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Snouck Hurgronje and the study of Islam. (Met portret)

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SNouck Hurgronje
And the Study of Islam*

If the main auditorium of our university had offered sufficient room for this meeting, the stained glass window to the right of the rostrum would have constantly reminded you of Snouck Hurgronje, for there his image appears among those of the greatest among the great in the history of Leiden University.

And although our present generation has grown reluctant to pronounce the epithet "great", since it has learnt by experience that greatness apparently is the less liable to attack the more distant the past in which it has manifested itself, still, this does not alter the fact that an extraordinary mental stature and an extraordinary bodily height have this in common: both are recognized at first sight, without any need of a yard-stick.

Such an extraordinary intellectual stature Snouck Hurgronje possessed and there is a special reason to speak about him on this very day, for the 8th of February last, on the anniversary of the foundation of our university, it was one hundred years ago that Snouck Hurgronje was born. The sole objection against the commemoration of this fact here in Leiden might be the question whether a general Netherlands commemoration might not have been called for; rather than one in Leiden alone.

Perhaps one cannot expect a uniform answer to this question, for where would we be without our diversities of opinion? But to my mind the only conclusive reply is that as long as Snouck Hurgronje's biography has not been written, so long will it be impossible to survey the full significance of this extraordinary man, let alone to appreciate

* On Febr. 10th Leiden University commemorated the centenary of Snouck Hurgronje's birth on 8th Febr. 1857. The following paper is a translation of the address delivered on the occasion of this centenary in the program of the University-Day Lectures 1957 at the Municipal Audience Hall, Leiden. Snouck Hurgronje was a prominent member of our Institute for more than 50 years and several times its President. His two volumes on Mecca were published by the Institute, and quite a number of his articles first appeared in the Bijdragen. The Committee of the Institute take a pride in publishing this tribute to the outstanding merits of one of the founders of the science of Islam.

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him at his full value. That his biography does not yet exist is not only owing to the circumstance that the writing of biographies is not our strongest point, as Dutchmen. Its lack is due first and foremost to the fact that those data which are indispensable for a description of Snouck Hurgronje's life and work are as yet only partly at our disposal. For, granting that the history of a scholar's life is the history of his works, even so the life of Snouck Hurgronje was not only the career of a scholar and his future biographer can therefore never rest content with a portrayal of his life based only on the results of his scholarly work, however impressive the row of its volumes may be.

One single example will make this clear. Among Snouck's writings his great work on the Achehnese, which appeared in two volumes in 1893—1894, occupies a prominent place. Not only is it incomparably well written, like everything which left Snouck's hands, but also the description of a Muslim people which it provides may be considered as a model for ethnographical studies. But, the point one will not learn from it is the share the author had in the policy pursued by the then Netherlands Indies' government towards Achin. Although a great deal of light has been shed over these matters by the writings of General K. van der Maaten and H. T. Damsté, full light will only be thrown upon them when the numerous memoranda and recommendations which Snouck addressed to the Indies' Government on this question have been made public. And what applies to the policy for Achin holds true for many other points of colonial policy. Fortunately, the publication of these dispatches no longer belongs to those pious wishes which are frequently uttered, but whose realization is postponed from year to year. Thanks to the initiative of the Oriental Institute and the cooperation of the National Committee for Netherlands' History, the publication of Snouck's recommendations has been taken in hand and it is particularly gratifying that the first volume of this collection of source-material has just been completed. It has become a book of more than 850 pages and it will probably be followed by two volumes of similar size. It is clear that without consulting these documents it will not be possible to write either the biography of Snouck Hurgronje, nor the history of the former Netherlands Indies during the the 19th and 20th centuries.

Not quite as urgent, but still highly desirable, is a republication of the papers written by Snouck Hurgronje since the completion of the sixth and last volume of his Verspreide Geschriften (Collected Writings) in 1926. Here obituary notices of orientalists and newspaper articles on
topical subjects and contemporary events occupy the major part. Recent events in the Arab world in many respects give a curious timeliness to several of these writings and it is therefore all the more regrettable that these highly expert contemporary documents have become virtually inaccessible. The biographical notices make fascinating reading for everybody interested in the history of oriental studies, and it would be desirable — although this wish is certain to remain among the pia vola — that the extensive correspondence with his colleagues to which these notices bear witness could one day be collected in a Snouck Hurgronje Records Collection, because the future biographer will also hardly be able to do without these letters.

My thesis that we are still unable to survey Snouck Hurgronje's life and work to their full extent has now been sufficiently elucidated, I presume. However, an objection of quite a different nature has been adduced against this commemoration, an objection I shall not pass over. I have been told: "The people who have organized this public commemoration of Snouck Hurgronje are acting against the spirit of Snouck himself. For, in order to escape all public honour on his death, he had arranged that he was to be buried very quietly and that the announcement of his death was to be published only after his burial." This may be quite true in itself, but as an argument against the commemoration of the hundredth anniversary of Snouck's birth it is not valid. This is easily demonstrable by reading a quotation from an article of Snouck's own pen: "Now that an ever growing wave of 'nationalism' rages over our country, as over most others, one is involuntarily led to ask, whether the time has not arrived for the establishment of a society for honouring national merits, beside those innumerable organizations which adorn themselves with the fashionable term 'national'. In that case the 8th May should have a place of honour among the national commemorative days, because on this date fifty-nine years ago a truly great man was born in the Netherlands..." And when I, after having first looked for my authority in the master's own writings, now continue in the style of the Muslim jurisprudents by adding that this suggestion of Snouck's "includes more" than what is rejected by my critics as being contrary to the spirit of Snouck, it will be clear that they are in the wrong. (In case you would be curious to know the origin of the quotation, — it constitutes the beginning of the article which Snouck Hurgronje devoted to the memory of Cornelis van Vollenhoven in the newspaper De Telegraaf of May 3rd, 1933.)
I trust that the restriction, implied in the title of my address, now has your full approval. Also that you will understand that far from feeling any particular scruples, I am on the contrary very happy that the Committee for the University-Day have chosen this subject, because Leiden and Leiden University occupy an important place in Snouck's life. He studied here; in 1880 he presented his thesis at this university; after having obtained his doctor's degree he continued to live here as a teacher at the then municipal foundation for the training of civil servants for the East Indies. Later also he became a lecturer at the university. After an uninterrupted stay of seventeen years in the then Netherlands Indies he returned here in 1906, to succeed before long his teacher De Goeje in the chair for Arabic. Finally, after his retirement he continued to live in Leiden until his death in 1936, still connected with the university with the special assignment to teach modern Arabic and Achehnese.

This arid record only indicates a few milestones in the life of this scholar; a life so rich and so fruitful as is only given to the very few. Through this life there runs a fixed line and when we wish to indicate this line, we are involuntarily made to think of the title of the address Snouck held on his assumption of the Leiden professorship on January 23rd, 1907, i.e. "Arabia and the East Indies". For beside indicating the subject of that speech, these words may also serve as a concise characterization of the speaker's lifework.

As an Arabist, Snouck Hurgronje selected Islam as the field of his studies right from the beginning, and in this field there were three problems which particularly engaged his attention. The first two have become the central problems in the study of Islam, but it was he who was the first to pose them. They are: 1) In which way was the Islamic system established, and 2) what is the significance of Islam in the daily life of its believers. The third problem, which contains a strong practical element, might be formulated as follows: How should one govern Muslims in order to smoothe their way towards modern times and if possible to gain their cooperation in the realization of the ideal of a universal civilization.

It is while seeking a reply to the second question — the significance of Islam for its believers — that Snouck Hurgronje as a Netherlander first and foremost finds the Indonesian Muslims on his way, and the transition from "Arabia" to "the East Indies" — and also to active concern with the third problem — is already foreshadowed in his book on Mecca. Next it becomes more clearly pronounced in his study-tour through
Java, to be finally settled when in 1891 he declines the Leiden professorship offered to him and enters the service of the then Netherlands Indies' government in an advisory capacity. At that moment the scholar becomes a statesman, as Van Vollenhoven has put it, a statesman "not according to the current meaning of the term, but in view of the nature, the tendencies and the influence of his many years' work on behalf of the Indies". This he remained during the third period of his life when he had assumed the Leiden chair for Arabic and Islamic Studies, not only because of his share in the education of civil servants, but also because he was connected with the Colonial Office as an adviser.

Those who are not strangers in Snouck's writings know that the position he had accepted in 1891 absorbed him to such an extent that, beside the book on the Gayo-region which appeared in 1903, no large work of his pen was published after *The Achehnese*, although articles, polemics and critical reviews continued to flow in a steady stream. However, a considerable part of these publications is concerned with problems of a practical nature and with Indonesian linguistic and ethnographical matters. Still, in other publications the author moves in the field long familiar to him, and the subjects he treats on these occasions — mostly not in Dutch — remain always important and fascinating, no matter whether he gives a survey of views already pronounced on an earlier occasion or whether he brings up new subjects.

Within the limits of a public address it would not be possible to mention all these contributions to the knowledge of Islam, but this is after all not necessary in order to elucidate Snouck's importance in this field. That is done best of all by a short characterization of his monumental main works of the years between 1880 and 1893, and to these I shall therefore chiefly restrict myself.

*An extraordinary calibre was immediately shown by the thesis by means of which he acquired the doctorate in Semitic languages at the age of twenty-three, after six years' study in theology and in letters. The subject of this thesis is "The Meccan Festival", the annual ceremonies of the pilgrimage to the house of God performed at Mecca during the last month of the Muslim year, to the sanctuary which is known as the Ka'ba, but the sanctity of which by far outdates Islam. Muslim tradition connects the origin of this place of worship with Abraham, and it teaches furthermore that the latter's monotheism would
have found adherents in Arabia even before the coming of Muhammad; these adherents were the so-called *hanīfs*, pious persons who led an ascetic life and who had rejected the polytheism of their surroundings. During a long time all this had been considered as local Meccan tradition, although at the beginning of the 'sixties Sprenger had already expressed his doubts on this point and although in 1864 the Leiden professor Dozy had defended the Israelitish origin of the Meccan festival. With a single, sceptically worded sentence the young graduate left this slip in the field of historical criticism for what it was, to confront it with the results of his research, viz. that it was Muhammad who, before adopting the pilgrimage to the Meccan sanctuary into Islam, had ennobled this ancient pagan rite by tracing it back to Abraham. The author continued his study by an extensive description of the actions prescribed for the Meccan festival, his main object being to establish what all these acts and customs might have been like during the heathen period, and what changes their character had undergone due to their adoption into Islam.

The important results of this investigation did not become common property very soon, probably because this thesis, written in Dutch, did not forthwith acquire the international reputation to which it was entitled in view of its qualities, in spite of the fact that it was well received. At least, twelve years later it proved to be still unknown to the author of a new biography of Muhammad, although no less a scholar than Wellhausen in 1887 had written the part of his *Reste Arabischen Heidentums* concerning the Meccan festival closely following Snouck’s thesis and mentioning it by name. However, when we open Buhl’s standard-work on the life of Muhammad — a book which appeared for the first time in Danish in 1903 and which is still authoritative — Snouck’s view proves to have been accepted unconditionally. Wensinck who in continuation of Wellhausen’s studies concerning Medina in 1908 described Muhammad’s action against the Jews in that place, also adopted Snouck’s hypothesis in its entirety, whilst Montgomery Watt who in a recent work again discusses the Medina period in Muhammad’s life evidently saw no reason to adopt a different standpoint, in spite of the divergent view maintained some years ago by Beck. Even if at some future date the progress of science might make another reconstruction more acceptable, this need not diminish our admiration for the acumen of a graduate of twenty-three years of age, whose first specimen of scholarly work has dominated the field for such a long time.
Mecca and the study of Muslim law, the two subjects with which he had dealt in his thesis continue to occupy the attention of the young scholar during the following years. The plan to extend his study of Islam to the life in the holy city is sure to have matured at an early date, and beside scholarly zeal it must have been also considerations of a practical nature which led him to see the study of religious law as a primary necessity. For if he wanted to consort with Muslim scholars as one of their own kind, he would have to be first of all well versed in that field of sacred science where many of them were pre-eminently at home and which during many centuries had been the basis of all Muslim scholarly training, viz. Muslim law. However, guides for the study of this field which had been left untouched by Westerners were not to be found, and all so-called guides proved on closer acquaintance to be false teachers, with one single exception, viz. the masterly essays of his senior contemporary, Ignaz Goldziher of Budapest, as Snouck remarked in 1886. Among his teachers he found little support in his attempts to penetrate into the works on Muslim law; they even advised him strongly against proceeding further in this direction. This is easily understood when we observe the completely different subjects which at that time occupied the interest of the scholars of Arabic. When we restrict ourselves to Holland alone, we see that the brilliant cultural historian Dozy by preference immersed himself in the history of Muslim Spain, whilst De Goeje was mainly occupied in editing historical and geographical works to be found in Arabic literature, publications of source material which maintain his fame as a scholar of Arabic up to the present. However, the Western orientalists considered the writings of the Muslim doctors of law to be nothing but dry-as-dust casuistry. They failed to see that as important a piece of cultural history as Muslim law is only fully revealed to the person who takes the trouble to investigate carefully the structure of this system grown out of the Koran and the tradition, and to study its genesis, its struggle with the practices of daily life and its final completion.

Research into the foundations of Muslim law, into its contents and its effect — that is the programme which Snouck Hurgronje outlined and which he executed with methodical zeal. He was to prove quite soon the extent in which he had learnt to master this material after only a few years of study. The first proof of his mastery in this field was given in an article which with good reason bore the title "New Contributions to the Knowledge of Islam". For the author's statements, particularly on the religious tax, the zakāt, and on the foundations of
Muslim law, all of these were new and had been taken directly from the Arabic sources. This is also the first time that stress was laid on the great importance of the dogma concerning the infallibility of the Muslim community, the *ijma* or *consensus*, which, as Snouck was to suggest repeatedly later, might well be called the foundation of foundations, the root of roots. Again a few years later, in 1884, a sensational article by Snouck of more than 150 pages appeared in the periodical *De Indische Gids*, written as a critical review of the third edition of a manual of Muslim law for future civil servants in the East Indies, much used in those days. To an outsider this article was sensational because of the merciless punishment meted out to the author of the manual, leaving not a shred of his “usurped reputation”, for he was blamed with ample proof that after having been commissioned to study Islamic Law for more than ten years, he was “still unacquainted with the elements of his subject” and “copied popular European books instead of using Arabic sources”. However, the article was no less sensational for the students of Islam because here — one may say: for the first time — the contents of a number of chapters of Muslim law were rendered with razor-edge sharpness, whilst the faultless exactness of the rendering of the Arabic technical terms and the accompanying observations made it abundantly plain that this kind of literature no longer contained any secrets for the author.

A great deal of what Snouck Hurgronje put forward here in the form of a running criticism of the manual in question was later systematically adopted in Juynboll’s well-known manual of Islamic Law, first published in Dutch in 1903. This book has become one of the classics in Islamic studies; it has been translated into German and Italian, whilst in Holland it has served as a guide to many generations of orientalists and prospective members of the East Indian Civil Service. To put it mildly, it is not an easy book and the majority of the students will undoubtedly have been so preoccupied with the text that they will hardly have looked at the notes providing the authorities for the statements in it. But those who were not frightened off will have observed how much material for Juynboll’s book was provided by these very articles, and by Snouck’s *Achehnese*.

Thoroughly prepared by his studies for contact with Eastern scholars, Snouck could now start to execute his plan for the penetration of the very heart of the Muslim world. First he stayed during half a year at Jiddah, the fore-court of the Holy of Holies, for in this port which
is the gateway and the supply-port of Mecca it is possible to obtain important information concerning conditions in the holy city. The young scholar from Holland — it was in this quality that Snouck Hurgronje stayed at the house of the Netherlands' consul, without any secrecy — of course also needed some time to grow accustomed to the daily use of Arabic, before he ventured on the next step, a step for which beside knowledge and tact a considerable dose of intrepidity was likewise necessary. Snouck Hurgronje never showed any lack of personal courage. Shortly before his arrival in Jiddah the French scholar Huber had been murdered in Arabia and although Snouck had convinced himself beforehand that there existed no further objections against his journey to Mecca, many people would have considered Huber's death as an unfavourable omen.

In the end it was to a certain extent Huber's death which brought about the untimely end of Snouck's stay in Mecca, because the French vice-consul at Jiddah, who had hired a man exiled from Algiers to bring Huber's property which had been left in the interior to Jiddah, had the Paris daily *Le Temps* publish an exciting story concerning its detection. In this story he did not shrink from a lie for his own benefit, viz. by reporting Snouck Hurgronje as one of the persons in pursuit of this property. This story became also known in Mecca and it led to Snouck's expulsion from the holy city after he had lived there for more than five months.

In an article in the daily *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* and in the *Münchener Allgemeine Zeitung* Snouck exposed the machinations of this consular official, but that is all he ever published concerning his personal experiences in Arabia, because he abhorred the popularity of the adventurous travel-story. Even the lecture he gave in Berlin on this journey was not entitled "Über meine", but "Über eine Reise nach Mekka". Among Dutch orientalists there exists a seemingly well-founded tradition according to which somebody once asked Snouck why he had not written a book about his Arabian journey. Snouck is said to have replied — and here please imagine the telltale glimmer in his eyes which always announced a bon mot — he is said to have replied: "And then the title should of course have been 'Snooky's mad adventures in Arabia'!" No wonder that he characterized Lawrence's *Revolt in the Desert*, much read and exuberantly praised after the first world war, as "attractive reading for boys".

When one observes the large number and the great variety of all those writings Snouck Hurgronje published during the years immediately
following his return from Arabia, one understands that he had better things to do. For whilst he was working on his great book on Mecca, one article appeared after the other. Some of these are the results of his Arabian journey, like the collection of Meccan proverbs and sayings, with their extensive commentary, which he introduced in an address at the International Congress of Orientalists in Vienna in 1886, or the fascinating description of the life and the scholarly activities of Seyyid Ahmad ibn Zeni Dahlan, which gives a full-length portrait of this "rector of Mecca University". His conversations with this scholar on the subject of the Mahdi — highly topical owing to the occurrences in the Sudan — may also have led him to write the historical study on the figure of the Mahdi which he had published slightly earlier. In contrast to a great deal of superficial writing of those days, this publication extensively elucidated the origin and the significance of the belief in the Mahdi, the 'renovator of Muslim religion'.

But beside these we also find articles which Snouck Hurgronje, indefatigable critic that he was, had felt forced to write because of the errors and misconceptions or the false pretences of others. One of these is the well-known article in the Dutch periodical *De Gids* of 1886, where the review has developed into a clear — and in his usual way beautifully written — survey of the ideas concerning Islam at which the author had arrived in the course of his studies. In later times he twice published similar complete surveys of the whole of Islam: in 1924 his contribution to Berthelot and Lehmann's *Lehrbuch der Religionsgeschichte* was published, whilst earlier, during an American tour in 1914, he had treated the development of Islam in a less formal manner in a series of lectures.

There is one piece of work of Snouck's, made during the period 1885—1889, which will not be found in the list of his writings, because it was never published. That is his description of a collection of Malay manuscripts in the royal library at Berlin. This catalogue, written in German, was found among Snouck's papers, ready for the press; beside this there proved to exist an even more extensive version in Dutch, which had served as the foundation for the German text. Now numerous passages in Snouck's writings show that he was well acquainted with the Malay manuscripts available at Berlin at that time, but hardly anybody of our generation was aware of the existence of this catalogue which must have been prepared during a few weeks' stay at Berlin during the summer of 1888, to be completed shortly afterwards. This is a convincing example of Snouck's enormous energy and
no less of his unusual knowledge and reading in a field outside that of his own studies. His appointment as professor for Malay at Leiden, which reached him in 1891 at Batavia and which was withdrawn at his request, was therefore anything but a speculative nomination.

His most important publication during these years, however, is his book on Mecca which appeared in German in two volumes and which provided a solid foundation to the extensive international reputation he had acquired because of his journey. This work is a typical example of Snouck's approach and it demonstrates clearly his ideal as regards the scientific knowledge of Islam: a complete mastery of the written sources, combined with a comprehensive knowledge of living reality. The first volume of the work contains the history of Mecca up to 1887, partly adapted from formerly unknown Arabic sources which the author had been able to acquire in Mecca; the second volume describes in three detailed chapters public life, home life and the study of scholarly disciplines, whilst the fourth chapter is devoted to the activities of the Indonesians who throughout the year form a numerous group in the cosmopolitan crowds of the holy city. I have never understood why the American Arabist D. B. Macdonald, although he praised the book as being "very full and accurate", still found it "somewhat dull" compared with Burton's story of his travels, because no epithet is less fitting than the word "dull", especially for the second volume which sparkles with life. As Snouck writes, he had "come to know the life of the present-day Muhammedan from personal observation in the coffee-house, the diwan, the mosque and the living-room". He had observed "how the motley crowd assembled in Mecca refreshing themselves at the source of life of Islam". He had seen "the forms which Muslim institutions assume in practical life there, where no Franks can come to snoop and interfere". On all this he writes in a way which according to my taste is incomparably fascinating and not without a generous dose of his well-known ironical and occasionally biting humour.

The fourth chapter, that on the Indonesians at Mecca, Snouck added to the second volume of his book with a special purpose. Already before his journey to Arabia he had written: "Islam, this great International of the green banner, is a power which a colonial empire like ours should study seriously and which ought to be treated with great wisdom". Snouck has always shown great zeal for the establishment of an Islam-policy of this kind, a policy based on knowledge and inspired by tact. For this purpose it was also useful to know to what extent Mecca influenced the spiritual life of the Indonesians, rather along
the indirect way of the “Jawa”-colony in that city than by means of direct contact during the pilgrimage. In this way this chapter constitutes as it were a prelude to the investigations in the territory of the then Netherlands Indies for which he was given an opportunity in 1889. At first Snouck was to stay in the Indies for two years “for the local study of the institutions of Islam on Java, and, if necessary, likewise in one or more of the Outer Territories”. Due to this commission he was travelling nearly the whole of these two years, first through Western Java up to Pekalongan, then at Buitenzorg (present-day Bogor) and in Banten, and finally in Central Java, in order to get to know persons, views and conditions everywhere and in order to obtain an impression through personal observation of the curious combination Islam had assumed here with traditional popular views and popular customs. The immediate results of this journey were a report on Muhammedan religious jurisdiction and the thirty-seven articles published in the course of 1891 and 1892 in the Semarang newspaper *De Locomotief*. The latter were framed as letters of a retired native district-chief, who has grasped the pen, as it was said in the first letter, in order “to inform” the European public “about the things which happen among us, native inhabitants of Java, what we do and what we think”.

We can only be pleased that Snouck could bring himself to publish already something of the results of his journey in this easy narrative way; the many hundreds of pages of travel-notes, which have all been preserved, contain, however, infinitely more, and it is a great pity that other tasks came to claim his attention before he considered his study of Java completed.

It so happened that in March 1891 Snouck Hurgronje had entered the regular service of the East Indies’ government as adviser for Oriental languages and for Muhammedan law, and the first important task he was given in this new position was the investigation of the religious and political situation in Achin, which was to lead eventually to his great work *The Achehnese*. Within a year’s time he had presented his report, and this created such an impression that the Indies’ Government ordered him to rewrite and extend the first half, to be issued as a book. The introduction to the first part of this book — the extraordinary qualities of which were already mentioned at the beginning of my address — contains some remarkable sentences which again clearly illustrate Snouck’s approach to Islam. There he states: “To the student who really wants to evaluate the Muhammedan factor in the
life of a people, the children’s games, the amusements of the adults, profane literature, and the existing fabric of the village and the province are in many respects as important as the books used in religious instruction, the mystic orders which carry on propaganda in the country, or the position of the doctors of sacred law”. For in the life of a people, like in the life of an individual, religious and non-religious elements are bound up inseparably. It is the view-point he propounds again and again: do not think it sufficient to know only the dogma; do not only look at Islam, but observe also the Muslim as an individual and as a member of a community, as a social being, and see what happens to the teachings of Islam in the practice of everyday life. No wonder that this scholar in the field of Islam who showed such a keen eye for local custom became one of the discoverers of customary law. There where his predecessors who had taken Muslim scholastic law as their startingpoint had only observed “deviations” from the latter, he found beside a locally varying influence of Islam a usually more important substratum of native customary law, or adat-law. He was even the first to use the term adat-law to indicate those customs which have legal consequences.

What I have brought to your notice in Snouck’s writings up to now was mainly concerned with his pioneering views on the subject of the development and the significance of Muslim law, but it should not be forgotten that beside this Snouck Hurgronje always stressed that in Islam it is law and doctrine and mysticism together which constitute the sacred learning. Already in his very first articles on Islam in Indonesia, articles written three years after the presentation of his thesis, he indicated the importance of mysticism for the religious life of the Indonesians, although in popular religion it had greatly degenerated. His article in De Gids of 1888 likewise contains an allround picture of the phenomenon of Muslim mysticism, the final stone of the building of Islam. As a result of his growing familiarity with Indonesian Islam he had come to appreciate more and more the importance of popular mysticism; he discusses it extensively in the second volume of his Achehnese, especially the spiritual exercises of the mystical orders which had degenerated into popular amusements. True to his approved method of providing a solid basis for the historical part of his researches, beside describing the present state of affairs, he was also the first to describe the penetration of pantheistic mysticism into
Achin and the fight against it, basing himself on the literary sources. This description forms an extremely important paragraph for the history of religious life in Indonesia. Industrious collector of manuscripts that he was, he assembled in the Priangan Regencies, in Central Java and in Northern Sumatra inter alia an extensive collection of note-books of the type mostly compiled by the students in the religious schools and during the instruction given by religious teachers. In these note-books one therefore finds in colourful confusion fragments of all the sacred disciplines of Islam which the student believed it worthwhile to note or to copy, and it goes without saying that mysticism is abundantly represented. The major part of this occasionally rather abstruse material he also worked through personally, as is proved by the notes found in many manuscripts. However, he never proceeded to subject this material to a full discussion, but in a series of doctor's theses written under his direction this field has still been increasingly opened up. Every aspiring young doctor will have felt convinced in his turn, however, that without this very teacher he would have made only a poor showing with his subject.

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But this is not only true for these students, nor is it true only for the field of Indonesian Islam. It holds good for all persons engaged in Islamic studies, because in the spirit they all are his pupils. The German scholar C. H. Becker already expressed this many years ago when he wrote: “What we call nowadays Islamic studies is the work of Goldziher and of Snouck Hurgronje”, and he supported this statement by remarking furthermore that, in spite of their great difference in approach, it was the method of formulating the problems as applied by these scholars which made Islamic studies an independent discipline.

It is no mean merit to be one of the two founders of a new scholarly discipline. And, therefore, it is with justifiable pride that Leiden University may count Snouck Hurgronje among its members, and the admiration and respect with which each new generation takes note of his works remain undiminished.

But, does the memorial-window in our main auditorium bear witness only to this, or is this homage, besides being rendered to the scholar, also given to the formidable and indefatigable champion of ideals in human intercourse and human society, ideals which even now are far from being realized? I am thinking in particular of Snouck's masterful
address on University-Day in 1922 which I had the privilege of hearing as a student. At the end of this address he recalled that on the occasion of the tercentenary celebrations of the university, Matthias de Vries had chosen as his subject *De academia Lugduno-batava, libertatis praesidio*, to express the hope that on the occasion of its 400th anniversary, or perhaps much earlier, Leiden University might be honoured not only as the stronghold of liberty, but also as the stronghold of the *caritas generis humani*, love for the whole of mankind. In these words he clearly and concisely formulated the aims of university education which go beyond all our particular disciplines, and to those who have been raised in the Leiden tradition it is no problem: there, in the memorial window, Leiden University honours, besides the outstanding scholar of Islam, no less highly the prophet of an ideal which the University itself serves and wants to serve.

Before long it will be possible to show clearly how Snouck Hurgronje served this ideal and how he can therefore claim the noble title of a truly national figure. On the occasion of the death of his great companion-in-arms, Van Vollenhoven, Snouck Hurgronje wrote that he hoped and trusted that future generations would gratefully see him and his work as both had been. We are filled with the same hope and the same trust as regards his person. May some future commemoration honour Snouck Hurgronje not only for his importance to the study of Islam, but may a later generation then with grateful acknowledgement see the whole of his life's work as it has been.

Leiden. 

G. W. J. DREWES.