the field in the publication of books on the Christian home. Among several titles, mention may be made of *Khristi Gharni Māppaṭṭi* ('The Yardstick of the Christian Home') by M. Nogel.

(d) Comparative Religion

Dr. G. Wilson in 1940 published *A Brief Description of the Hindu Religion* (pp. 29). From Dr. Mulligan there came, between 1955 and 1957, a series of studies, of about 150 pages each on *Buddhism, Hinduism* and *Zoroastrianism*, while a similar book on

Islam is ready in manuscript. From Dr. G. K. Satvedi came *Pārsī Dharmānī Avlokan* (*A Review of the Parsee Religion*) (1953, pp. 70). An unusual little book of quite exceptional interest in this field is *Nakalanka Avatār* (*The Spotless Incarnation*) (1942, pp. 48), by the Revs. Ramsingh Khandas and James Ukabhai. This book, drawing on the life-long experience of the Rev. Ramsinghbhai, whose work we have already noticed, is an analysis of certain Hindu prophecies of a coming 'Spotless Incarnation' and especially of a series of *bhajans* commonly sung at an annual religious fair at a village called Koliyak in Saurashtra. No less than fourteen such *bhajans* are printed, all containing 'prophetic' material whose detailed fulfilment in Christ is demonstrated. These 'Messianic prophecies' of Gujarat had been noted and commented on by J. V. S. Taylor a century ago, and are also discussed in Mrs. Sinclair Stevenson's *Without the Pale* (Y.M.C.A., Calcutta, 1930), but this is, I think, the fullest treatment of the subject, and one full of interest to anyone studying Hinduism as a *praeparatio evangelii*.

(e) Devotion and Verse

Many books of prayers and devotions were published during this period, beginning with Dr. Mulligan's *Prārthnāsangraha* ('Collection of Prayers') (pp. 65), a useful book with a Lectionary, published in 1929. Mention should be made here of *Sādhāran Prārthnā*, the Gujarati version of the Anglican Prayer Book, first translated about 1915. The present, abridged, version dates from 1942. The Methodist supplement to the *Bhajanasangraha*, containing *Forms of Service*, should also be noted.

The first edition of the *Bhajanasangraha* itself was published by the Gujarat Tract Society in 1936. It has since been enlarged. It replaced, as we have seen, the earlier *Kāvyaṛpan* (I.P. Mission and U.C.N.I.), *Dharmagita Sangraha* (Methodist), and *Bhajanasangraha* (Alliance). The *Bhajanasangraha* contains hymns from a wide variety of traditions, but perhaps one may venture to hope that subsequent revisions will contain more genuine Gujarati verse, and will strive also for hymns of real theological content, rather than mere expressions of piety. *Bhajanmālā* was published in 1936, and in 1938 *Bhajanāvāli*, a little collection which has been of great use in evangelism. Small books of hymns for children have been published by more than one of the Churches.

In 1956 the Alliance Mission published a translation by R. Keshav of *Power through Prayer*, by E. M. Bounds, and in the same year *The Meaning of the Lord's Prayer* (pp. 76) by J. H. Davey of the U.C.N.I. appeared. About 1955 there began the remarkable series of devotional books written or translated by Prof. Dhanjibhai Fakirbhai, a member of the Anglican Church, and himself a convert, whose consistent aim has been to present the Christian Gospel in a form which will be understood and appreciated by Hindu thinkers. Perhaps the best known of his books

is *Hriday Gītā* ('The Song of the Heart'), which gives the teaching of Jesus in the form of a dialogue like the Bhagavadgītā, the entire content being Biblical quotation in Prof. Dhanjibhai's own modern translation. This little devotional book, which in effect attempts a new interpretation of Christian truth for Indian seekers, has had the distinction of being translated from Gujarati into Marathi and Hindi. Prof. Dhanjibhai has also published *Prārthnānjali*, a collection of prayers for each day of the month; *Param Shreyah*, a translation of Drummond's *The Greatest Thing in the World*; *Premopanishad* ('The Upanishad of Love') (pp. 133), a selection from the writings of Christian saints, ancient and modern, and *Bhakta Hriday* ('The Devout Heart'), of which the second part is a translation into Gujarati metres of Christian hymns from Hindi and Marathi. Recently accepted for publication is *Prem Tattva Darshan* ('The Philosophy of Love'), in which Prof. Dhanjibhai expounds the Christian faith in terms of *Sachchidānanda*, showing finally how the category of *Love* includes and transcends the other three.

Another name which has come to the fore in devotional lyrics is that of Shri Ramji Khimjibhai Panth. In 1960 he published a collection of poems, many of which had previously appeared in various journals, under the title *Jivan-Sangita* ('Music of Life') (pp. 178).

In 1957 there appeared *Khristi Utsavoni Prārthnā* (pp. 144), which is mainly an adaptation of the Church of Scotland's *Prayers for the Christian Year*. In 1958 was published *Yuvak Prārthnāmālā*, a prayer book especially designed for youth groups by D. G. Bailie and Prof. Dhanjibhai. *The Upper Room* appears each month in Gujarati.

(f) Constitutional and Ecumenical

Down the years translations have been published from time to time of Church Constitutions, such as the *Discipline of the Methodist Episcopal Church* translated in 1924, the *Constitution of the U.C.N.I.*, and the *Constitution and Form of Worship of the Church of the Brethren*. These documents frequently contain theological confessions and statements, and are therefore worth noting. In recent years also the *Plan of Church Union in Northern India* has promoted much theological writing in Gujarati, not only in the translation of the Plan itself, published in 1954, third revised edition, 1957, but in the many Gujarati reports and memoranda prepared by the different negotiating Churches in Gujarat, where the Plan has been very minutely studied and debated. Finally, note should be taken of various ecumenical documents, such as the handbook *Jesus Christ the Light of the World* prepared for the third Assembly of the World Council of Churches at New Delhi in 1961.

(g) Church History

In 1940, the year of the Centenary of the Irish Presbyterian Mission, Dr. G. Wilson published *Marī Runa* ('My Debt') (pp. 115), a history of what is now the Gujarat Church Council of the U.C.N.I. In 1945 was published the *Golden Jubilee History* of the Church of the Brethren in India, the volume being the work of a committee, and in 1952 the *Silver Jubilee of the District Meeting* of the Church of the Brethren. A new general *Church History* by D. M. Kennedy, in two volumes based on Latourette, is at present in preparation, and will fill a deep need.

(h) Periodicals

The different Christian periodicals published in Gujarat from time to time carry articles of theological interest. The earliest known periodical was *Gnāndīpak* (*The Lamp of Knowledge*), published by James Glasgow from 1856 to 1860. It was followed by *Satyodaya* (*The Dawn of Truth*), published by the I.P. Mission from 1862 to 1932. In 1933 a united Christian monthly, *Khrīstibāndhu* ('The Christian Friend') was commenced, replacing four earlier denominational magazines—*Satyodaya* (U.C.N.I.), *Harshānād* (Methodist), *Prakāshapatra* (Church of the Brethren) and *Harshāvartmāna* (Alliance)—and this is still published by the Gujarat Tract Society. *Christian News*, a fortnightly newspaper published by a syndicate in Surat, commenced in 1956.

VI. LOOKING TO THE FUTURE

This Survey has been uneven, and no doubt many important names and books have been omitted, while some of doubtful value have been included. It has not always been easy to decide which books are 'theological' enough to merit inclusion, and in particular the whole wide field of 'evangelistic' literature has been left untouched, except for the earlier period, when books of technical theology were not being attempted. Similarly, many books of published sermons and addresses, such as those by R. S. Dickey and W. G. Mulligan, have been passed over, as well as the many Bible-study booklets which have been published as preparatory material for the annual Evangelistic Week. These would all find a place in a comprehensive history of Gujarati Christian literature, but here the aim has been deliberately restricted.

It will be seen that there is quite a considerable body of Gujarati Christian theological literature. Unfortunately many of the best books are now unobtainable, and the number actually available for theological students is very limited. There is no cause for complacency. A Gujarati Christian Literature Conference was held at Godhra in 1956 under the auspices of the Gujarat Tract Society, and with the co-operation of the National Christian Council, and a *Three-Year Plan for Gujarati Christian Literature for 1957-59* was drawn up, including quite a number of theological

books. Some of these have indeed been published, or are on the way to publication, like Dr. Wilson's *Introduction to the N.T.* But for the most part the Plan has remained incomplete.

The publication of *World Christian Books*, and above all of the excellent *Christian Students' Library*, published for the Senate of Serampore by the Christian Literature Society, has provided a rich mine of theological material which is intended for translation into different languages. So far this work has not been begun in Gujarati, though a number of titles from both these series were included in the Three-Year Plan of 1956. The chief difficulty would appear to be the common one of the problem of persuading busy people to write books in their spare time, a commodity which few of them possess.

New hope and enthusiasm have now been generated by reports of work done in other areas of India by Theological Literature Committees carrying out Plans approved and assisted by the Theological Education Fund of the World Council of Churches. With the help and encouragement of the Board of Theological Education of the National Christian Council of India a Plan for Gujarati Theological Literature has been submitted to and approved by the Theological Education Fund, and a substantial grant has been made available, the required balance being raised in Gujarat. This Plan, when carried out, should do much to fill the present gaps, and to provide students of Theology in Gujarat with the resources they need. Special emphasis has been placed on Old Testament Commentaries (a very weak field, as has been shown); and 'basic tools', such as a Bible Dictionary, as the Gujarati books are no longer available, and in any case more up-to-date material is needed; and on Systematic Theology, where it is hoped to make use of material already published in the Christian Students' Library. For example, it is hoped to put straight into Gujarati the Hindi version, by R. M. Clark and Shantvant Jana, of Dr. Marcus Ward's *Outlines of Christian Doctrine*. It is interesting to note that 'reverse lease-lend' also operates, and that there is a request from the Hindi area for the use of Dr. Wilson's *Introduction to the N.T.* The titles included in the Plan are as follows:

BASIC TOOLS

1. A Bible Wordbook (like Richardson's).
2. An English-Gujarati Glossary of Theological Terms, with brief explanations.
3. A Bible Atlas.
4. A Bible Dictionary (like the Westminster).

TEXTBOOKS

I. *Old Testament*

1. History and Religion of Israel.

2. *Commentaries* : (a) Exodus.
 (b) I Samuel.
 (c) Selected Psalms.
 (d) Isaiah (2 Vols.).
 (e) Daniel.
 (f) Amos.

II. *New Testament*

1. Introduction to the N.T. (MS being prepared for publication) (Wilson).
2. *Commentaries* : (a) St. John's Gospel.
 (b) Acts (Mulligan, based on Barclay)—published.
 (c) I Corinthians.

III. *Theology*

1. Outlines of Christian Doctrine (Ward, as in Hindi version).
2. The Christian Doctrine of Salvation (cp. Estborn).
3. History of Doctrine.

IV. *Church History*

1. Church History (Kennedy, based on Latourette; in preparation).
2. The Church in India (to include a special section on the Church in Gujarat).

V. *Comparative Religion*

1. Jainism.
2. The Sects of Gujarat.

VI. *Worship and Pastoralia*

1. Outline and History of Christian Worship.
2. Handbook of Practical Ethics (cp. Hyde's book published earlier).
3. Handbook on Counselling and Visitation.
4. Church Organization and Administration.

The carrying out of this programme is going to call for much hard and disciplined work, but the attempt must now be made. There is a good foundation to build on, but the Christian ministry of the future must be trained to the highest possible standard. With the fall in the standard of English, and the development of higher education in Gujarati there will be an ever-increasing need for high quality Christian theological books, to give the necessary tools to theological students of the Serampore L.Th. standing, as well as to provide ministers and laymen with the necessary aids

to the fuller understanding of their faith. There is the prospect also that Serampore may provide a B.D. Course for regional languages. This would mean that it would be necessary to provide textbooks for students of the standard now used for the English B.D. examination. If the standard is to be raised to that level much work will have to be done on textbooks, and the present Plan should take us quite a long distance along the road.

There is a good tradition of theological scholarship in Gujarat. But such a tradition must be constantly self-renewing, and it is to be hoped that now, with help and encouragement from many quarters, and the example of what has been done and is being done in other places, this tradition will be renewed and reinforced to the Glory of God.

Note on the Rendering of Titles

1. Where possible, the Gujarati title, together with the author's original English title, as printed in the book itself, or in printed lists, is given, thus: *Sachaino Mijan (The Balance of Truth)*.

2. In some cases the English title, taken from printed lists, alone is known, thus: *On the Perfection of God*. In many other cases, where the English and Gujarati titles are identical in meaning, I have not thought it necessary to give the Gujarati titles in transliteration, and so the English alone is given.

3. For many Gujarati books there is no printed English title; in such cases I have given an approximate translation of the title in inverted commas, thus: *Kavyarpan* ('Offering of Poems').

Note on Sources

Many of the books and pamphlets mentioned are to be found in the collection of the Historical Committee of the I.P. Mission Council, at present housed in Ahmedabad. For the period 1830-1860 much information is to be found in the *Oriental Christian Spectator*. From 1853 onwards the printed Reports of the Gujarat Tract Society are available, and from 1870 the printed Reports of the I.P. Mission, which usually give information about books printed in the Surat Press each year. Two very useful classified catalogues have been published, one in English only by H. R. Scott (pp. 12), published by C.L.S., Madras, in 1904, and containing an introductory essay on *Gujarati Christian Literature at the Beginning of the Twentieth Century*; the other by the Revs. Himmatlal Ashirvad and D. P. Makwana (pp. 60), published for the Gujarat Tract Society at Surat in 1932, in Gujarati, with added English titles, and descriptive notes. For Hymnology there is an interesting paper by J. Sinclair Stevenson entitled *Gujarati Hymnology* (1923, pp. 16), printed by the Methodist Publishing House, Lucknow. There is no modern comprehensive catalogue

of Gujarati Christian Literature, and the need for one is great, as there are several different publishers, and it is almost impossible to compile a complete list of what is available. I must express a particular debt to my friends Principal R. B. Desai, Dr. G. K. Satvedi, Dr. P. G. Bhagat, and the Rev. Paul Johnson for information supplied by them.

OUR CONTRIBUTORS

The Rev. R. H. S. Boyd is on the staff of the Gujarat United School of Theology, Ahmedabad. His complete article, published in this *Journal* in two parts, will also be published as an Occasional Paper of the Theological Education Fund of the World Council of Churches.

The Rev. J. G. Bookless is on the staff of Bishop's College, Calcutta.