

Excerpt from

***Mohammed and Islam*** \*

by Ignaz Goldziher

pages 312-323

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quently conceded by the 'Ulema.<sup>1</sup> Nevertheless, from the practical point of view, the Wahhābites had to be rejected as sectarians by orthodox Moslems, according to whom anyone who separates himself from Ijma', rejects what the general consensus of the Church in its historical development has recognized as proper and true. Older Sunna regulations are of no consequence, for what is recognized by Ijma' becomes, eo ipso, Sunna. That alone is Sunnitic, that is orthodox, which corresponds to the recognized general belief and general practice. That which is contrary to this Ijma' is heterodox. Starting from these premises the orthodox Moslem must conclude that the Wahhābites, though claiming to be faithful to Sunna, through their opposition and rejection of matters which are recognized in the four orthodox sects, in part even demanded by them, are to be excluded from orthodox Islam, precisely as the old Kharijites. Since the twelfth century Ghazālī has been the final authority for orthodox Islam. Against his teachings, the Wahiābites in their literary opposition against Meccan orthodoxy still raging to-day, oppose the doctrines of ibn Teimiyya which have been rejected by the prevailing theology. "Hie Ghazālī, Hie ibn Teimiyya," is the warery of this struggle. Ijma' has accepted Ghazālī and canonized him. Those who differ have broken with Ijma' and must be condemned as heterodox, despite their claim of being faithful and consistent followers of Sunna.

X. The movement which arose in the Arabian peninsula and whose aims and effects we have just been considering, has its gaze fixed on the past, denying the justification of the results of historical development, and recognizing Islam only in the petrified form of the seventh century. In contrast to this is a more modern movement within Islam, which recognizes the religious

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evolution of mankind, in fact has this belief as its starting point and vital idea. This is the Babi movement which had its rise in Persia.

It arose, it is true, from a form of Shī'ism predominating in that country. In its historical development, however, its fundamental ideas are connected with a principle which we have come to recognize as the guiding thought of the Ismā'īlian sect, namely the self-perfection of the divine revelation through progressive manifestation of the great world-intellect.

In the beginning of the nineteenth century a new branch was grafted on to the Imam doctrine of the Shi'itic "Twelvers," the school of Sheikholes whose adherents cherished a zealous worship of the "hidden Mahdī" and of the Imams preceding him. In a gnostic manner, they hold these persons as hypostases of divine attributes, as creative potentialities. They thus give the Imam mythology of the ordinary Imamiyya a greater area, and in this respect are in line with the extremists (ghulat, see above page 233).

In this group grew up the visionary youth Mirza Muhammed 'Alī of Shiraz (born 1820). On account of his great ability and enthusiasm, he was recognized by his companions as chosen for the highest calling. This recognition of his fellow visionaries acted as a strong suggestion to the spirit of the pensive youth. He finally came to recognize himself as the embodiment and manifestation of a supreme superhuman mission within the development of Islam. From the consciousness of being a *Bāb*, that is "a door" by which the infallible will of the hidden Imam, as the highest source of all truth, reveals itself to the world, he soon came to believe that in the economy of spiritual development he was really the organ of the hidden instructor, the Imam of the age. In other words, he himself was the new Mahdī, whose coming had been foretold at "the end of

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the first millennium," after the twelfth Imam (260-1260) \* after Mohammed. He is Mahdī however, no longer as the ordinary Shī'ite conceives of this dignity, but (and here he touches Ismā'īlitic doctrines) as a manifestation of the spirit of the world, as "the point of manifestation," the highest truth, which, having taken on bodily form in him, differs only in appearance, but is identical in being with those previous manifestations of that spiritual substance proceeding from God. He is the reappearance on earth of Moses and Jesus, as well as the embodiment of all other prophets through whose bodily appearance in former aeons the divine world-spirit had manifested itself.

He preached to his followers opposition to the Mullahs—in Persia more particularly, the Ulemas are so-called—to their sanctimoniousness and hypocrisy, and their worldly strivings. He even went so far as to raise the revelation of Mohammed, which he interpreted largely in an allegorical sense, to the highest level. The practices of Islam, the minute laws on ritualistic purity, etc., were little considered in his doctrine. Sometimes others were substituted for them. Divine judgment, paradise, hell and the resurrection had other meanings.<sup>1</sup> In this he had predecessors in earlier spiritualistic systems. Resurrection is every new periodic manifestation of the divine spirit in relation to a preceding one. The latter comes to new life through its successor. This is the meaning of the “meeting with God,” as the future life is designated in the Koran.

It is, however, not only in dogmatic and legal conceptions that the young Persian visionary opposed the petrified theology of the Mullahs. With his proclamation he attacked the social relationships of his fellow believers. His sympathetic ethics, the brotherhood of all men, were offered in place of the wall of separation between classes. He wished to raise women from the low position in which actual conditions had placed her

\* Of the Mohammedan era.

in the name of tradition, to one of equality with man. He begins this task by doing away with the obligatory veil, and by rejecting the coarse conception of marriage as it had developed in Moslem communities, as this development was not a necessary result of religious principles. He connected the nobler conception of the marriage relation with thoughts on the function of the family and the reform of education.

The religious reforms of Bāb, therefore, included in their aim the fundamentals of community life. He is a social as well as a religious reformer, but as at the beginning he started with gnostic and mystic views, the latter element permeates his entire system by which he builds up his view of the world. He combines a distinctively modern point of view with Pythagorean subtleties; like the Hūrūfis (page 268) he toys with combinations of the letters of the alphabet, and assigns a numerical value to them. The number 19 possesses the greatest importance and serves him as the point of departure for “Gematria” (i. e., combinations of letters according to their numerical value), which play a great part in his speculation.

In regard to his own person he teaches his identity with the prophets which preceded him, a conception which has its roots in gnosticism, and even found an expression in

earlier schismatic movements in Islam. Similarly he announces for the future a constantly renewing manifestation of the divine spirit, embodied for his days in his own person.<sup>2</sup> Divine revelation is not concluded either with Mohammed or with him. The divine spirit reveals itself in a progressive chain of periodical manifestations, which proclaim the divine will in a steadily increasing maturity, according to the progress of the times. Through such teachings Mirzā Muhammed ‘Alī paved the way for the transformation which took place in his community soon after his death.

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He has embodied the substance of his teachings in a religious work regarded as sacred, and known as *Bayan*, i. e., Interpretation. His doctrine, naturally, appeared exceedingly dangerous from a political as well as from a religious point of view. The founder and his followers who gathered around him, among whom the heroine Kurat al-‘Ain (comfort of the eye) arouses our sympathy, were unsparingly persecuted and proscribed, pursued and turned over to the executioner. Mohammed ‘Alī himself was put to death in July, 1850. Those of his followers who escaped the martyr’s death, whose enthusiasm was increased by the persecutions which they suffered, found an asylum on Turkish soil.

Soon after the death of the founder a split occurred within the community, according as the followers recognized the one or the other of two pupils singled out by the Bāb, as the authentic interpreter of the will of the late leader. The minority gathered around Subh-i-ezel (dawn of eternity) with headquarters in Famagusta (Cyprus), who proposed to sanction the work of the Bāb in the form given to it by the master. They are the conservative Bābists. The others supported the contention of the other apostle, Behā-Allāh (splendor of God), who in the beginning of the sixties, during the stay of the Bāb-exiles in Adrianople, declared himself on the basis of a cyclic system, to be the more perfect manifestation proclaimed by the master, through which the latter’s own work would be raised to a higher level. Mohammed ‘Alī was his precursor, his John, as it were. The divine spirit had appeared in him to fulfill the preparation made by the precursor. Behā is greater than Bāb. The latter was the *Kā‘im* (the one who rises up), Behā is *Kayyūm* (the permanent one); “He who will appear,” the expression used by Bāb with regard to his successor, “is greater than the one who has already appeared.”<sup>3</sup> By preference he calls himself

*mazhar* or *manzar*, the revelation of God in which the beauty of God is to be seen as in a mirror. He himself is “the beauty of Allah,” whose face shines between the heavens and the earth as a precious polished pearl.<sup>4</sup> Through him alone the being of God can be known, whose emanation he himself is.<sup>5</sup> His followers actually invest him with divine attributes, as illustrated in the extravagant hymns addressed to him which have been published by E.G. Browne.<sup>6</sup>

On account of the quarrel which broke out between his followers and the conservative Bābists, Behā and his community were transferred to Akka, where he perfected his doctrine into a complete system in opposition not only to the *milet al furkān*, the congregation of the Koran, but also to the *milet al bayān*, i. e., the old Bābists who would not accept his reform, who declined to pass beyond the Bayān.

His teachings have been embodied in a number of books and epistles in Arabic and Persian, of which the *Kitāb akdas* (Sacred Book) is the most important.<sup>7</sup> For his written declarations he claims divine origin. “Even this tablet (referred to in one of his epistles), is a hidden writing which has been guarded from eternity among the treasures of divine exemption, and whose characters are written with the fingers of divine power, if you would but know it.” Thus he conveys the impression as though he did not reveal the whole wealth of his doctrine of salvation, reserving apparently some esoteric thoughts for the innermost circle. He maintains also that certain teachings ought to be kept secret from opponents. In a certain passage he declares: “We must not discuss this stage in detail, for the ears of our opponents are directed toward us in order to overhear, while offering opposition to the true and everlasting God. For they do not attain to the mystery of knowledge

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and of wisdom of the one who arises from the horizon of the splendor of divine unity.”

This manifestation of the universal spirit in Behā, as the fulfilment of the announcement of the original founder, resulted in the abrogation of the revelation to the Bāb in some essential points. While the latter is at bottom only a reform of Islam, Behā advanced to the larger conception of a world religion which was to unite mankind in a religious brotherhood. As in his political teachings he professes cosmopolitanism—emphasizing that there is “no preference to be given to him who loves his country, but to him who loves the world,”<sup>8</sup> his religion in this matter was stripped of all narrow sectarianism.

He regards himself as the manifestation of the world spirit to ALL mankind. With this in view he sends his epistles, which form a portion of his book of revelations, to the nations and rulers of Europe and Asia; and he extends his horizon even to “the kings of America, and to the chiefs of the republic”; he proclaims “what the dove coos on the branches of constancy.” In the eyes of his followers he becomes a divine man filled with the prophetic spirit, when in his epistle to Napoleon II he announced, four years before Sedan, the Empire’s approaching downfall.

With his cosmopolitan aims in view, he commanded his followers to prepare themselves, by the study of foreign languages, for the mission of apostles of the world religion which was to unite all mankind and all nations “in order that the interpreter of God’s cause reaching the east and the west should announce it to the states and nations of the world in such a way, that the minds of men should be drawn to it, and mouldering bones should be brought to life.” “By this means, unity is to be brought about and the highest task of civilization

accomplished.”<sup>9</sup> The ideal means by which the understanding of the world is to be won is a common world language. He wishes that kings and ministers might unite in recognizing one of the existing languages, or else create a new one as the universal language which should be taught in all the schools of the world.<sup>10</sup>

He threw aside all limitations both of Islam and of Bābism. With regard to the latter, it is true, he did not free his proclamation from all mystical speculations, tricks of letters and numbers, which had gathered around early Bābism. His main interest, nevertheless, is directed toward the building up of the ethical and social factors. War is strictly forbidden, only “in case of need” is the use of weapons allowed; slavery also is forbidden, and equality of all men is taught as the nucleus of the new gospel.<sup>11</sup> In a revelation entitled *Sūrat al Mulūk* (Sura of the Kings) he severely reproached the Sultan of Turkey for allowing such great differences in power to exist among his people.<sup>12</sup> In a reforming spirit, he takes up the question of marriage relations already considered by Bāb. His ideal is monogamy, but he makes concessions to bigamy, which, however, is to be regarded as the limit of polygamy. Divorce is recognized, but modified in a humane spirit. The reuniting of those who have separated is allowed, provided they have not married again; in direct contrast therefore to the custom of Islam. The law of Islam is regarded as completely superseded; new forms for prayer and ritual are introduced, public prayer with its liturgical forms (*salāt al-jamā’*) is done away with. Each individual prays alone (*furādā*). Common prayer is retained only for prayers over

the dead. The kibla (the direction of prayer) is not toward Mecca but toward the place where the one is whom God has sent down ‘as his manifestation.’ When he wanders the kibla wanders, until he takes up an abode somewhere. Bodily

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cleanliness, washing and bathing, are most emphatically ordained, as religious duties, together with a warning against bathing establishments such as those of the Persians which are represented as very unclean.

With a stroke of the pen he strikes out the limitations which Islam had laid upon the believers, without going into any detail except in the case of certain laws of dress. You may do anything which is not opposed to common sense.<sup>13</sup> Like his predecessor he is tireless in his war against the ‘Ulemā who twist and check the will of God. One is, however, to keep clear of disputes with religious opponents. The Behā religion recognizes no professional spiritual position. Every member of this universal church should work toward a productive aim, useful to the community. Those who have the ability should be the spiritual teachers of the community without compensation.<sup>14</sup> The suppression of the corporate business of teaching was demonstrated by the abolishment of the pulpit (minbar) in public gathering places.<sup>15</sup>

We will be disappointed if we expect to find Behā in the camp of the liberals in political matters. He surprises us by fighting political freedom—‘We see that many men desire freedom and boast of it: they are obviously in error. . . . Freedom brings about confusion whose fire is not extinguished. Know that the origin and appearance of freedom is animalic; man must be under laws which guard him from his own barbarity, and the harms which may be done by those who are false. Indeed freedom removes man from the demands of culture and propriety.’—and so on, in undisguised reactionary language.<sup>16</sup> The adherents of the Behā do not even favor the liberal political developments in Turkey and Persia, but look with disfavor on the dethronement of the sultan and the shah.<sup>17</sup>

The mission of the Behā Allāh passed after his death (May 16, 1892), with only a few objections by the

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“friends” (ahbāb), to his son and successor ‘Abbās Effendi, called ‘Abd-al Bahā, or *Ghusn Azam* (the Great Branch).<sup>18</sup> He carried the views of his father to a

comprehensive development. They are made to conform more and more to the forms and aims of the intellectual thought of the Occident. The fantastic elements which had still clung to the previous stage are made as mild as possible, although not yet completely thrown off. ‘Abbās makes a wide use of the writings of the Old and New Testament which he quotes for his purposes. In this way he strives to extend the influence to still wider circles than those to which the followers of his father had appealed.

Since the appearance of ‘Abd-al Bahā the propaganda has attained very remarkable results. A great number of American ladies (the names of a few can be found in the notes) made a pilgrimage to the Persian prophet at the foot of Mount Carmel in order to bring to their western homes words of healing from his own lips, words which they had heard directly from the holy man. The best presentation of the teaching of ‘Abbās we owe to Miss Laura Clifford Barney, who, living a long time in the vicinity of ‘Abbās, took down his teachings in shorthand in order to bring them to the western world as representing an authentic conception of the new Bahā doctrine.<sup>19</sup>

The movement started by the Bāb is no longer to bear the name of its founder. There has developed lately a preference to call this offspring of the doctrine of Mirzā Mohammed ‘Alī which is constantly spreading and leaving its rivals behind, *Behā‘iyya*, a name which the faithful give themselves in opposition to the unimportant remnants of the conservative Bayān-adherents who are gathered under other leaders.

The wide universalistic aim which characterizes it has drawn its adherents not only from mosques, but from

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churches, synagogues, and fire temples. A building for public worship has lately been erected in Ashkābād near the Persian boundary in Russian Turkestan. A description of it has been given by an enthusiastic European interpreter of Behā‘ism, Hippolyte Dreyfus.<sup>20</sup> On the other hand, the designation *Behā‘ism* embodies the idea of religious free-thought, of the laying aside of the positive doctrine of Islam. As formerly the term *Zindīk* meant an early Moslem whose religious views were influenced by Parseeism and Manichaeism, and as later the name *Failasūf* (Philosopher), lately also *Farmasūn* (franc-macon) without regard to a definite kind of backsliding from true Islam generally refers to a free-thinker, so to-day in Persia, *Behā‘ī* is applied not only to this latest development of the Bābi faith, but as Rev. F. M. Jordan has remarked, “many of those who are given this name are really nothing but ‘irreligious rationalists.’ ”<sup>21</sup> Since the



adherents of this form of belief in Persia and also in other Moslem lands still have every reason to hide their completely anti-Mohammedan convictions from publicity and to claim the practice of *takiyya* (above page 228), it would be difficult to offer even approximately correct statistics as to the followers of Bābiism in both its forms. The statement of Rev. Isaac Adams, one of the latest to picture Bābi conditions, that their number in Persia reaches three millions, would seem to be exaggerated. This would mean almost a third of the whole population of the country. ‘Abbās Effendi himself in an interview in New York in July, 1912, said he could not give the number of the followers of Behā’ism.

Bābism, passing over into Behā’ism, has undertaken a serious propaganda. Its teachers and followers have not hesitated to draw the consequences of their conviction that they are not a sect of Islam but the representative of a world-wide doctrine. Its propaganda has

not only spread far among those of Moslem faith (as far as Indo-China) but with remarkable success is going farther and farther beyond the boundaries of Islam. The prophet of ‘Akka has found in America and in Europe also, it is claimed, zealous adherents even among Christians.<sup>21</sup> Through the spread of literature the attempt is made to crystallize American Behā’ism. Its journalistic interpreter is a magazine known as the Star of the West, which has appeared nineteen times every year since 1910 (19 being the sacred number of the Bāb). With Chicago as its center, it covers a wide area in the United States, and it is in this very city that plans are being formed for the erection of a religious gathering place, *mashrak al-Adkat*, for the American Behās. A considerable sum raised by the “Friends” has assured the acquisition of a large piece of land on the banks of Lake Michigan which was dedicated on the first of May, 1912, by ‘Abbās Effendi during his tour in the United States.<sup>23</sup> Jewish visionaries also have picked out from the books of the Old Testament prophets the foretelling of the Behā and ‘Abbās. According to them, wherever the “glory of Jahweh” is spoken of, the appearance of the Saviour of the world, Behā Allah is meant. They find support in all the references to Mount Carmel, in the neighborhood of which the Light of God shone for all men at the end of the nineteenth century. Nor have they neglected to ferret out from the visions of the Book of Daniel<sup>24</sup> the foretelling and even the chronology of the movement beginning with the Bāb. The 2300 year-days (Dan. viii:14) at the end of which “the sanctuary shall be cleansed” corresponds, according to their reckoning, with the year 1844, of our era, the year in which Mirza Mohammed ‘Alī proclaimed

himself as Bāb, and at which time the universal spirit (Welt-geist) entered into a new phase of its manifestation.

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With the appearance of ‘Abbās Effendi, the application of Biblical interpretations went one step farther. According to these he was foretold as “the child who will be born to us, the son who will be given to us,” on whose shoulders lie the responsibilities of a prince, and who is the bearer of the wonder epithets in Isaiah 9:5. As I write these pages I listen to these Biblical proofs from the lips of a Behā visionary who for two years has been staying in my town. He was formerly a physician in Teheran, and is endeavoring to find followers for his faith here. He feels in himself a special mission to my country. This fact is one more proof that it is not on American soil alone that the extra-Mohammedan propaganda of the new Behā is directed.

XI. India offers a very special field for the consideration of a historical development of movements in Islam. In this soil they are products of the peculiar ethnographic conditions of this province of Islam, and offer many a fruitful consideration for the historian of religion. We can merely touch upon them here, however.

Although the Ghassanide conquest in the eleventh century seriously maimed ancient Indian culture, the old forms of religion maintain themselves in their primitive form up to the present day in the very midst of ruling Islam. In spite of the great numbers which Islam owed to the numerous converts from the circles of the Brahma community, the Koran was not able actually to supplant the Vedas. Nowhere was Islam forced to show its tolerance to such a degree as in India. The condition of the population forced Islam to go beyond its fundamental law, the law which permits far-reaching tolerance toward monotheistic religions, but on the other hand commands the unsparing destruction of idolaters in conquered lands. In India, in spite of the war and destruction carried on by the energetic and zealous Ghassanide Mahmud against

ce revéil un retour à l'ancien état de choses établis par le prophète et préconisé par lui" are to be recognized. (Dr. Rind Ghali, "De la Tradition considérée comme source du droit Mus." 5.) This tendency has called forth in late years a great number of apologetic writings by Moslem theologians.

IV. 1. See Kuenen, 'National Religions and Universal Religions.' 54.

VI. 1. Muh. Studien II, 277 ff. E. Doutté, "Les Marabouts" (Paris 1900; reprint from the *Revue de l'Hist. des Relig.* XL and XLI). Cf. also my lecture "Die Fortschritte der Islam-Wissenschaft in den letzten drei Jahrzehnten." (Preuss. Jahrb. 1905 CXXI 292.298 = Congress of Arts and Science, Universal Expos. St. Louis 1904, II 508-515.)

VIII. 1. Euting, "Tagebuch einer Reise in Innerarabien," I (Leiden 1896) 157 ff. For further literature on the Wahhābites, see Th. W. Juynboll 1. c. 28, note 2. The opposition of the Wahhābites to all innovations not founded on the old uses of Islam has sometimes given rise to the misunderstanding, that their practices are based exclusively on the Koran. This error appears in the otherwise excellent description of Wahhābitic tendencies by Charles Didier, "Ein Aufenthalt bei dem Gross-Scherif von Mekka" (deutsche Übers. Leipzig 1862) 222-255. The same error is made by Baron Ed. Nolde in his "Reise nach Innearabien, Kurdistan und Armenien" (Braunschweig 1895) where he states that the Wahhābites "reject every tradition including also, and primarily, Sunna" whereas just the contrary is the case.

2. Ibn Jubeir, "Travels"<sup>2</sup> ed. Wright-de Goeje 190, 13. IX. 1. Wetzenstein, "Reisebericht über Hauran und die Trachonen" (Berlin 1860) 150.

IX. 1. Kult. d. Gegenw. 128, 14-28.

2. Cf. *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* XXII 337.

3. "Sendschreiben des Behā Allah" ed. V. Rosen (St. Petersburg, Academy 1908) I 112, 2-5.

4. *Ibid.* 19, 7; 94, 24.

5. *Journ. Roy. As. Soc.* 1892, 326-335.

6. Sendschreiben 71, 15; 82, 22; 84 below. The entire epistle no. 34 is devoted to a polemic against the Bayāns.
7. Ed. A. H. Toumansky (Mémoires de l'Académie imp. de St Petersburg 1899; VIII. Série Vol. III No. 6).
8. Sendschreiben 18, 21; 20, 14 ff.; 94 below; 93, 20.
9. *Kitāb Akdas* No. 212, 276. 468.
10. Miss Ethel Rosenberg, "Behāsm, its ethical and social teachings" (in Transactions of the third Internat. Congr. for the History of Religions. Oxford 1908, I 324).
11. *Kitāb Akdas* No. 164, 385.
12. Sendechreiben 54, 21 ff.

13. *Kitāb Akdas* No. 145, 155 ff. 324. 179. 252. 371. 386.
14. Miss E. Rosenberg 1. c. 323.
15. Hippolyte Dreyfuss, in "Mélanges-Hartwig Derenbourg" (Paris 1909) 421.
16. *Kitāb Akdas* No, 284-292.
17. Cf. the account in "Revue du Monde mus." IX 339-341.
18. The portraits of Bchā and 'Abbās, as well as the picture of the tomb of the former in 'Akka are to be found in a publication hostile to Bābism, bearing the title "Zustände in heutigen Persien, wie sie das Reisebuch Ibrāhim Beis enthüllt," translated by Walter Schulz (Leipzig 1903). The picture of Subh-i-zel is to be found in E. G. Browne, "The Tārīkh-i-jadid or New History of . . . the Bāb" (Cambridge 1893).
19. Cf. on her book and a survey of its contents Oscar Mann in the Oriental. Literaturzeitung 1909, 36 ff.
20. Une Istitution Bèhaïe: "Le Machrequou'l-Azkār d'Achqābād" (Mélanges-Hartwig Derenbourg 415 ff.).
21. In the compilation: "The Mohammedan World of to-day" 129.
22. See now the comprehensive article on Bābism and its history by E. G. Browne in "Hastings' Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics" II 299-308, which appeared after the compilation of my manuscript. In this article will also be found the bibliography of Behā'is in western countries. Hippolyte Dreyfuss, "Essai sur le Behāisme, son histoire, sa portée sociale." Paris (Leroux) 1909, Roemer, die Bābi-Behāi (Potsdam 1911).
- 22a. The lectures given by 'Abbās Effendi in American cities published in the "Star of the West" No. III 12 (San Francisco). "Wisdom Talks of Abdul Behā" at Chicago, April 30—May 5, 1912—where his dedication address is also given.

23. Miss Jean Masson in the January number 1909 of the American Review of Reviews reports the remarkable progress of Behāism, for which she claims the distinction of being the Ultimate Religion.
24. E. G. Browne in the Journ. Roy. As. Soc. 1892, 701.
- XI. 1. Cf. Ibn Batūta, 'Voyages" (Paris) IV 29; 223 on Indian provinces: "Most of their inhabitants are unbelievers," i. e. heathen (kuffār) under the protection of Moslems, taht al dimma also "ahl al dimma" (those standing under protection), as also Jews and Christians who merely pay the jizya are designated. In the fourteenth century, an Islamic prince in India allowed the Chinese to erect a pagoda on Moslem territory in return for the payment of the jizya (Ibn Batūta IV 2).
2. On the mutual influence of Hinduism on Islam M. C. Westcott published an address in 1908, which is unfortunately inaccessible to me.

3. e. g. For the influence of the caste system see Kobler "Zeitschrift für vergl. Rechtswissenschaft" 1891, X, 83 ff. On the aversion to the remarriage of widows see Muh. Studien 11 883; this aversion is also found outside of India in the province of Jorjan *Mukaddasī* ed. de Goeje 370, 9. Cf. further for such phenomena, John Campbell Oman, "The Mystics and Saints of India" (London 1905) 185-136.
4. T. Block in ZDMG LXII 654 note 2.
5. C. Snouck Hurgronje, 'De Atjèhers" (2 vol.), tr. by A. W. S. Sullivan (2 vol. Leiden 1906). The same "Het. Gayoland en zejne bewoners" (Batavia 1903). R. J. Wilkinson, 'Papers on Malay subjects. Life and Customs" (Kuala Lumpur 1908). Cf. "Revue du M. mus." VII 45 ff. 94 f. 180-197.
6. T. W. Arnold, "Survivals of Hinduism among the Mohammedans of India" (Transactions of the third internat. Congr. Hist. of Rel. I 314 ff.).
7. The literature of this widespread movement as well as the data for

its extension and the statement of its results are given by Hubert Jansen, "Verbreitung des Islams" (Friedrichshagen 1897) 25.30.

8. About this work see Journ, Roy. As, Soe. XIII (1852) 310-372: "Translation of the Takwiyat-ul-Islam etc." (About Ahmed see now the article in the Encyclopedia of Islam I 201<sup>b</sup>.)

XII. 1. Oman 1. c, 126.

2. Journ, Roy. As. Soc. 1907, 325, 485. Grierson *ibid.* 501-503, cf. *Ibid.* 1908, 248.

3. Oman 1. c. also places Kabir's teachings under the influence of Islam.

4. The same view is held by Oman 1. c. 132, M. Bloomfield, in his 'Religion of the Veda, the Ancient Religion in India' (American Lectures on the History of Religions, sr. VII 1906-7) 10 characterizes this religious system as "Mohammedanism fused with Hinduism in the hybrid religion of the Sikhs"; against the view, however, see A. Berriedale Keith in Journ. Roy. As. Soc. 1908 884. (Cf. also Revue du Monde mus. IV 681 ff. Antoine Cabaton, 'Les Sikhs de l'Inde et le Sikhisme' and *ibid.* IX 361-411: J. Vinson, "La Religion des Sikhs.")

5. Macauliffe in Actes du XIVe Congrès des Orientalistes (Algiers 1905) I 137-63.

6. Oman 1. c. 133.

- XIII. 1. "Encyclopedia of Islam" I 89<sup>b</sup>. "The penitents of the Lebanon" (*ibid.* line 38) are not the Druses, but Islamic ascetics, who dwell primarily in the Lebanon mountains. "Yākūt" IV 348, I. Especially that part of the mountains (Province of Antioch and Massisa), known as *al-Lukkām* = (Amanus, see Lammens,