and through him revive Thy servants, for Thou hast promised and Thy promise is secure. 'But corruption has appeared on the land and the sea on account of what the hands of men have wrought' (Koran xxx. 41, edit. Muhammad'Ali).

"And manifest to us, O God, Thy Representative, the descendant of the daughter of Thy Prophet, the namesake of Thy Apostle, that he may overthrow all that is vain and worthless and establish the truth for those who are worthy. O God, appoint him as a place of refuge for Thy oppressed servants, a helping friend to those who have no friends but Thee, that he may hasten the fulfilment of what has been neglected from the requirements of Thy word; and make him a champion of the standard of Thy faith and of the saying of Thy Prophet, may the mercy of God be upon him and his successors. And, O God, guard him within Thine own fortress from the evil of those who oppose him. And, O God, make Thy Prophet to rejoice at the sight of him and of those who obey his call. O God, be merciful to the helpless, and take away grief and sorrow from this people by granting his presence, and hasten his appearance. 'They, forsooth, regard that day as distant, but we see it nigh' (Koran lxx. 6-7). So may it be, by Thy mercy, O Thou Most Merciful of all who have mercy."

## CHAPTER XXXIII

THE RISE OF RELATED SECTS IN MODERN TIMES

HE doctrine of the "hidden Imam," which was first asserted by dissenting factions among the early Shi'ites. was later developed and widely preached by the Isma'ilís. Isma'il was the son of the Imam Ja'far as-Şadik who had been designated to succeed his father in the Imamate, but who. according to his opponents at least, had been deprived of his designation on account of his habit of getting intoxicated. There was a more unanswerable argument, however, in that he died before his father, and the Imam Ja'far aṣ-Ṣadiķ therefore made a second designation in favour of Musa Kazim. But in his Shi'ah community there was a discontented element, who soon came to be known as the Isma'ilis, and who considered that the Imamate had been determined as the right of Isma'il and must therefore continue through his line; and consequently, after his death, it should fall to his son Muḥammad. There was difference of opinion among them as to whether Isma'il himself or his son Muhammad should be regarded as the seventh and the last visible Imam. They agreed, however, that there were only seven, and for this reason they were called the "Seveners" in distinction from the "Twelvers." Afterwards they had a series of seven "concealed Imams," whom the very nature of their existence makes it impossible to place clearly in history. But the Isma'ilí books give them the names Isma'il, Muḥammad, Aḥmad, Abdulla, Ahmad, Ḥusain, and Abdulla, and they are all regarded as descendants of the Imam Ja'far as-Sadik through his son Isma'il.

The Isma'ilis were also primarily responsible for the extensive development among Islamic peoples of the idea of periodic manifestations of the world intellect. They began with the great prophets, Noah, Abraham, Moses, Jesus and Muhammad, to

whom they added also Isma'il and his son Muḥammad to make a series of seven națik or "speakers." The Imams, beginning with Ali and following the regular line to the sixth, the Imam Ja'far aṣ-Ṣadiķ, could also be completed to the number of seven if they considered either Isma'il or his son Muḥammad as the seventh. The long intervals between Noah and Abraham and Moses and Jesus and Muḥammad were filled up likewise, each with its respective series of seven "speakers." Possibly the neo-Platonic doctrine of the emanation of ideas had something to do with this, though it has a striking resemblance also to the more poetic and theologically more useful conception of the "light of Muḥammad." We read, however, that "the guiding thought of the Isma'ilian sect was the self-perfection of the divine revelation through the progressive manifestation of the great world intellect."

When the twelfth Imam of the orthodox Shi'ites disappeared in about 260 A.H. (A.D. 874), this doctrine of the "hidden Imam" that had been developed by the Seveners was appropriated by the Twelvers. In the subsequent history of Shi'ite Islam there was diligent study of the nature of this concealment of the "Imam of the Age." The generally accepted teaching is that there have been two periods of concealment, the first being known as the Lesser Occultation and the second as the Greater Occultation. During the first period it is considered that the Imam did not leave himself without his appointed witnesses within the Shi'ite community, for at this time (A.D. 874-941) there were four successive wakils or representatives. (See chapters xxi and xxiii.)

The following century saw the rise of the Buwaihids to political power and their persistent efforts to unite and strengthen the Shi'ite community—rebuilding their shrines and compiling their traditions, and giving substantial encouragement to their scholars and theologians—yet during all this century of a better general outlook for their community, the expected Imam did not appear. Another century passed, in which their Buwaihid protectors were overthrown, but the Imam continued to remain in the "Great

<sup>1</sup> Goldziher, Vorlesungen, ch. vi, 10; trans. Arin, p. 228.

Concealment." A third century passed, a century characterized by oppression, rebellion and dynasties of slaves, but the Imam they prayed for failed to come. And these were the centuries of the Crusades, in which the "people of the Household" participated, but they had no "guidance." On the side of Islam the authority to command in the Holy War was with Saracens and the heretical Fatimids as they repelled the invading armies of the nominally Christian peoples of Europe. Yet the Imam delayed his coming, and even greater calamity fell upon the peoples of Islam. For early in the fourth century after the last of the wakils, the thirteenth century of the Christian era, invading hordes of Mongols came down into Persia, killing and destroying with unmitigated cruelty, and yet in spite of all the ruin and suffering, the longed-for "Master of the Age" did not appear. And as late even as the beginning of the sixteenth century, at the time of the rise of the priest-kings in Adherbaijan, the new dynasty of the Safawids, the only communication with the hidden Imam was in dreams that these kings claimed to have seen.

But toward the close of the eighteenth century there arose a school of heterodox Shi'ite theologians that was known as the Shaikhis." They were first a group of devotees who gathered around Shaikh Ahmad Ahsai, who lived from about 1741 until 1826. Shaikh Ahmad had come from Ahsa in the province of Bahrein, and he first attracted attention as a teacher of religion and philosophy during his residence in the pilgrimage cities of Kerbala and Najaf. There he saw the people, who were his own people, living in an atmosphere of mourning and despair, and yet they were constantly praying for the return of the Imam, "their own shepherd to lead them to their own pasture." Shaikh Aḥmad then went up on to the plateau in Persia, where, after he had visited Kermanshah and Teheran, he made his residence in Yezd. For twelve years he lived in Yezd, though during this time he made several pilgrimages to Mecca. He made a visit also to Háji Mulla Muhammad Taki of Kazvin, who was at that time the outstanding champion of the sternest kind of Shi'ite orthodoxy. It was after this visit that he was officially

pronounced a heretic.1 He was then seventy-five years old and he left Kazvin to make another pilgrimage to Mecca, but when he was two or three stages from Medina, at a place called Haddé, he fell ill and died on the 28th of June, 1826.2

Professor Browne, in his account of the Shaikhis,3 has shown why it was that Shaikh Ahmad was looked upon as unsound in his teaching. "He believed that the body of man was compounded of parts derived from each of the nine heavens and the four elements; that the grosser elemental part perished irrevocably at death; and that only the more subtle celestial portion would appear at the resurrection. This subtle body he named the huwarkilyá body (a name supposed to be of Greek origin), which was believed to be similar in substance to the forms in the "world of similitudes" (alam-i-mithal). Similarly, he denied that the Prophet's material body had, on the occasion of his night journey to heaven (mi'ráj), moved from the spot where it lay in a trance or sleep. He was much given to fasts, vigils, and austerities, and believed himself to be under the special guidance of the Imams, especially, as it would appear, of the Imam Ja'far aş-Şadik. He regarded the Imams as creative forces, quoting in support of this view the expression, 'God, the Best of Creators' (Ķoran xxiii. 14), 'for,' said he, 'if God be the best of creators, he cannot be the sole creator.' He also adduced in support of this view the tradition wherein the following words are attributed to Ali: 'I am the Creator of the heavens and the earth.' He even went so far as to assert that in reciting the opening chapter of the Koran the worshipper should fix his thoughts on Ali as he. repeats the words, 'Thee do we worship.'"

In the Kişaşu'l-Ulama the following works of Shaikh Ahmad are mentioned: a Commentary on the Ziyárat-i-Jámi'a (four volumes); Answers to Questions; a Commentary on the Arshiyya of Mulla Ṣadrá; a Commentary on the Mash ir of Mulla Ṣadrá; a Commentary on the Tabsira-i-Alláma; and the Fawá'id with Commentary.

Browne, Episode of the Bab, pp. 234-244.

The second outstanding leader of the Shaikhis was Háji Sayyid Kazim, of Resht (d. A.D. 1844). His home as a boy was at Ardebil, near the venerated tomb of Shaikh Safá ud-Dín Ishak, the mystic teacher who was said to have been a descendant of the Imam Musa Kazim and who was the esteemed ancestor of the Safawid dynasty. Sayyid Kazim was only twelve years old when one night there at Ardebil he had a vision in which one of the Imams seemed to communicate to him that he should go and study with Shaikh Ahmad Ahsai, who was then living at Yezd. He went accordingly to Yezd, where he remained as a student and close associate with Shaikh Ahmad until his honoured teacher died, when he was himself unanimously recognized as the leader of the Shaikhi school. For the following seventeen years he continued to disseminate the Shaikhí doctrines, devoting himself mainly to writing. It was before he was fifty years old, however, that he took sick suddenly in Baghdad and died without having chosen any successor. Of his numerous writings, one hundred and twenty-three separate works are mentioned in the Essai sur le Cheikhisme, by A. L. M. Nicolas.1

The following brief outline of the teachings of the Shaikhis is based on a recent article by Cl. Huart in the Encyclopædia of Islam2:

## Principal Beliefs of the Shaikhis.

They protested against the ill-considered acceptance of an immoderate number of traditions.

They regarded the twelve Imams as "the effective cause of creation, being the scene of the manifestation of the divine will, and the interpreters of God's desire. If they had not existed God would not have created anything; they are therefore the ultimate cause of creation. . . . God can only be understood through the intermediary of the Imams."

They asserted that man possesses two bodies: the first is formed of temporal elements and is like a robe that dissolves in the grave; whereas the second subsists as a subtle body that belongs to the invisible world. It is this second body which is resurrected on this Earth and then goes to Paradise or to Hell,

<sup>1</sup> Kisasu'l-Ulama, p. 20.

A. L. M. Nicolas, Essai sur le Cheikhisme, Part I, p. 60.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> A. L. M. Nicolas, op. cit., Part II, pp. 32-36. <sup>2</sup> Cl. Huart, "Shaikhis," in the Encyclopædia of Islam, Vol. IV, p. 279.

They maintained that knowledge is of two kinds: the first is essential, and has no connection with contingencies; but the second is created, and the Imams are the gates to this knowledge.

They insisted that it was not possible for known things to be eternal. The term <code>ilm-i-imkáni</code>, or the "knowledge of possibility," they considered to be applicable to beings before their existence, and they applied the term <code>ilm-i-akwáni</code>, or "knowledge of beings," to all things that exist. But the command (amr) to exist must necessarily precede the thing created (khalk).

After the death of Háji Sayyid Kazim the Shaikhís were anxiously awaiting the appearance of someone to assume the leadership of the party. A number of them went together to the mosque of Kufa, where the twelfth Imam is expected by many to reappear. There they sought for guidance in the choice of their spiritual director. While they devoted themselves to fasting and to prayer that their new leader should be revealed, one of their most influential men is said to have been led to go to Shiraz in order to confer with a certain Mirza Ali Muḥammad, whom he had previously known at Kerbala. The question as to whether Mirza Ali Muḥammad might not be the chosen leader was in his mind. While he visited him at Shiraz he was favourably impressed by a commentary he had written on the Surah of Joseph, and after a few days' further consideration, he announced publicly that it was his personal belief that Mirza Ali Muḥammad was indeed the  $b\acute{a}b$  or "Gate" of communication with the absent Imam. Thus the conviction of the Shaikhis, that there must be some visible form of present-day revelation from the "hidden Imam," took a very significant form.

The figure of the *báb* or "Gate" goes back to one of the oldest and most important of the traditions of the Shi'ites. It is related that the Prophet said, "I am the *city* of knowledge and Ali is the *gate* thereof." It was a matter therefore of the greatest consequence both religiously and politically, when Mirza Ali Muhammad was thought to have been designated as the "Gate." Those who protested against what they regarded as his intolerable presumption soon had him brought before a company of the

leading Shi'ite theologians in Tabriz, and there they questioned him as to the meaning of his pretensions. He courageously stood his ground, however, for when he was asked to explain what he meant by the term bdb, he replied, "It is the same as in the holy tradition, 'I am the city of knowledge and Ali is the bdb or gate thereof."

The boldness of his developed doctrine may be clearly shown by a brief quotation from the Persian book of the Bábís that is called the Beyán, and which was composed by Mirza Ali Muhammad during his imprisonment in Máků:

Wahid ii, ch. i.—" God commanded in his own speech, 'Whose book is the Koran?' All believers said to Him, 'It is the book of God.' Afterwards it was asked, 'Is any difference seen between the Furkan (i.e., the Koran) and the Beyán?' The spiritually minded answered, 'No, by God, all is from our Lord,' and none are mentioned but those endowed with discernment.' Then the Lord of the World revealed, 'That Word is by the tongue of Muhammad the Apostle of God, and this is my Word by the tongue of the Person of the Seven Letters, the Gate of God.'"

Wahid ii, ch. iv.—" For God hath assimilated refuge in himself to refuge in His Apostle, and refuge in His Apostle to refuge in His executors (i.e., the Imams), and refuge (in His executors to refuge) in the Gates (Abwab or Bábs) of His executors. . . . . For refuge in the Apostle is identical with refuge in God, and refuge in the Imams is identical with refuge in the Apostle, and refuge in the Gates is identical with refuge in the Imams."

In the claims that were made by the Shaikhis for Mirza Ali Muḥammad, we easily recognise that they were a group in the Shi'ite community that had grown tired of the ever prolonged Greater Concealment. Over nine hundred years had passed since the close of the period of the Lesser Concealment, since the death of the last wakil, and in their support of Mirza Ali Muḥammad the Shaikhis were virtually enunciating another period, when the expected Imam should be visibly represented again, but this time by a "Báb" instead of by a "Wakil."

But as Professor Browne has pointed out, not all the Shaikhis accepted the new doctrine. There was Háji Muhammad Karim

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Tirmidhi, Sahih 46, 20; cf. Goldsack, Selections from Muhammadan Traditions, p. 15.

Khan of Kirman, with a considerable number of followers, who would not admit the pretensions of the so-called "Báb," and hence the old Shaikhí school was divided into the "New Shaikhís " and the " Bábís." The characteristic doctrine of the "New Shaikhis" was the "Fourth Support." The five "supports" or fundamentals of the orthodox Shi'ites are (1) the Unity of God, (2) the Justice of God, (3) the authority of the Prophet, (4) the Imamate, and (5) the Resurrection. The Shaikhis reduced these to three, by regarding the Justice of God and the Resurrection as being included in the authority of the Prophet. To the remaining three, therefore, they added what they called the "Fourth Support," which was "that there must always be amongst the Shi'ites some one perfect man, capable of serving as a channel of grace between the absent Imam and his people." It has been generally considered that Háji Muhammad Karim Khan looked upon himself as the "Fourth Support," the one perfect man amongst the Shi'ites, and it appears that he was so regarded by his followers.

The other faction, however, the Bábís, made use of the fact that Mirza Ali Muhammad came before the public just about one thousand years after the disappearance of the twelfth Imam. According to the Shi'ite expectation, this twelfth Imam was to return as the Mahdi. That was what all of them had been waiting for, and among the numerous prognostications about his coming there was a saying that he would appear at "the end of the first millennium." Mirza Ali Muhammad, therefore, declared himself to be, not only the Báb or Gate, a claim which others had made before him, but, with a background of marked Isma'ili influence and definite Shaikhí teaching, he went on to affirm that he was "the point of manifestation" of the spirit to the world. As Moses and Jesus and other prophets had come in the past, as manifestations of tle same spirit, so it was that he came now.

In his preaching also he was in daring opposition to the orthodox Shi'ite mullahs. He interpreted the Koran largely in an allegorical

sense and gave little weight to its laws in regard to ceremonial purity. He found other meanings, for example, for the divine Judgment, for Paradise, for Hell, and for the Resurrection. As Dr. Goldziher has observed, he held that "the 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." In this same connection Dr. Goldziher has also pointed out that Mirza Ali Muḥammad taught the brotherhood of all mankind; that he was desirous of raising women from their low position to a state of equality with man; that he undertook to set forth a nobler conception of marriage, based on the function of the family; and that he sought a general reform of education. His disposition to give attention to combinations of letters according to their numerical values, attaching particular importance to the number nineteen, was neither original nor surprising, but rather in keeping with a common tendency among Persian writers. As the new "Báb," after a thousand years of the complete concealment of the Imam, he did not teach that the channel of revelation would be closed again at his death, but that the same divine spirit would continue to be manifested.

In so much as the official religion of Persia was orthodox Shi'ite Islam, the claims of the "Báb" were regarded as dangerous. Mirza Muḥammad Ali and his followers were consequently persecuted and proscribed, until finally, in A.D.1850, he himself was put to death. Those of his followers who managed to escape took refuge in Adrianople, where they were under the protection of the Turkish Sultan. There it was that Baha-Ullah declared himself to be the "more perfect manifestation" that was proclaimed by his master, and through which the master's work was to be raised to a higher level.

At this point, however, another division occurred, for a group of the Bábís followed one of the Báb's disciples who was known as *Subb-i-Ezal* (Dawn of Eternity), who established his head-

Goldziher, Vorlesungen, ch. vi, sect. 10.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Idem, op. cit., p. 229, with reference to Von Kremer, Herrschenden Ideen des Islams, p. 209.

quarters in Fumagista, Cyprus, and who proposed to carry on the work of the Báb in the form given to it by his master.

The more influential group were the followers of Baha Ullah ("Splendour of God"), who was born in 1817, and died of fever in 1892. In 1844, when Mirza Ali Muhammad first announced his mission, Baha Ullah was but twenty-seven years of age. He is said to have accepted the doctrine of the Bábís before he met the Báb, but he soon became one of the outstanding disciples and was recognized by the majority as their master's successor. He taught that the Báb was the ka'im, " the one who rises," and that he himself was the kayyum, "the permanent one." In the course of his teaching the designation he preferred for himself was the mazhar or manzar, the "revelation" of God, in which he said the beauty of God was to be seen as in a mirror. He was himself "the beauty of Allah," whose face shines between the heavens and the Earth as a precious, polished pearl. Through him alone, he said, the being of God can be known, whose emanation he is. In 1852, as one of his followers attempted to take the life of Nasiru'd-Din Shah, Baha Ullah was exiled to Baghdad. He went afterwards with a company of his followers to Constantinople, then to Adrianople, and finally to Akka, where he lived and carried on his work from 1868 until his death. In Akka he worked out a system of doctrine which was radically different from that of the followers of the Koran, and that was also not restricted to the beliefs of those who accepted the Beyan. The principal one of his written works was called the Kitab-i-Akdas or "The Most Holy Book," and for this book he claimed divine origin. The translations of the Bible that were beginning to be circulated at the time in Muhammadan lands were commonly designated as the "Holy Scripture," the Kitáb-i-Mukaddas.

Baha Ullah sought to evolve from Islam and from the Beyan and from the special revelations he claimed to receive "a larger conception of a world religion which was to unite mankind in a religious brotherhood." In his political teachings he professed cosmopolitanism, and he held that no preference should be given to him who loves his country, but rather to him who loves the

world. In this sense he regarded himself as the manifestation of the world spirit to all mankind and sent epistles to rulers of Europe and Asia, and "to the Kings of America and the Chiefs of the Republic." In his letter to Napoleon III, he predicted the empire's downfall four years before Sedan. With a world mission in view, he commanded his followers to prepare themselves, by the study of foreign languages, for the mission of apostles to the world.

As has been suggested, in his teaching the ethical and social factors were emphasized. War was strictly forbidden, and the use of weapons was allowed only "in case of need." Slavery was also forbidden, and the equality of all men was taught as the nucleus of his new gospel. As to marriage, he regarded monogamy as the ideal, but he permitted bigamy. He recognized divorce and allowed remarriage, on the condition that the separated parties had not married again, which is exactly opposite to the provision in the law of Islam. But the shari'at ("Law") of Islam he regarded as completely superseded, and he introduced also new forms for prayer and ritual. Bodily cleanliness he ordained as a religious duty and condemned the continued toleration of unclean bathing places. He recognized no professional spiritual rank, and claimed that those who were true religious teachers should work without compensation. Civil law, he said, was necessary on the ground that man must be guarded from his own barbarity.

That Baha Ullah was indeed a man of keen judgment and receptive to higher ideals of social ethics is obvious, and as has been pointed out, some of his principles are admittedly an echo of Christianity. But in his fundamental positions it must be remembered that he professed to be leading a system of faith and thought that had its origin in the expectation of the return of the Shi'ite Twelfth Imam. However much may have been included by his eclectic method in the further development of his doctrines, his authority depended on the pretensions of the Báb, who found his opportunity in the restlessness of the Shaikhís for the return of the Imam. But in so much as the established Shi'ite

religion of Persia did not allow individual freedom of conscience, or even freedom for the discussion of religious subjects, Baha Ullah was compelled to spend his life agitating his reforms from outside the bounds of his native country.

Abbas Effendi, the son of Baha Ullah, was called Abd al-Baha (the slave of Baha) and also Ghusn Azam (the great branch), and he succeeded in carrying the views of his father to a still more comprehensive development. He was born in 1841 and died in 1921, and by the modifications he also introduced, the teachings of his father are made to conform still more nearly in some respects to the intellectual thought of the Occident. He made a wide use also of the books of the Old and the New Testaments. Considerable publicity was given to the whole movement by the fact that a certain Dr. Khayrullah, who was one of the ardent admirers and followers of Abbas Effendi, made a tour of the United States in 1912 to lecture in his behalf. Professor Browne's book, The Bábí Religion, shows the letter that Dr. Khayrullah persuaded a number of Americans to write to the "Great Branch," and also contains a translation of the shorthand notes that were taken of the lectures.

"According to a Bahai statement, Abd al-Baha (or Abbas Effendi) had covenanted in his will that after his passing there would be a continued and perpetual centre of guidance for the Cause, a Guardian, the office to be hereditary. . . . Abd al-Baha appointed his eldest grandson, Shogli Effendi, to be the first of this line of Guardians. Shogli Effendi descends on his mother's side from Baha Ullah through Abd al-Baha, and on his father's side from a collateral branch of the family of the Báb."2 The pamphlet by Mr. Remey, from which the above statement is quoted, contains also a translation of the supposed will of Abbas Effendi, and it is not without interest to observe how similar the discussion of the right of succession of the various Bahai leaders is to the old question of the designation of the successive Imams.

It will be evident to any careful student of Islam in Persia

that the teachings of the Shaikhis and the Bábis, the Ezelis and the Bahais have all had their origin in the long Shi'ite expectation of the return of the Twelfth Imam. The efforts put forth by these several sects, one after another, have been movements of groups that were not contented to go on giving their formal testimony to the Imams of the past. Especially in their closer contact with modern civilization, eager and inquiring minds in Persia have been anxiously seeking to find for themselves and their people some vital, present-day knowledge of God.' But notwithstanding, the great bulk of the population are still looking to the golden domes over the tombs of the Imams and frequently repeat the following creed or testimony as a summary of their officially adopted hope and faith:

"I testify, O my Leader, in thy presence, that there is no God but God; that He is One and has no partner. And I testify that Muhammad was his Servant and Apostle, and that Muhammad was the only worthy 'friend' of God. I testify also that Ali was the Commander of the Faithful, the Manifestation of God: and that Hasan was God's Manifestation; and that Husain was God's Manifestation; and that Ali the son of Husain was God's Manifestation; and that Muhammad, the son of Ali, was God's Manifestation; and that Ja'far, the son of Muhammad, was God's Manifestation; and that Musa, the son of Ja'far, was God's Manifestation; and that Ali, the son of Musa, was God's Manifestation; and that Muhammad, the son of Ali, was God's Manifestation; and that Ali, the son of Muhammad, was God's Manifestation; and that Hasan, the son of Ali, was God's Manifestation. And above all I witness that thou (O hidden Imam, the Master of the Age), art a Manifestation of God."1

<sup>1</sup> Majlisi, Tuhfatu'z-Za'irin, p. 235.

Browne, The Babi Religion, pp. 119-141.
Remey, A Series of Twelve Articles Introductory to the Study of the Bahai Teachings.