Islam and the Modern Age

Volume XLIX No. 1 February 2022

Zakir Husain Institute of Islamic Studies
Jamia Millia Islamia, New Delhi

Islam
and the
Modern Age

Vol. XLIV No. 1 February 2022

Editor
A. NASEEB KHAN

Assistant Editor
MOHD SAYEED ANWAR

Zakir Husain Institute of Islamic Studies
Jamia Millia Islamia, New Delhi 110025

ISLAM AND THE MODERN AGE
(Established 1970)

R. N. No. 19876

Published quarterly in February, May, August and November
International Standard Serial No. 11 ISSN: 0021-1826

SUBSCRIPTION RATES

	Single Copy	*Annual*	
Inland	₹ 100	₹ 380	(by regd. mail)
Pakistan & Bangladesh	US$ 4	US$ 15	(by regd. mail)
Other countries	US$ 12	US$ 40	(by regd. airmail)

LIFE MEMBERSHIP

Inland	₹ 5000
Pakistan & Bangladesh	US$ 150
Other countries	US$ 400

Back issues are also available.

Zakir Husain Institute of Islamic Studies does not necessarily agree all the statements or opinions expressed by contributors who are themselves responsible for their views and comments.

Published by Professor Iqtidar Mohd Khan, the Honorary Director,
Zakir Husain Institute of Islamic Studies, Jamia Nagar, New Delhi 110 025
E-mail: zhis@jmi.ac.in

Printing Assistant: Rashid Ahmad

Typeset at Sai Graphic Design, 8678/XV, Arakashan Road, New Delhi 110 055

Printed and supplied by Ratna Sagar P. Ltd., Virat Bhavan, Mukherjee Nagar
Commercial Complex, Delhi 110 009

SUBSCRIPTION

Please send me **ISLAM AND THE MODERN AGE**
☐ Single Copy ☐ Four Issues (Annual)
Name: _____

Address: _____

_____

Payment enclosed by Cheque/Draft No._____

Please enrol me as Life Member payment enclosed by

Cheque/Draft No. _____

Signature

Please continue annual renewal of my subscription until I advise you to cancel.
*Please make all payments in the name of **Jamia Millia Islamia**

Contents

Editorial

As Dr. S. Radhakrishnan insightfully says, 'Civilisations are not built with brick and mortar, steel and machinery; they are built with men and women, their quality and character,' he aspires to encapsulate the essence of human progress and advancement. He emphasises that it is not only the physical infrastructure supporting societies that forms the cornerstone of a civilised, just, and harmonious society but also the integrity, values, virtues, moral excellence, honesty and compassion of its people. These qualities establish a strong base for a prosperous society, nurturing love, trust and respect among individuals. Honesty forms the foundation for eloquent, meaningful and transparent relationships; moral excellence revitalises human interactions; and compassion enriches our communities, fostering a culture of benevolence that nurtures cohesion and resilience.

The underlying implication of Radhakrishnan's statement is that imposing buildings and advanced technologies should never obscure the fundamental aspects that truly define and promote civilisation. These impressive triumphs and significant attainments, though crucially important, are merely outward manifestations and surface-level indicators. The true essence of civilisation lies in the character and ethics of its individuals, who are devoted and committed to moral principles that are more enduring and crucial than physical infrastructure. This perspective inspires us to focus on developing the inner qualities that drive sincere and unpretentious development. Beyond the grandeur of material accomplishments, it is the moral and intellectual competence of people that shapes the lasting legacy of a civilisation. But the heart of a civilisation truly beats in the character of its women and men.

In our existing society, we are faced with a profound crisis of character and a loss of moral values. It is poignant to note that this crisis seems hell-bent on eclipsing all advancements, posing a substantial

threat to the well-woven fabric of our civilisation. Thinkers, educators, philosophers and policymakers have consistently emphasised the crucial need for a transformative change in our educational system, promoting and advocating for the integration of moral education to instil values and character in our children. The school curricula should be revised to incorporate new methods and approaches that appeal to the modern mind, effectively integrating moral education to cultivate a sense of responsibility, integrity and empathy among students. By doing so, we can nurture the qualities that drive genuine progress and ensure the long-term stability and harmony of our civilisation. Without prompt and concerted action from dedicated and conscientious individuals, society and its institutions are in danger of lapsing into a potentially long-lasting decline of its moral principles. If we fail to become alert and careful in time, the far-reaching consequences of this moral deterioration will adversely permeate every aspect of our lives, casting a long shadow on our future. The harm done will be so extensive and deep that the task of reversing it will seem to be an uphill battle.

If we are not immediately vigilant with proactive steps, the consequences may culminate in a vitiated and unhealthy political culture and atmosphere. This can result in a political landscape which people tend to define by terms like fierce division, disintegration, and fragmentation. Thus, the nation once seamlessly integrated and celebrated as a radiant jewel with prismatic colours representing unity in diversity, will run the risk of being harmfully beset with tendencies towards schism and disregard for the principles of cohesion and mutual respect. Division and fragmentation of no sort should be allowed to intensify or deepen. We should work together to counter all divisive tendencies and forces so that we can build a stronger and more well-interconnected nation that blooms on collective strength and shared goals.

The press, including newspapers, periodicals and electronic and print media journalists, is a power to reckon with. It is so influential and significant that it cannot be underestimated. It has a critical role in shaping public opinion and mediating between the populace and political parties. A healthy and vigorous press ensures transparency through fair, impartial and honest coverage, thereby promoting and preserving a civilisation built on integrity and character. In the times

of moral decline, the press must carry out its responsibility with heightened awareness, offering commentary and analysis that reflect ethical considerations and promote justice. The press can help lessen the impact of moral degeneration, and contribute to the restoration of values and character in society.

We need both bold and understated elements in life, as they create an interesting and productive contrast which is essential for a prosperous civilisation. Our individual preferences whether for the bright and flashy or the subtle and nuanced, contribute to this balance. While some are attracted to the outward brilliance, others find solace and value in the quieter aspects working to strengthen the foundation of our civilisation. In our fascination for with the vibrant, we should not overlook the quieter elements because they also play a crucial role. It is our responsibility to appreciate and preserve this delicate balance, ensuring that our civilisation remains strong and cohesive.

Ultimately, the foundation of a flourishing civilisation rets on the quality and character of its women and men. As we deal with the challenges of modern life, it is imperative for us to prioritise the cultivation and refinement of these qualities through transformative which profoundly changes our behaviour and perspectives. This vision demands a collective commitment, shared dedication and responsibility to uphold values and nurture the inner qualities that lead to genuine development and advancement. Let us read the articles contributed by these brilliant writers with appreciation and gratitude …

A. Naseeb Khan

WAHEED AKHTAR

Sufi Approach to the Problem of Alienation

WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO CHISHTI SAINTS

Alienation, though a modern concept and not current in mystic literature of medieval ages, has not been always a problem of great significance. This term has different shades of meaning but usually refers to estrangement from self. Hegel was the first philosopher to use 'alienation' in this sense in 'Phenomenology of Mind'. To be alienated means not to be at home. For Hegel, a consciousness which exteriorizes or projects its substance outside itself is alienated. All attempts to reach the projected or externalized myth end always in frustration. From human side God is the idealized image of man and from the other side world is externalization of the Absolute Self. The two can never meet and are, therefore, alienated. There are multiple alienations but all are characterized by subject-object dichotomy and incessant craving to overcome it which is never satisfied. Taking all the possible forms of alienation into consideration it can be said that alienation is essentially a psychological problem which is being faced by man recurrently. In modern philosophy Hegel, Feurebach, Karl Marx and contemporary existentialists have particularly dealt with this problem. Contemporary sociology, psychology, art and literature regard this problem as perhaps the most crucial one. Philosophy of religion also gives due importance to it. Mysticism, which approaches every human problem in this world and beyond from spiritual viewpoint, cannot and has not ignore this problem. Though mystic terminology is different from that of other disciplines, its approach to the problem of alienation has some relevance to the present human condition.

Muslim mystics in their own way tried to solve the problem of alienation in the specific concrete history situation of their own times.

Knowledge has always been an essential requisite for a true Sufi. Eminent Chishti saints, for instance, Baba Farid, Sheikh Nizammuddin Auliya and Nasir-ud-din Chiragh-e-Delhi have emphasized the value of knowledge. Knowledge if not harmonized with the authentic spiritual experience, may lead to misunderstanding of many position in relation to god and the world and consequently may result in alienation. Sufis prescribed certain way to cure their disciples of the sickening effect of the feeling of alienation. Chishti saints who exerted great influence on the spiritual climate of India as compared to the Sufis belonging to other orders, succeeded in the mission mostly because of their vital concern for delineating Muslim mind from external reality.

Hegal's approach to the problem of alienation may appear to be nearer to Sufi approach because of the spiritual and theological character of his philosophy. He regards both the world and history as processes of externalization of the Absolute Self, i.e. God. For Hegel, God is absolute and infinite being. He is the whole of reality. His is all that has ever been and is. Nature is God's spatial externalization and history is his temporal unfoldment. According to him God, nature and history are one. God is not fully God until He knows himself to be God. At the outset of creation God lacks self-knowledge. In the process of creation which spreads all over history. He realizes His own self. God's self-realization, in Hegal's words, is the process of becoming in terms of knowledge.[1] God passes from primal unconsciousness in the form of nature to ultimate self-consciousness in the person of historical man. Progress of human knowledge in the course of history is God's passage to self-knowledge. God's creativity is creativity of self-externalization in order to know Himself. Nature is externalized spirit and unconscious of itself, while man is spirit in the act of becoming conscious of itself as spirit. In this

process of taking of objective form, God as cognitive activity is alienated from his own creation because of the state of self-division—division in two different grades of spirit as conscious subject, man and external object, the world. This spirit as subject is confronted with spirit as object, Hegel calls it 'self-alienation'. In the subject-object relation spirit apprehends itself as otherness, that is alien and hostile being. This state may be overcome through knowing activity. Knowing is self-discovery, means of reintegration or return to itself, which destroys the illusion of otherness and delineates the spirit and the external world. The self-alienation of Hegelian spirit is not a moral problem. On the other hand Kant's self-divided man, whose phenomenal self does not correspond to his ideal self, achieves absolute moral virtue in moral activity in his relations with other man. Hegelian spirit experiences self-alienation in a man but is not conlict of a man with himself.[2]

Sufi doctrine of the creation stresses on the unity of all being. Hegelian philosophy of spirit is also inclined towars partheism and, therefore, may appear to have some affinity with Sufis conception of the universe. Most of the Sufis agree that God alone exists and He is the only reality. Advocates of *Wahdat-ul-wujud* further say that nothing exists except God. But it does not amount to the denial of other beings. Other beings exist but depend for their existence on God. The world is created after the ideas of Divine knowledge, i.e. *A'yan-e-thabita A'yan* as essences reside in Divine mind. There is no distinction between essence and existence in God. But other beings derive their existence from God. Ideas as essences have no external form when God, through the mediation of '*Aql-e-Awwai* or first revalation illumines ideas, they acquire external form. Existence happens to them as accident. They are possible and their existence and non-existence are both relative. The world cannot have external form without Divine illumination, and God cannot reveal himself without *A'yan*. Both are mirrors for one another. God as one and the only beings reflects Himself in the multiplicity of being.

Ibn-e-Arabi says that whether the only real being is called God or the universe or one accepts his inability to distinguish between the two, in all three cases truth remains the same. Man according to Ibn-e-Arabi, is created after the image of God and is endowed with the attributes of God. Reason is Divine spark in man and can unite him with his essence, i.e. God.[2]

Ibn-e-Arabi does not deny the existence of the world as Shankara does. The world is not illusion or Maya. It is real because it is identical with God. Man, due to ignorance does not realize his relation with God and conceives himself as separate from Him. In Hegelian terms his ignorance alienates him not only from God out from his own self. The famous saying ascribed to Ali Abi Talib, 'one who realizes his self realizes God', is interpreted by Ibn-e-Arabi in the light of his theory of the unity of existence. He says as man is identical with God, man's self-realization leads to the realization of God.

Despite apparent similarities between the theories of Hegel and Ibn-e-Arabi, there are some basic points of difference.

1. For Hegel God realizes Himself in the creation, while Ibn-e-Arabi says that in creation God externalizes His own self.
2. Hegel has reduced God just to an absolute idea while Ibn-e-Arabi's God is the most nay the only real being.
3. Hegel faces the problem of subject-object duality, while Ibn-e-Arabi avoids this problem by accepting identity between the two.
4. Hegel's God is self-alienated and this self-alienation in inevitable. Ibn-e-Arabi maintains that self-alienation in caused by ignorance. It is not God who re-integrates and de-alienates in knowing activity but it is man who overcomes alienation in self-realization.
5. Hegel finds de-alienation in knowing activity. Ibn-e-Arabi agree with other Sufis that though knowledge is essential, yet is insufficient. Hegel's rational knowledge can lead us up to a point beyond which it cannot be. It is love which can lead man to union with God. Though love man can be reabsorbed in Divine essences.

6. Hegel fails to realize moral implications of self-alienation. Ibn-e-Arabi and other Sufis look at the problem from moral viewpoint. Self-alienation is cured through striving for moral perfection.

Feuerbach and Marx realized the basic defect on Hegel's conception of alienation and turned his philosophic upside-down in order to give it anthropological orientation. Feuerbach in his 'Essence of Christianity' pointed out the processes imputed by Hegel to spirit are actually operative in man. Hegel's self-alienation God becomes Feuerbach's self-alienated man. For Hegal God finds and knows Himself in man. Man is the 'revealed God'. Feuerbach on the other hands says that, God is the revealed man, because he is the thought-process of man. In projecting the ideal self as God, man is self-alienated. He becomes a divided being, a dual personality because of his self-externalization as God. God has all the ideal attributes. God is all that man is not. He is Infinite, Perfect, Eternal, Almighty and Holy. Man is finite, imperfect, temporal weak and sinful. This consciousness makes self-alienated man a suffering being.[4]

Feuerbach hold that man's emancipation from God's illusion is the only possible escape from alienation. The only means of self-alienation is 'humanism' for 'realized Christianity'.[5] He strongly criticized Hegel of theologizing and mystifying philosophy. In his lesser known works he developed his naturalistic approach based on the premise that philosophy arises from and reflects the social relations of man to man.[6] Marx was inspired by Feuerbach in his materialistic interpretation of nature and history. Marx was concerned with the problem of alienation from human point of view. For him history is the process of man's self-realization. He came to envisage the entire world of man as a field of alienation. According to him, religion is merely the theoretical form of alienation, behind or beneath which there are diverse practical forms. He saw alienation as a phenomenon not confined to religious life alone. Feuerbach had exposed the holy form of self-alienation; Marx exposed its sun holy forms on the spheres

of the state, law, the family, morality and the economic life.[7] For Marx if philosophy is only speculative and not concrete, it causes intellectual alienation from this concrete reality. Religion estranges man from this earth and prevents him from becoming completely human. In the same way conceiving the real political world as governed by ideal political structure and ignoring its real power in masses, alienates common man from political reality. For him the identification of the state with civil society through real democracy is the only way of overcoming political alienation. The most important and fundamental part of Marxian theory of alienation is regarding the economic aspect of this problem. Marx is of the view that if economic alienation can be overcome man will have reached his complete restoration. The capitalist system alienates workers in four ways:

1. The worker is estranged from his objectivized labour, while he himself remains dependent upon it. He builds up a capital which is extraneous to him and taken away from him.
2. His labour itself is alienated, because it is forced on him not freely chosen.
3. If man is alienated from both, his product and the act of producing it, he is alienated from nature. Man is coexistent with nature and his essence is identical with nature. Through labour he comes in contact with nature. Through labour he comes in contact with nature. But in capitalist society productive activity become compulsive and artificial which causes him to revolt and draw into himself.
4. This resentment breaks up his relation with other men and alienates him from men and finally from himself.[8]

Marxian and Feuerbachian concepts of alienation are anthropocentric as against Hegel's God-centric interpretation. The Sufis' approach to the problem of alienation is also anthropocentric. Man, for them is the cream of creation, image of God, and the measure of all worldly things. This approach is different from ordinary religion legalistic approach

of *Ulama*, which is formalistic and rigoristic. All sufi literature is essentially humanistic in character and content. Man's self-realization occupies the highest place in Sufi ethics. Thus Sufis have resolved the dichotomy of body and mind, earthliness and other-worldliness. The *Summum Bonum* of Sufi ethics is union with God and that is attained only through love and service of humanity. Some Sufis also anticipated the dialectical character of spiritual journey. A later Sufi Khwaja Mir Dard in his doctrine of *Tajaddud-e-Amthal* elaborated a scheme of cosmic development in which opposites were reconciled to give birth to higher forms of being. Being is opposed to nothingness, light to darkness and in the process of creation opposites are synthesized. All the different Sufi theories of creation and evolution for instance Sheikh-ul-Ishraq's theory of emanation, Ghazali's theory of creation. *Wahdat-ul-Wujudi* and *Wahdat-ush-shuhudi* conceptions of cosmology presume that creation is a recurring process following dialectical pattern. Being proceeds from successive emanations from the first cause and becomes weaker or less real in each emanation as it receded further from its source, the Ultimate Reality. Only in man are all the possibilities of creation reintegrated and, therefore, he can return to and unite with Reality. But non-ego puts an obstacle in his upward journey. Man's lower self is bound with the phenomenal world in which evil appears as the negation of the moral beauty of Reality.[10] Evil is non-existent because it is merely negation and has no ground in the Real Being. Man can overcome evil by subordinating his lower self to the higher self. It is not emancipated from evil, he remains alienated from his self, being and God. Both Feuerbach and Marx regarded the practical consequences of alienation as dangerous for morality. Sufis also consider this problem from moral viewpoint. They have also suggested certain ways to overcome alienation in its diverse forms. Their approach to intellectual, political and economic forms of alienation, though spiritual in character, is not far from Marxian interpretation. Marx and Feuerbach regard religion as

estrangement from the world while Sufis interpret religion as the only way to overcome all forms of estrangements. Nature is not alienated from and hostile to man, but is parcel and parcel of human existence because both the nature and man are identical with the Real Beings. Sufis' outlook is not pessimistic. They do not ignore evil, but face it and hope to overcome it through self-realization. In sufi outlook subject-object duality and the twofold division of reality into this-worldliness and other-worldliness is resolved. Hence religion does not remain 'opium of the people' or estrangement of man from the world.

Sufis' starting point is self-realization. They regard their existential experience as the source of all knowledge, divine and worldly. Evelyn Underhill in his classical work on mysticism has enumerated four main characteristics of mysticism. According to him mystic approach is both practical and transcendental. It adopts the path of love and aims at union with the absolute.[11] Sufis have successfully synthesized all these four elements in their Philosophy, which has theoretical as well as practical value. Life of man cannot be arbitrarily divided into the surface life and the unconscious deeps. Human existence is an indivisible whole. Though in surface life too we can recognize this essential wholeness, we have to distinguish its three ever-present aspects as feeling thought and will. We further divide expression of life in the twofold activity of conation or outgoing action and cognition or indwelling knowledge. The first is the work of will, dynamic in type, and the second is the business of intellect passive in type. Mystics point out that all these acts of surface mind are incapable of establishing any relation with the absolute or transcendental world. Mystic practices such as contemplation can be alter the state of consciousness as to permit the emergence of deeper self, which through entering into the conscious life enables man to realize fully wholeness of human experience and to establish direct contact with the transcendent.[12] Mystic contemplation has both psychological and empirical valve.[13] Sufis realized the importance of taking into consideration the wholeness of

human existence. Mystic experience is the experience of the totality of existence. Human existence is integral and can not be differentiated as reason and unreason. Feeling and emotion, knowledge and will combine to form a whole. They regard passion not as an obstacle for knowledge but a mode and conditions for knowledge. Thus their approach is similar to that of existentialists. Existentialist approach is an attempt to eradicate the root cause of alienation.

Kierkegaard attacked the rational-essentialist approach of the philosophical tradition in the West which in his view culminated in Hegel's philosophy. It is intellectual approach that alienates man from reality. Man's subjectivity that is truth, reveals to him the wholeness of his existence. Through subjectivity man realizes both his self and God because in subjective existential experience both are inseparable. For Kierkegaard institutionalized religion has alienated man from God and thus alienated him from his own self. De-alienation is possible on religious level of existence only which is something higher than spirituality of organized religious. Jaspers is also critical of organized religion because it negates freedom of man as man. True religion leads to confidence in good will, to an awareness of transcendence which gives man to himself in his freedom. Formal religion deprives man of has freedom.[14] Such had realized the tryranny of institutionalized religion and, therefore, often came in conflict with institutionalized sharia, the Islamic law is to help the believer to attach his freedom as man, through obedience to Divine law and to curtail the possibilities of transcending limitation of his self. Merely formalistic approach ignores of real inner experience. No true Sufi violated sharia yet adopted more humanistic attitude towards me. Religious law arises from within, not imposed from without. When a Sufi attains the highest knowledge, divine law becomes the law of his ownself, because at the stage there is no duality between divine will and human will. Religion has to integrate and not to alienate me from his own self.

Existentialists and Sufis regard alienation basically a human

problem. For existentialists absence of freedom which is the essence of human existence is the cause of alienation. Kierkegaard, Jaspers, Heidegger, Marcel, Buber all are unanimous in regarding freedom as the highest human value. Heidegger says that to flee from freedom makes human existence inauthentic. Inauthentic existence is the state of man as fallen from his place. It is day-to-day existence which flees from authenticity by give up the freedom of choice and action. Authentic existent is real, while inauthentic leads to self-alienation. Sartre God is the negation of human freedom, hence God does not exist. Man is condemned to be free. Man cannot shift his responsibility to any other being. May relation to being, to others and to God are bound to shatter leaving him in absolute freedom. But man can achieve his freedom only in relation to others. Concern for others makes Sartre's philosophy humanistic. Atheistic existentialists are pessimist in their outlook. Sartre himself says that evil cannot be conquered. Theistic existentialism gives some hope. For instance, Jaspers hopes to conquer evil and Marcel proposes to overcome evil in social communion.

Sufis also regard man as autonomous, a world in himself (*'Alam-e-Akbar*), an end in himself. Thus they save human freedom. They are of the view that man loses his freedom when he is attached to the world or day-to-day existence. In Hegelian terminology Sufis also regard worldly attachment as bondage which indicates fallen state of man. In this state man loses his freedom, his existence is inauthenticated and he is self-alienated. They suggest purification of heart and soul as a remedy. Salvation lies in purification. Only after purification heart may become the seat of the highest realization and establish the relation of identity with God. Sufi conception of higher or real self is synonymous with authentic de-alienated existence. Man can realize and exercise his free will to change and mould the reality, to conquer nature and to create proper human environment for full development of his personality. *Wahdat-ul-Wujud* regards attainment of highest goal or freedom in annihilation of self (*Fana*), while *Wahdat-ush-shuhud* regards affirmation (*Baqa*) and

perfection of self as the highest human goal. Dard has rightly pointed out that his difference is merely verbal not real because both the schools aim at the same destination.[15] From one side freedom is annihilation of ego and from the other side it lies in the affirmation of self. The other apparent difference is that the first accepts the possibility of union with God and the other denies it. But *Baqabillah* (continuation of self in God) itself means to overcome finitude and become one with the Infinite.

Chishti saints in India did not indulge in theoretical controversies. The course of the development on doctrinal Sufism ends in thirteenth century. Sufis in India were conversant with all the doctrines. Sufism but they were more interested in translation of those doctrines in practice for the spiritual training of their disciplines. There is ample evidence of overwhelming impact of the theory of *Wahdat-ul-Wujud* of Chishti saints. Under this impact they adopted certain practices like *Sama'* which were opposed by orthodox *ulama*. Chishti Sufis consciously avoided the path on intoxication (*sukr*) and impressed upon their discipline to follow sharia. But their attitude towards non-Muslim was liberal and humanitarian. In their *khanqah* they did not observe any discrimination. Doors of Khanqahs were open to all. They were embodiment of the highest more values. If one traces the sources of Sufism in the Koran and Hadith, he will have to accept that Sufism is essentially a moral philosophy. Chishti sheikhs lived in accordnance with the true religious morality and their living were source of inspiration for others. Islam as a religion spread in India due to the moral impact of these Sufi. It is believed that Khwaja Moin-ud-din Chishti, the forded of Chishti order in India settled in Ajmer during the reign of Prithvi Raj. He not only established the monastery but also found room for himself in the heart of Hindus. He and his successors adapted themselves to the conditions of Indian culture and society. Adaptability and flexibility of their attitude helped Islam to be rooted in Indian soil. They did not remain alien to this country and never alienated non-Muslims from their spiritual fold.

Culture, social system and personality are three aspects of human situation which is a complex integrated phenomenon. Alienation takes place when the equilibrium of this complex whole is disturbed. We have to see how the Chishti order and its institutions functioned in maintaining the equilibrium of the complex human situation in India. Broadly speaking it may be said that Chishti Sufis were successful in maintaining this equilibrium for they paid due attention to the each component part of this whole, taking not account all the three aspects separately. We have to probe in three directions. How did the doctrines and attitudes of Chishti Sufis function in maintaining the equilibrium of social system in which they had to work? How did they function in developing the composite Indian culture? How did they function in maintaining the autonomy and the free development of personality? In answering these questions we may evolve the proper framework in which Chishti saints approached the problem under discussion.

As we have seen in the case of Marxian concept of alienation religion can alienate man from his world. Mars' criticism of religion is valid in the case of those religions which encourage asceticism. Islam did not try to suppress or ignore the material and practical aspects of human existence. Chishti Sufis attempted into their own way to maintain balance between extreme indulgence into the world and extreme asceticism. Asceticisim, as it is practiced in Christianity and some Indian religions, means to avoidance of all normal pleasures and indulgences of human life and consequently implies celibacy and absolute renunciation. In this sense asceticism is alien to Islam. The lives of Chishti Sufis were ascetic only in the sense that they avoided all luxury and display, and deliberately tried to retain restrained, simple, self-denying way of life. They occasionally retired from the world for contemplation in order to re-integrate their inner experiences. Nizam-ud-din Auliya explained the Chishti view of asceticism in this way:

'The rejection of the world does not mean that one should

divest himself of clothes, and put on a loin cloud and sit idle. Instead, rejection of world means that one may put on clothes and take food. What come to him he should take and not hoard it. He should not fix his heart on anything. Only this is rejection of the world'.[16] Baba Farid in his *khilafat-nama* to Sheikh Nizam-ud-din permits him to adopt isolation and quotes the Tradition of the Prophet: "Live in the world like a traveller or a wayfare and count yourself among the dead.'[17]

Baba Farid says 'consider worldliness as unforeseen calamity'. Worldliness compels man for begging, while holds man in disgrace.[18]

Chishti saints thus maintained the equilibrium of individual and society by adopting an intermediate party. They did not approve of the estrangement from the work. Sheikh Nasir-ud-din had a tendency for asceticism, to his teacher Nizam-ud-din Auliya advised him 'to bear the blows and buffets of people'.[19] He knew that the full development of personality was possible only in mixing with the people, bringing peace to the troubled and keeping oneself detached in the midst of struggle for life. In renunciation personality splits and one is self-alienated.

The other form of alienation is too much indulgence in the world. In this case man loses his spiritual freedom, his existence becomes inauthentic and he is alienated from his reality. Worldliness shut man in the world and his spiritual ascension becomes impossible. Indulgence in the world is a vicious circle. Baba Farid says: 'Do not satisfy the demands of the physical self, for the more you satisfy it, the more it demands.' He further says that escaping from one's self (day-to-day fallen state of man) is a means of attaining God.[20] He advises to keep internal self better than the external self.[21] Here internal self implies authentic existence, while external self implies inauthentic existence. According to Chishti Sheikhs love of the world is the root of all evils. Purification of heart, which is the seat of divine love, emancipates man from the chains which fetter the soul. Chishti Sheikhs developed an elaborate system of practices for attaining

this goal. The foundation stone of the structure of their spiritual discipline, after eradicating all worldly desires, is love of God. Love de-alienates man and opens the way for his union with God. Love in relation to human beings is also an essential condition for Divine love. Thus love works as de-alienating force. It is only through love that man is not alienated from his self, from God and from the world.

Existentialists, particularly Heidegger and Sartre, consider the fear of death as important cause of alienation. Heidegger says that man flees from dread generated by the fear of death and takes refuge in the world. This escape makes his existence inauthentic and alienates man from his self. The concept of death occupies an important place in Sufi metaphysics and ethics.

Auliya (God's friends and deputies) are those who are neither afraid nor do they grieve. Sufis regard death as a passage from finitude to immortality. They do not regard it as cessation of life. Sufis realized that death could be faced boldly because there was no escape from it. A soul attached to the world flees from death, but a liberated soul knows that in death one can transcend one's self and merge with the Reality. A Sufi aspires for this union. Death gives meaning to life. Sufis realized that this world was a stage for moral action and purification of soul, a preparatory stage for life-after-death. If one remembers that he has to die, he can not indulge in the world and violet moral law. When Baba Farid advised Sheikh Nizam-ud-din Auliya to 'count himself among the dead' the actually reinforced not only the inevitability of death but also the significance of a detached moral life. Baba Farid advised all his disciples not to forget death at any place.[21] Such a concept of death does not alienate man from the world but rehabilitates him in the world on a higher spiritual and moral level of existence.

In this way teachings of Chishti saints functioned in maintaining equilibrium of the personality.

So far as their contribution to the Indian culture is concerned, there is sufficient evidence of their vital role in the development

of a common religious outlook and composite Indo-Muslim culture. They encouraged the full development of personality through participating in and contributing to the Indian literature, language, music and other spheres of cultural activities. Thus they opened proper channels for the manifold expression of their creative personalities. Their humanistic approach uprooted all the possibilities of cultural alienation.

Lastly we have to consider the third aspect of their attitude towards the complex social system in which they had to live and work. It is generally believed that they worked under the favourable conditions of the Muslim rule in India. K.A. Nizami in his book has exploded this myth with ample evidence from contemporary historical sources. Even Sultans like Iltutmish, Nasir-ud-din Mehmood and Feroze Shah-Tughlaq, who are considered as religious, did not rule in accordance with the Islamic standards. Chishti Sheikhs from the very beginning avoided any relation with the court. They never accepted any *jagir* and usually refused to accept money from highly-placed people. Their terms were strained from most of the kings and sometimes Sheikhs strained from most of the kings and sometimes Sheikhs like Niamud-ud-din Auliya, Sheikh Nasir-ud-din Chiragh-e-Delhi and many others had to suffer for their refusal to visit the court or accepting court's service. In *Khair-ul-Majalis* there are a number of such instances. Suharwardi *Khanqah* presents a contrast. Sheikh Baha-ud-din Zakariya accepted court's service and held high positions. He also accepted lands and *jagir* for his *Khanqah*. His successors also continued this tradition. No one could enter their *Khanqah* without prior permission of the king. The court also interfered and exercised influence in the struggle for the succession of *Khilafat*. They had to pay for this contact with the court and Muhammad Tughlaq shattered and demolished their *Khanqah* at Multan on the slightest excuse. On the other hand Chisti order was saved from such calamity because of their indifference towards the court. Their estrangement from political power does not mean alienation from social system. Some times

a particular form of estrangement is essential for averting more severe type of alienation, particularly self-alienation. The attempt of maintaining a socio-political equilibrium does not mean surrdender and obedience to all existing socio-political values. If higher values come in conflict with the socio-political order of the day it becomes necessary to severe relations from it in order to create new values. Chishti saints did not feel at home in the tyrannical and unjust political system of their times, which was also contrary to the Islamic conception of socio-political values. They were humanists and democrats in their social life. Had they established relation with the courts, they would have faced self-alienation. Early Sufis in the same way had dissociated themselves from the socio-political order under Umayyad and Abbasid rulers in order to maintain their spiritual and moral integrity.

Existentialist anti-institutional attitude towards religion is confirmed by the Chishti way of life. Sufis were also anti-institutionalists. It is said that the development of Sufism in the form of organized orders led to a new form of institutionalization. Sufi orders are institutions only apparently. O'Leary is justified to say that this was not actually institutionalization, but it was an attempt to do away with more established institutions. Sufism is an organized form of religion only in this sense that it prescribed certain moral rules and practices for the training of disciples. These rules were never rigid and unchangeable. Sufis having deep insight in psychological make up of man suggested different courses for different individuals, taking in view the natural differences of human beings. Sheikh is not a mediator like *Purohit* or priest, but he is a guide and teacher who enables his disciple to have the highest gnosis and help him to establish direct contact with God. The Sheikh prepares his disciples for the onward journey of the spirit and to reach the farthest limits of existence, which at the highest level engulfs transcendence and eternity. The Sheikh helps his disciples to attain this stage. Sufi order were degenerated into institutionalization of even anti-institutional attitude due to some vested interests and

lack of insight into God-man relation. Sufi orders and called institutions only in this sense. Belief is bound to assume some form of institution, for belief is that upon which we are prepared to act. A theory is different from belief, as it is not a plan of action. Basic beliefs of Sufis are plans of action in the pragmatic sense of the term. Beliefs as plans of action become institution in themselves but Sufis did not allow these institutions to put an obstacle in the direct relation of man to God and even man to man relation. They emphasized that their mission was to unify not to divide people.

The Chishti approach to the problem of alienation regards alienation from God as self-alienation which consequently leads to alienation from the world. Functional value of this approach can be evaluated in terms of Sufis' contribution to different spheres of human activity. Though they did not talk in the terms of alienation, they succeeded is resolving this ever-present human problem. The Sufi solution of this problem is relevant to our modern society, which has become the society of alienated selves. I do not believe that the only way to solve this problem is become a sufi, but I would suggest that a study of Sufis from this angle may give us some insight in solving all-embracing phenomenon of alienation in the modern society.

NOTES

1. Hegel, *The Phenomenology of Mind*, trans. J. Baillie, London: George Allen and Unwin, 1931, p. 807.
2. Robert Turcker, *Philosophy and Myth in Karl Marx*, Cambridge University Press, 1961, pp. 45-51.
3. For details see author's book, *Khwaja Mir Dard, Sufi Doctrine and Poetry (Urdu)*, Anjuman Traqqi-e-Urdu (India), Aligarh, pp. 77-83.
4. Feuerbach, *The Essense of Christianity*, New York: Harper and Bros., 1957, p. 33.
5. Tucker, *Philosophy and Myth in Karl Marx*, p. 90.
6. Jordan, Z.A., *The Evolution of Dialectical Materialism*, New York: Macmillan, 1967, p. 18.
7. Tucker, *Philosophy and Myth in Karl Marx*, p. 102.
8. Karl Marx, 'Economic and Philosophical Manuscripts', Moscow: Foreign Languages Publishing House, pp. 7-83.
   Wilfred Desan, *Marxism of J.P. Sartre*, New York: Doubleday Co., 1965, p. 36.

9. Khawaja Mir, 'Ilm-ul-Kitab, Delhi: Maktab-e-Ansari, 1308 AH, pp. 133-7. Waheed Akhtar, *Khwaja Mir Dard* (Urdu), pp. 164-76.
10. O'Leary, *Arabic Thought and its Place in History*, London: Kegan Paul Trench, Trubner & Co., 1939, pp. 199-200.
11. Evelyn Underhill, *Mysticism*, London University paperback, 12th edn, 1960, pp. 70-94.
12. Ibid., p. 67.
13. Ibid., pp. 49-50.
14. Karl Jaspers, *Future of Mankind*, Chicago: Phoenix Books, 1963, C.f. on substitutes for religions, pp. 247-61.
15. Dard, *Ilm-ul-Kitab*, pp. 612-13.
16. Fawaid-ul-Fuad, cf. Khairul Majalis edited by K.A. Nizami, Muslim University, Aligarh, Introduction, p. 19.
17. K.A. Nizami, *The Life and Times of Farid-ud-din Ganj-i-Shakar*, Idarah-i-Adabiyat-i-Delhi, 1973, p. 98.
18. Ibid., p. 89.
19. Khairul Majalis, Introduction, p. 38.
20. K.A. Nizami, *Life & Times of Farid-ud-din*, p. 87.
21. Ibid., p. 85.
22. K.A. Nizami, Salatin-e-Delhi Ke Mazhabi Rujbanat, Delhi: Nadvat-ul-Musannifin, 1958, pp. 335-59.

PROFESSOR MOHAMMAD ZAKIR

Muslim Culture[1]

When we talk of Muslim Culture we are at once reminded of the glory of Damascus and Beghdad, of the Court of Ha run Rasheed, The Alhambra Palace and the tales of One Thousand and One Nights, and our imagination takes us in a magic world where the spell of beauty and workmanship is seen all around. But these are tales which are told and listened to because the reality of Muslim culture cannot be fully described. It is better to focus all light on one of its parts in a way that at least that part is clearly seen rather than seeing the whole in dim light. Here we can only try to describe some particulars of the colors with which the picture of Islam was made and we impress on the mind that if we overlook any of the elements of which Islamic culture is composed of, its formation cannot be understood.

Shari'at/Islamic Law had the central place in Islamic culture. One aspect of Shari'at consists of Islamic beliefs and the other describes the ways of leading life and work. Shari'at was composed step by step which means that the circle of these laws which aimed at covering the problems of life went on growing with the expansion of Islamic world. When Islam came out of its cradle and started spreading in those nations which had their own hereditary religions and developed cultures. It was felt necessary to explain the beliefs and laws of Islam in old terms. And how this need was met becomes clear by the Islamic Shari'at. *Tariqat*/ devoutness and mysticism made those spiritual values distinct which were there in the Shari'at itself but could not be too clearly explained. First the European researchers tried to link the Islamic mysticism with the Christian and Buddhist monks and with the old views of unity of existence and with the Platonic and Indian philosophy.

But now mysticism is also taken to be a common and world-wide phenomenon in human life like religion. Islam did not hold *din*/faith and world as enemies of each other like the old religions. It held faith as the essence/*Jauhar* of worldly knowledge and the world as the field

of action for faith. Islamic mysticism held spiritualism as the cultured/ *shaaistah* and higher form of common human emotions and states (of mind) and did not allow law and legalism/*qanun-parasti* to come in between man and his God /*ma'bood*. We may say that the special quality of Islamic culture is that it harmonizes the hereditary and traditional form of faith with the individual religious emotion which demands freedom and choice. Thus was born an entirely new concept of human personality. This personality was composed of those spiritual values which the Greeks aspired for but failed to achieve; it had that feeling of the dignity of worldly life whose absence had made the Indian and Christian monasticism/*rahbaaniyat* an example of compulsion/*jabr* and aversion to natural tendencies/*mailaanaat* and it had that intensity to grow on which depends human progress.

It has become very difficult to understand Islamic culture on the right lines now. There are two reasons. One is that European culture has come to stand like a mountain before us during the last 150 or 200 years and whatever of Muslim culture had survived after the terrorism/ *zulm o sitam* of the Tartars that too lies hidden from us. Then, we should also remember that if we are the religious heirs of the Muslims of those days, the chain of their culture is not connected with our modern life which is linked with the European culture now and we find only those things of Islamic culture which have already reached us viz. beliefs, laws and a few systems whereas the Europeans have built their culture on other's land and it is because of this they emphasize that the previous owner's possession of land was totally unauthorized; and thus by vilifying him affirm their right on it.

Whether we see the knowledge gained or the culture of that period, the European researchers prove that the Arabs only took the wealth/ *maal* of culture from one place to the other place just like the coolies and it is clear that the cultural wealth does not increase by just changing its place. But conceding that the world had really progressed before the Muslims and it also continued to make progress after that period of Muslim culture we find that the Arabs had brought with them such a wealth that did not exist anywhere in those times; and had this wealth not been there you would not; have seen the progress in the world which we wonder at today. What was that wealth? It was a new principle of freedom, the concept of humanism, yearning for acquiring knowledge,

eagerness to develop life and the courage to make use of all that capital/*sarmaaya* that Nature has kept in the heart of man and in the bosom of earth.

I have said earlier that all labour and hard work was done by slaves, and everywhere the peasants also were slaves, Peasant – slavery survived in Europe even after the slave-trade had stopped in the 19th century. And that was not because landlords and rulers had become sympathetic to the peasants but it was because of industrial revolution. Whenever Muslims came to have their influence, they got the peasant relieved from slavery and making him responsible to pay what was, due to the state gave him full rights of a citizen. But peasant slavery was again practiced in those parts of Syria and Palestine which the chiefs of the crusade army had occupied for a few years otherwise we do not find it anywhere else in the East.

Leaving aside the slaves and peasants, you will find that freedom kept growing but although workers/craftsmen and cultivators who were the life and blood of society like the peasants, were also regarded downtrodden everywhere except in Athens; there also their status was just a little better than that of the slaves. They used to take that profession because their forefathers had been doing the same, and thus this too was a sort of slavery. Muslims started to appreciate the worth of skill/*hunar* so much that they gave every skilled man the status of a teacher and they made appreciation of skilled men the standard of culture. Professions that are called 'Free Professions' today were started in that very period of Muslim culture. You will be surprised to know that it was the duty of one of the domestic slaves to educate the children of the house in Greece. In ancient India even *veds*/physicians too were considered as 'untouchables' like *doms* and *chandals*/low caste tribes. Science/*'ilm* and philosophy of Greece and India are known by the names of only a few respected personalities and science/*'ilm* never lent its color to life; there had never been such a harmony between philosophy and economy, between science/*'ilm* and industry which could help each other. Muslims made all science/*'ilm*, trade and industry free for the first time in the world, gave them equal status and inclined them to work together.

Cultures which existed in the 7th century and all those before them were all racist and of particular individual countries. They influenced each other because the ambitions of kings did not remain confined to

one race, one country and one religion. But conquest and force could not do away narrow-mindedness and no nation could give any place to others in its heart and its religion. (As against this) Muslims had been taught to be *bande*/servants of God and regard every human community as a family. They were taught that they should make friends with those who wanted to befriend them, to make themselves responsible for their safety and security and to respect every religion and every nation and not to leave any chance to acquire knowledge. (That is why) we find that they were particularly fond of seeing the world and study every culture/*ma'aashrat* and every kind of thought. Several Arab tourists travelled all over the habitated world and many scholars learnt the sciences and arts of others and tried to benefit the Mnslims with it. One of them was Alberuni who came to India in the days of Mehmood of Ghazni. He wanted to study Physics and Astronomy in India but along with these main subjects of his interest he also wrote whatever he came to know about the religion, culture and thoughts of Indians. His book *Kitab ul Hind* is a treasure-house of information. But more than this it is a miracle of non-prejudice which will have no match in any language in the whole world even today. Even today people go on tours but it: becomes difficult to tell where their tour (or recreation) ends and where spying begins. Even today people come to India to study Indian religion and culture but someone of them finds only faults in them and someone else talks so sweetly about them which makes us feel as if it is flying dust in our eyes. Muslims have been very much blamed but only this one book is sufficient to prove all the blames and accusations Wrong in the Court of Truth.

What I was telling you is that in that period also Muslims did not learn only from the nearby nations; in their pursuit of knowledge and art and in their yearning to see the colorful picture of human life they went far and wide and the works they have left as their memorials for us tell us that they were truly interested in them. Their interest in acquiring knowledge and seeing the world wag due to the fact that their mind had been made free from the restricting concepts of nation, country and religion, and without taking advantage of this freedom they could not become Muslims truly so described. I cannot count down here their *'amali*/practical marvelous works, how they adopted and tested the *'ilm*/science and philosophy of the Greeks, how they changed and

extended them, how they tried to make history a story of (one) human family instead of making it a tale of separate nations. I cannot tell here how much excellence/*Kamaal* they achieved in different branches of arithmetic, medicine and science, and what miracles they presented in the fine art.

I can describe only those results here which may be derived from the academic life in that period so that you may have an idea of the importance of this part of the story of the world.

Why talk of the whole knowledge, even the particular religious knowledge also never remained only in the hands of one sect or class or caste or came to be as its own property and who could make plans to keep others away from it. As against this, for centuries not only religious knowledge but all knowledge and the means of education remained in the hands of priests. Their narrow-mindedness and prejudice stopped the progress of knowledge and they opposed the scholars at every step. Thus there was a great fight between religion and science in Europe and the enlightened/*raushan khayaal* persons firmly thought that man could not acquire knowledge as long as his mind was influenced by religion and that even if he acquired it, he would not benefit from it. Now we are also afflicted by this prejudice of Europeans. We have also accepted that religion and science are antagonistic to each other although such thinking is quite wrong; and if it still persists it means that we have neither understood religion nor science as we should. Muslims did not fear knowledge and science and they discovered all those principles on which knowledge and science depend and which are believed to have been particularly discovered by Europeans. Muslims knew the principle that the first lesson in acquiring knowledge is skepticism because unless there is skepticism, man does not think of find out reality. They also knew that knowledge can be trusted upon only when we collect maximum information and put it in order and draw only such occlusions from it which can be proved correct on the basis of our knowledge. To make an experiment, to test it and thus gradually increase knowledge was also an accepted principle of acquiring knowledge. The Greek system of medicine which is a great reminder of those times was made a science in the same way. The scholars of those times did not think that the best period of the world had past and that man's condition was growing worse; on the other hand they thought that life was expanding

and going forward. Some scholars proved it by showing that life had gradually taken a better and better form. They formulated a chain of growth/*irtiqa* of plants and animals which is nearly correct according to what we know today.

All this scientific/*'ilmi* work was not done only by a few scholars. Paper had come to be cheaply produced in those days. Printing presses were not there but quite a large number of hand-written books were produced and there were many book shops in big cities. Even before that period there had been center of learning and of scholars but during that period (of Muslim culture) we find a new thing; *madrasas*/schools were started in every city and in every locality and quite big universities imparting higher education were established in Baghdad and in other six or seven cities. The principles and the scholarly tendencies mentioned above were not solely the wealth/daulat of a few people. They reached a large number of people through educational institutions and they had their impact on their general thinking.

New interest in academics and the wish to make progress did not lead only to the establishment of madrasas/ schools and universities because what we find is that a large number of dispensaries, hospitals and even asylums were established not only by the State; people also established them; and thus whatever knowledge had been acquired, general life was benefitted by it. Awakening of the heart and mind and the development of industry brought fineness in the ways of living.

Ordinary people also started using woolen carpets and curtains in their homes. Much care was taken of body cleanliness and due consideration and formalities came to be observed in social gatherings of men and women. I have already mentioned how Islam raised the status of women. Although the status was not legally changed and due to the impact of other nations Muslims also highly abrogated the rights of women but even then women did not remain confined in their homes. Many of them rose to be famous scholars and they taught in higher educational institutions, many of them learnt to arm themselves and took part in battles. But in spite of their interest in all cultural activities they remained women. If you compare them with Christian women who accompanied their husbands in the Crusades, who drank with men and rolled inebriated on the ground, listened indecent songs and

talked in dirty language, you will not complain that Muslim women lived in a separate apartment of their homes and sitting with men was not common among them.

On the one hand due to the influence of the Muslim educational institutions of Spain and Sicily and of the general civil life there and on the other hand due to their encounter in the Crusades Muslim educational institutions introduced arts and sciences to the European nations and took to them the heritage of the Greek civilization and created in them an interest to gain knowledge which grew by and by and came to be known as Renaissance. One great cultural service of Muslims was that they enhanced the value of common speech everywhere. Because of their patronage Spanish and Italian in Europe and Persian, Sindhi, Hindi and Bengali in Asia developed and became literary languages. The civilized social manners of the Arabs, their cleanliness, their dress, their beautiful and comfortable houses—all these were—models for the Europeans. For centuries the commercial democratic states of Venice and Geneva continued to make progress because they carried the manufactured goods of Muslims to Europe. The Roman Church raised a wall of prejudice to save the Christian society from the impact of Islam and considered appreciation of others to be a serious crime to the extent that people could acknowledge to themselves only the beauty of Muslim culture but they had to openly curse the Muslims in order to save themselves from brutal punishments. Muslims suffered very much by educating the European nations through the Crusades. So many cities of Palestine and Syria were looted and ruined and their industry and trade suffered such a shock that they could not be rehabilitated and could not recover.

The onslaught of the Tartars on Iran and Iraq in the 13th century was the second stroke of destiny which ruined the culture of these countries. But one result even of this ruin was that the wealth of culture spread among the new generations of Asia and the last fortification of barbarism was conquered.

Do not ask the historian alone the answer to this question; ask yourself also 'What is more graceful: a culture which maintains itself and makes progress by taking advantage of weakness and ignorance of others or one which itself passes away after permeating in general life

and taking it to very many stages further on the path of development and progress?

MUHAMMAD'S SONG

A Poem in praise of Muhammad (PBUH) by the German poet Goethe
See the spring which springs out laughing like the beams of stars out of the clear and fine rocks; Angels brought it up in the world which is beyond the clouds. It comes out of the clouds with the freshness end zeal of youth and passing through the rocks and bushes it falls on the marble rocks and then raising happy slogans it springs up towards the sky;

Passing through the passes (of mountain) it runs fast from one colorful stone to another colorful stone; its step is bestowed by the quality of leadership from the very beginning and it takes all its brother-streams with it;

Flowers blossom forth in the valley below where it steps and the whole meadow becomes full of life because of its breath, but neither any shadowed valley can stop it nor the flowers which flatter it by their eyes full of love and by clinging to its feet;

Small springs run clinging to it. Now like bright silver it flows on the plain ground and the ground is also brightened by its glare. Now the rivers of the plain ground and the spring of the mountains give it a call, "Brother, take us also with you to your God, take us also in the arms of the shoreless ocean, it has been waiting for us with its stretched arms and it is a pity that we who are eager enough to meet it do not reach its arms; the thirsty sand of the desert dries us and the sun over and above sucks our blood and some mountain path makes us a pond; O brother, take your brothers of the plains and of mountain along with you to your God!"

"Come, come al1 of you, come along!" Now with great splendor and full of wavy trail it runs forward; now the whole nation with their king on its shoulders moves forward and in its victorious sweep it put its stamp on countries on its way; cities are born where it just puts its foot;

Nothing stops its flow. With its zeal for creation it moves and moves onwards leaving behind bright cliffs, marble buildings as if Atlas is carrying a whole world on its shoulders, A thousand flags flutter above its head and all these are the marks of his glory:

Thus it takes its brothers, its relatives and its children to their God who was waiting for them and He happily presses all of them to His heart.

NOTES

1. *Musalmanon ki Tehzib* from *Dunya ki Kahani* (The Story of the World), a collection of Prof. M. Mujeeb's talks broadcast on All India Radio in 1938 as published with additions by Maktaba Jamia Ltd., Delhi, 1965 (4th Edition) pp. 120-131. (Words in parenthesis are provided by the translator). M.Mujeeb (1902–85): Studies at Oxford University—Did advanced training in Printing in Germany—Joined Jamia Millia Islamia, Delhi (1926)—Served as its Vice-chancellor (1948–1973). Books: *World History* (1961); *Education and Traditional Values* (1965); *Dr. Zakir Husain – A Biography* (1972); *Islamic Influence on Indian Society* (1972); *The Indian Muslim* (2003) etc.

NECDET TOSUN

The Food of the *Khanaqahs* in the Culture of Tasawwuf

During the early period of *Tasawwuf* the Sufis placed great emphasis on *zuhd* (asceticism) and eating little. However, as a result of the institutionalization of Sufism and the expansion of the Sufi lodges (*khanaqahs, tekkes*), they were later compelled to identify certain rules that needed to be followed in the lodges. The table manners of Sufism also needed to be determined.

The etiquette (*âdâb*) of eating in Sufi culture was expanded even more in the Anatolian (Turkish) lodges of the Ottoman period and was transformed into ceremonies in which certain special meals were prepared and eaten accompanied by prayer and *dhikr* (remembering of God) on certain days and nights. The Sufis loaded certain symbolic meanings and religious motifs onto the ingredients and methods of cooking. As a result they were able to turn the act of eating, a worldly act, into an act of joyful worship.

This article addresses in short, the historical progress of the etiquette of eating in *tasawwuf* and then provides information about the special meals that were prepared at certain times in the Sufi lodges of Anatolia during the Ottoman period. These have been examined under four categories, namely soups, sweets, sherbets, and other foods.

Early Sufis frequently emphasized the topics of hunger and eating little, in order to curb the desires of the *nafs* (ego). The Sufis of Damascus in particular gave special importance to this topic. However, in time, as *tasawwuf* became institutionalized and the lodges began to expand, it became necessary to feed and host the *murids* (disciples) or guests that came. This situation ensured the development of certain rules that needed to be followed, and as a natural result of this, etiquette of table manners and of eating.

TABLE ETIQUETTE (*Âdâb al-sufra*)

The matters discussed in the books on *tasawwuf* in regard to the topic of table etiquette were not particular to Sufis or dervish *khanaqahs*, but were rules that concerned all Muslims. Some of these were the product of Islamic culture and others came from Arabian-Persian traditions.

Certain Sufi writers such as Sarraj Tusi (d.378/988), Abu Talib Makki (d.386/ 996), Hujwiri (d.465/1072), Ghazali (d.505/1111) and Suhrawardi (d.632/1234) assigned certain chapters in their works for the topic of table etiquette and as a summary this is what they recorded:

1. Food should be lawful (*halal*);
2. If the time for prayer arrives and the table is ready, then one should eat first before praying;
3. Hands need to be washed before and after eating;
4. One should start eating by saying *Bismillah* and finish saying *Alhamdulillah*;
5. One should eat with one's right hand;
6. One should begin and finish eating with a pinch of salt;
7. Food should not be criticized;
8. One should take small bits and chew every mouthful well;
9. One should not look at the face of people eating nor watch what they eat;
10. One should not eat leaning on something or lying down;
11. One should sit on one's left foot and bend the right knee;
12. One should not begin eating before one's elders;
13. One should stop eating before one has filled one's stomach;
14. One should not be entirely silent during the meal (one should speak about matters of wisdom);
15. One should drink water after eating;
16. One should drink a glass of water in three sips;
17. After eating, one should recite the chapters *Ikhlas* and *Quraysh* from Qur'an and pray to Allah with prayers that express gratitude;
18. One should clean one's teeth after eating. Amongst these items of etiquette, were the following custom of the Arabs of that day - they did not cut cooked meat or bread with a knife.[2]

In the 5th *hijri* century (11th century AD) Abu Sa'id-i Abi al-Khayr (d.440 AH/1049 AD), in listing to the ten rules needed to be followed in

the *khanaqah*, also mentioned the ninth rule that no *murid* was allowed to eat from their friends' food without first asking permission.[3]

However in the 6th century after the *hijrah* (12th century AD) and from then on, when many more established effective *tariqas* (Sufi lineages) arose, in addition to the many additions made to the etiquette of the khanaqah and the *tariqa*, there were also additions made to the topic of table etiquette.

'Aziz Nasafi (d.700/1300) summarised the rules that needed to be followed by the dervishes (sufis). They are as follows:

The dervishes should sit at the table in a state of *adab* and not in a state of heedlessness. They should not rush to eat but rather wait for their shaykh or for their elders. They should not look at others' hands or bowls. They should take small bites and chew their food well. They should not take another bite without swallowing the first. If the dervishes are eating from the same bowl, then everyone should eat from what is in front of them. If something falls to the floor, they should pick it up with their left hand and place it in a corner. A dervish should never leave the table before the others. Dervishes should wash their hands before eating, and wash both their hands and their mouths after eating.[3]

'Ala'uddawla Simnani (d.736/1336) penned a book called Âdâb al-sufra, the etiquettes of eating and mentioned the following matters, in addition to what we have already mentioned:

The dervish must be in a state of ablution when preparing the meal, and continue to perform *dhikr* whilst preparing the meal. He should say 'bismillah' before transferring food from the pots into the bowls. He should carry the table under his left arm, the salt shaker in his left hand, and the bowls in his right hand. When setting the table he should first put the bread and then the bowls. The elder of the gathering (the shaykh) should first pray before beginning to eat and the others should say 'aameen'. The dervishes should not take any of the leftover food home, nor should they give any to their friends. He should not place his foot on the table. He should break the bread with his two hands and only break off what he can eat. Water should not be drunk during the meal, but if there is an absolute need, then one should hold the glass with one's clean fingers. The eldest diner should make a supplication at the end of the meal. Those serving should bring the water urn in their left hands and the soap in their right. Everyone should dry his hands with his own napkin, however if those serving indicate the towel carry on their shoulders then they should also dry their hands with it. One should also avoid eating very spicy foods.[4]

FOOD OF THE KHANAQAH

In time, it became a custom for certain dishes, sweets and sherbets to be prepared and served after certain ceremonies, or on certain days of the year, especially on the *qandil* nights (special nights like *laylat al-qadr*). There are interesting examples of this in the Anatolian (Turkish) khanaqahs of the Ottoman period.

Some examples are as follows: The famous Uzbek rice dish prepared at the Naqshbandi Uzbek *tekkes* and *Qalandar khanas* of Istanbul; fried meat dish prepared with freshly slaughtered meat during the *'id al-adha* celebration by the Mawlawi dervishes and served to guests; milk semolina *halwah* (a kind of sweet) prepared with pine nuts on *qandil* nights and served in abundance to everyone; lemon, orange or mulberry pudding served on rice at the Merkez-E-fendi Tekke; food gatherings organized at every *tekke* from the 10th day of the month of Muharram to the end of the month of Safar; '*ashûra* (Noah's pudding) prepared in large pots with eight handles and then served in abundance for days to neighbours and the poor in copper vessels.

The foods prepared in the *tekkes* were not in fact very different from the ones prepared according to the region and food culture of the day. The only difference was that these would be prepared on certain days and offered accompanied by prayers and ceremonies.

It is possible to divide these foods into the following four categories 'soups', 'other meals', 'sweets', and 'sherbets' and give examples of each.

Soups

The first dish that comes to mind when one thinks of *tekke* meals is soup. In fact, there is a saying amongst the common folk that 'the one who waits at the *tekke* gets to eat the soup'.[5]

At the Numaniyya Tekke in Bursa, which belongs to the Ashrafiyya branch of the Qadiriyya *tariqa*, a meal of meatball soup would be prepared and served during a ceremony on the second days of both *'ids*, the *'id* of Ramadan and the *'id al-adha*.

After praying the dawn prayer in congregation, the people would gather and read the Qadiri *awrâd* and then perform *dhikr*, pronouncing the *kalima-i tawhid* ('La ilaha illa Allah') and chanting '*ya Latif, ya Wadud, Hu*'.

After the *gulbank* and the prayer, they would then go down to the large dining halls known as the '*somatkhane*' and the '*taamkhane*'.[6]

There people would gather around tables set up for 12 people indicating the 12 imams of the *ahl al-bayt*. Everyone would stand respectfully waiting for their shaykh to say the prayer. Whilst standing their hands would be crossed across their breast, while the big toe of the right foot would be placed on the big toe of the left foot. Heads would be slightly bowed towards the heart and they would begin a *dhikr* of 'Allah, Allah'. Eventually the shaykh would begin the prayer known as '*table prayer*':

> Allah, Allah, thank You. Let the door of good be opened and evil gone and destroyed. Let us enter this path of love and travel along it. Our shaykh is the sultan of lovers, the guide for those who wish to reach Allah, the mirror reflecting the mysteries of the Qayyum (the power that holds up the universe), the second shaykh of this tariqa, the son of Eshref, Abdullah Rumi (may Allah increase his station). Let us follow the tradition of our Master Muhammad. Come o pure hearted brothers, let us eat from this meatball soup for this good means and good memory, let us remember our deceased friends.

After the prayer was read, they would immediately sit and eat and drink from the dish of meatball soup with a few slices of bread. These meatballs were generally made from beef and would be added to a soup of rice and parsley and cooked there. When the soup was finished they would turn in the direction of the tomb and recite the *al-Fatiha* for the builder of the tomb and the other dead spirits lying in the graves of that area.[7]

During his youth Eshrefoglu Abdullah Rumi (d.874/1469), visited the famous Sufi of Bursa, Abdal Mehmed. Abdal Mehmed said to him: 'Danishmand! Bring us some meatball soup!' Eshrefoglu went to the market, found some soup but could not find any meatballs, and brought back only soup. Abdal Mehmed asked: 'Where are the meatballs?' Eshrefoglu apologized saying that he was unable to find any. Abdal Mehmed then took some mud from around him and moulded it into the shape of meatballs. He threw it into the soup and offered it to Eshrefoglu. Eshrefoglu did not object and when he began to eat Abdal Mehmed repeated the following a few times to him: 'If it is not you, then who else?'[8]

According to the journal (*rûznâme*) published during the month of Ramadan in 1906, in the Qadiri Khanaqah in Tophane, Istanbul, the

dishes that could always be found at this *tekke* were one or a few of either noodle soup, lentil soup or tripe.[9]

In the journal on *Tasawwuf* called *Muhibbân*, which began its publication in the *hijri* year 1327 (1909) in Istanbul, many recipes can be found for dishes and sweets. Even if these dishes were not particular to those eaten in the *tekkes*, at least we understand that these dishes were also eaten there during that period. One of the recipes found in this journal is 'wedding soup' which was at first recorded to be particular to dervishes. The title of the recipe, which is signed as being provided by 'Ahmed of the Mawlawiyya Tariqa', is as follows:

> There is a wedding soup especially for the families of the poor dervishes who have never been invited to a wedding in their life and who have no hope of ever being invited. The ingredients of the soup are 50 dirhams (approx. 150g) of lamb, 10 dirhams of flour, one lemon, one egg, and some water.[10]

At the beginning of the *Yemek Risâlesi* (Treatise on Food) written shortly before the year 1275 (1858–59) by Ali Eshref Dede, the Shaykh of the Edirne Mawlawi Khanaqah, we find recipes for chickpea soup, fish soup, *tarhana* soup, and liver soup.[11] We also know that when the members of the Yasawiyya sufi order were in *khalwat* (retreat) they would break their fast with soup made from either brown or red maize, and sometimes would eat an amount of watermelon or drink *ayran* (Lassi) also.[12]

Other Dishes

All of the varieties of food that were eaten by the general community were in all likelihood eaten at the khanaqahs. We can find the names and recipes for many of these in the *Yemek Risâlesi* (Treatise on Food) of Ali Eshref Dede. This Turkish work consists of 19 chapters with the following titles: (1) Soups, (2) Salads and Pickles, (3) Kebabs, (4) Steaks, (5) Sweets and Kadaifs, (6) Blancmanges and Ice creams, (7) Biscuits, (8) Revani and similar dishes, (9) Pickles, (10) Pastry dishes, (11) Pancakes and Brokers, (12) Stuffed dishes, (13) Calves foot dishes made with eggplant and vegetable patties, (14) Meatballs, (15) Spinach and Zucchini dishes, (16) Making marrow and stews, (17) Varieties of rice dishes, (18) Compostes, and (19) Methods of freezing water. When we look at the menus for the Ramadan of the year 1906 of the

Istanbul Tophane Qâdirî Khanaqah, we find that these dishes were not any different from traditional Turkish cuisine. For instance, on the sixth day of Ramadan seven tables were prepared and the first table had the following dishes: Noodle soup, fried eggs, meat stuffed dishes, eggplant, spinach, borek, baklava, green beans, zucchini, bean salad, stuffed vine leaves and rice (11 dishes).[13]

In the aforementioned Qâdirî Khanaqah, on the last Tuesday of the month of Ramadan, it was a custom to prepare seven dishes. These were 'soup', which symbolized water, which has an important role in the life of the human being, 'vegetables', which symbolized the earth, 'rice and borek' which symbolized fire, 'eggs with pastrami', which symbolized the generation, and 'milk pastry dish (*gullach*) with cream' symbolized love for Allah. On the 27th night of Ramadan (*laylat-al-qadr*), soup, a meat dish, and a dish made with olive oil, rice, and a dessert would be made at this khanaqah.[14]

There was a dish prepared with ceremony called 'Lokma' in the Mawlawi *tekkes*. It was a rice dish, with meat, onions, chickpeas, coriander, and nuts and was prepared on Friday nights and sometimes Mondays. There was a large pot used for this which was not used to cook anything else. It shone like silver and was stored, wrapped in a cloth in its own particular cupboard. The stove that was used to cook it in the kitchen was called '*Ateshbâz-i-Valî* Stove'. The doors of the kitchen would be locked whenever this dish was cooked, and there would be nobody present other than the boiler and the dervishes serving in the kitchen.

The ingredients of the *lokma* would be determined by the boiler, who would do this by considering the number of people who would be eating the dish. While the dish was cooking, those present in the kitchen would stand in a position of entreaty. The cooking of *lokma* had its own special term called '*lokmabasmak*'. When the *lokma* was cooked, the boiler would open the lid, and the helpers would put it down on the floor accompanied by the following hymn which would be sung by the boiler:

> Let the cooking of this food and its taste be good. May Allah give us its blessings (increase it). Let there be the light of belief for those who eat it. Let us say Hu for the nafas of Maulana Jalaluddin Rumi, the mystery of Ateshbâz-iValî, and the generosity of Imam Ali(ra).[15]

When it was time to eat, the tables would be prepared and the spoons

would be placed face down on the tables. A pinch of salt would be placed in front of everyone. The meal would be served and an appointed dervish would inform all that it was time to eat by calling out: '*Hû*, come to the *lokma*', 'Come to the table'. They would come out of their cells and sit at the table and begin to eat. The Mawlawis would never speak at the table and at the end of the meal (or if there were more than one dish, when the rice dish arrived), the shaykh, and if there was no shaykh, then the head chef would recite the following Persian and Arabic hymn:

Mâsûfiyân-irâh-îm, mâtabla-khâr-ıshâh-îm,

Pâyandadâryâ Rabînkâsa vu nânrâ.

Sallivasallim vabârik'alâas'adivaashrafinûrijamî'al-anbiyâvaal-mursalîn. Va'l-hamdulillâhi Rabbi'l-'âlamîn. Al-Fâtiha.

[We are Sufis of the Sufi path who have sat (and eaten) at the table of the Padishah. O Lord, make eternal this dish and this table, let this table be filled with food always. Peace and blessings be upon the most precious of all prophets, Muhammad. And praise be to Allah, the Lord of the worlds. Al-Fâtiha.]

After everyone recited the *Fatiha*, the following *gulbank* would be recited:

Praise be to Allah! May Allah bless our food (by increasing it)! May the bread and favours of the *awliya* be increased! May all good come to those who provide this food for us and may their spirits be happy and joyful! Let it be a source of health for them while they are alive! Let us say Hu for the blessed breath of Maulana Jalaluddin Rumi, for the mystery of Ateshbâz-iValî!.[16]

Despite Abdülbaki Gölpınarlı stating that fish was not eaten in the Mawlawi lodges because of the smell and stimulated desire and because it was an obstacle to purification of the hearts,[17] we can understand that this was not a general rule since there are recipes for fish in the *Yemek Risâlesi* (Food Treatise) of Mawlawi Ali Eshref Dede.

Members of the Bektashi lineage would organize '*muhibâyîni'* for new recruits into the group and would eat from the meat of the sacrificial animal brought by this new *murid* (disciple), and eat *halwah*.[18] On the other hand, the Bektashis considered rabbit meat to be impure and thus inedible and they would never eat it. However wine and *rakı* (a strong alcoholic drink) would be drunk at these *tekkes*. In fact, there was even

a manner in which these would be served and drunk.[19] The Bektashi *gulbank* that was recited before the meal was called '*the lokmagulbanki*' and it went like this:

In the name of our spiritual padishah. Let us say Allah first. Let the Shah give us and let us eat. Allah, Allah, there is only Allah as a god. This (meal) has gone, let the next one come. May Allah bless us in this food! Let it be light for those who eat it. May Allah help the troubled dervish who prepared and cooked it and may He help us also! May the bread that comes to us from the doors of happiness of the twelve imams, from our fourteen sinless, pure masters from the lineage of the prophet, let it be plenty. The threes, the sevens and the forties (the three, seven, and forty *awliya* who possess the greatest spiritual ranks in this world). For the light of the prophet, for the generosity of Imam 'Ali(ra), for our Shaykh Haci Bektash-iValî. Let us say Hu for all of our shaykhs and for all of the generous people and for all time, Hu.[20]

On Thursdays in the Naqshbandî Uzbek *tekkes* (Sufi lodges) of Istanbul, a dish of Uzbek rice would be prepared with meat, carrots, and thinly sliced orange peel.[21] From there it would be served to those present. In the Gulshanî *tekkes*, twice a week, generally on Mondays and Fridays, the nights would be brought to life by the head chef, who would prepare a dish of Baghdâdî soup for eleven people. The *sofraji* would prepare a sufficient number of decorated tables at every corner of the square. Rice and lentils would be served on Mondays, whereas on Fridays stew and rice would be prepared.[22]

In the Yasawiyya Sufi lineage, when the retreat was completed, an animal would be sacrificed and kebab prepared from the neck. Cold water or *ayran* would be offered to those in retreat.[23]

Halwah–sweets

In many of the lodges of Anatolia there was the custom of preparing *halwah* and Noah's pudding (*ashûra*) on certain special nights. Sweets would generally be prepared on the nights of the *qandil* or on the 7th day of Muharram.[24] In the lodges of the brothers (*akhî*, *futuwwa*) they would prepare a dish called '*halwa-yijafna*', which was a sweet cooked in a pot and was not prepared on any particular day but rather when desired. It was made by mixing honey, butter, flour, and dates and *zagferan* (a spice similar to saffron) with its own special ceremony. In the *Futuwwatnâme* work by Muhammad ibn Alâ'uddin Husayn al-Razawî

(d. after 931/1524) entitled *Miftâh al-daqâyik fî bayân al futuwwawa al-haqâiq*, he explains the custom of cooking *halwah* as follows:

> The *naqîb* (the one appointed to carry out the tasks of the people of *futuwwa*) would suggest to his friends that they cook *halwah* for the spirit of the Prophet and his Companions. After they all accepted, they would all give an amount of money to the *naqîb*. The collected money was then given to a few *murids* who were sent to the market to buy the necessary ingredients. The *naqîb* would say to his *shaykh*: 'By your permission' and then he would light the stove and say: 'Let us pronounce the *takbîr* for the spirits of Abdurrahman-i Gulkhan-tâb and Ishaq-i Kunda-shikan.

They would place a large pot on the stove and while placing some butter inside they would say: 'For the spirit of Zaynal-âbidîn'; when putting the flour in they would say 'for the spirit of Salmân'; when putting the honey in, they would say 'for the spirit of *amîr al mu'minîn* Ali'; and when they put the dates in they would say: 'Peace and blessings be upon you o Messenger of Allah'; and they would then sing their *gulbank*.

When the *halwah* was cooked, they would divide it up into three or five portions and place each portion in wooden bowls. The *murids* would carry the bowls over their heads and place them down on the table in front of the *shaykh*.

Then the *naqîb al-nuqabâ* (the murid who served in previous ranks and has attained the position of *naqîb*) would divide up the *halwah*. Two parts were given to the shaykh, one half to the *naqîb*, one part each to the ranking *murids* and masters, and half to the middle ranking *murids*. If the shaykh was a *sayyid* (that is from the lineage of the prophet Muhammad p.b.u.h.) he would be given three parts.

A part of the *halwah* could also be sent to the people of *futuwwa* in other cities. For this they would take one box and fill it with *halwah*. They would then place 12 dates around the top of the *halwah* which represented the twelve imams from the *ahl al-bayt*. The *naqîb* would then place a needle, which symbolized the people of *tawhîd* and uprightness (*istiqâmah*) and a circle which represented the assembly of *suhba*. The lid was then placed on the box. They shaykh would take it and read a hymn and then give it to the *naqîb* who farewelled him and then set off, with some of the *murids*, to the city of their destination. They would enter the city with cries of *takbîr* (Allâhuakbar) and *tahlîl* (Lâilâhaillallâh),

reach the assembly and deliver the box to the shaykh. The letter sent by the shaykh who sent the *halwah* was then kissed and given to the shaykh at the destination. The shaykh would then say Allâhu Akbar, and read a *gulbank*. The meal would be eaten and the box opened, accompanied by prayers, and the *halwah* divided up. An amount of money would be given to the *naqîb* who brought the *halwah*, and a letter written addressed to his shaykh and then the farewell.[25]

There is the tradition of preparing the *Halwah-i-Arba'în* (in Turkish: Erbain Helvası) at the Tophane Qâdirî Khanaqah in Istanbul. The period of 40 days between the 21st of December and the 30th of January, in the cold winter, was known in the old calendars as '*Arba'în*' (meaning '40') and some Sufis would enter into retreat during this time. At the end of this *Arba'în* period certain ceremonies would take place. The *halwah-iarba'in* ceremony at the Qâdirî Khanaqah took place like this: Twenty sacrificial animals sent by the Padishah (Ottoman king) would be slaughtered after the dawn prayer and its *awrâd*, by the shaykh himself. The evening meal would consist of five dishes representing the family of the prophet. After the evening meal, the dervishes would recite a *hamdiyya* together and would then divide up the parts of the *Qur'an* amongst them and complete a recitation about one hour before the late night prayer ('isha).

The recitation along with the preparation of the *halwah-i-arba'în* would be finished in one hour and then a collective prayer would be read. The *halwah* would be cooked by seven members of the khanaqah, reciting the *kalima-yi-tawhîd*, which represented the seven stages of the nafs. The *halwah-i-arba'in* was a *halwah* of semolina prepared with tahini and honey. After being cooked, it would be removed from the stove and left to rest. While it was resting, the late night prayer would be performed and 70,000 *kalima-yi-tawhîd* and a *nashid* would be sung. After that the shaykh and his murids would go down to the kitchen and apportion the *halwah* onto the tables and then eat.[26]

Other sweets would also be prepared at the *tekkes*. The most famous of these is *ashûra*. *Ashûra* comes from the word *'Âshir* (the tenth day) and was probably first celebrated by the lovers of *ahl al-bayt* in order to commemorate and remember the prophet's grandson, Husayn, and others who were martyred at Karbalâ on the tenth day of the month of Muharram. In time it came to be a tradition amongst Shiite and Sunni circles.

Ashûra is a sweet usually prepared on the tenth day of Muharram, from wheat, various fruits and grains. The *Mawlawis* call *ashûra* '*ash*', and remember Hadrat Husayn and the other martyrs of Karbalâ with their *ashûra* collective prayer.[27]

At the Tophane Qâdirî Khanaqah, ashûra would be prepared twice a year with a special ceremony. The first, the Muharram *Ashûra*, signified the anniversary of the Karbala event, whilst the second, the *ashûra* of Safar, was a celebration of the continuation of the lineage of the prophet Muhammad when Imam Zaynal-'Âbidin was able to escape from Karbala safe and sound. Each ingredient placed into the *ashûra* represented one of Allah's Names or indicated one of the twelve imams. The twelve ingredients were: water, sugar, butter, wheat, rice and rice flour, seeded grapes, a little salt, white beans, chickpeas, starch, milk, and arrowroot. It was a custom to recite the *al-Fatiha* whenever an ingredient was placed into the pot. The Names and the chapters that were read were specified for each ingredient. Two dervishes would stir the pot with two special spoons called *mablak*. They would begin by drawing the spoon towards them and making the letter 'alif' and then continue writing the word Allah with the Arabic letters.

After the *ashûra* was cooked, 12 pieces of cream, shredded coconut, pomegranate, black currants, brown dried raisins, hazelnuts, walnuts, pinenuts, pistachio and almonds would be placed on top of it.[28] The Sunni members of the Tophane Qâdirî-khane placed much emphasis on the twelve imams due to the influence of the Baktashi *tariqa*, with its culture of the twelve imams.[29]

Some Sufis, in particular the Bektashis, would write the letter *wâw*, twice, whilst stirring the *ashûra* from right to left and then from left to right. In the *abjad* measure, the letter *wâw* has the value of 6. Side by side two *wâws* have the value of 66 which is the *abjad* value of the word 'Allah'. Thus 'stirring up two *wâws*' was considered *dhikr* of the name of Allah.[30]

Abdülbaki Gölpınarlı has recorded that it was a custom with almost all of the *tariqas*, with the exception of the Nasqshbandi *tariqa*, to prepare *ashûra* in the month of Muharram and recite a dirge for Karbala. In the journal *Muhibbân*, in the issue dated the 14th of Safar 1329 (1911), there is a list of khanaqahs that prepared *ashûra* from the tenth day of Muharram until the night of the 29th, which confirms Gölpınarlı.[31]

Sweets other than *halwah* and *ashûra* would be prepared in the

khanaqahs. At the Tophane Qâdirî Khanaqah, five dishes would be prepared on the *Qandîl-i-Mawlid* (birthday of the Prophet Muhammad p.b.u.h.), and the fifth would be either rice pudding or milk pudding. Four dishes would be prepared on the night of the *Qandîl-i-Raghâib* and jelly would be served as a sweet.[32] Merkez Efendi (Musa Muslihuddin, d.959/1551), one of the shaykhs from the Sunbuliyye Sufi order, created *mesîr* paste from 41 different spices. This paste, however, was served not as a sweet but with the intention of a cure.[33]

Sherbets

In the Mawlawi *tekkes*, after the special ceremony called *ayn-icem*, sherbets made from dried and fresh fruits and nuts and cinnamon or other fruits would be drunk.[34] In some Naqshbandi *tekkes*, after the *Khatm-i-Khwâjagân* ritual performed on Sundays and Thursdays, sweets, grapes, dates or *halwah* would be eaten. And after the *'ishâ* prayer on Friday eve, the *khatm-i-salawât* would be performed and the sherbet would be drunk.[35]

Whenever a *murid* would join the Badaviyya Sufi order, sherbert would be drunk at the ceremony. If one wanted to make the attraction great, a sherbet of vinegar and milk would be served, if an average attraction was desired, a dish of dates, raisins and dried figs, and if a small amount was desired then olive oil and water would be served.[36] Those infutuwwa groups (*Akhîler*) were quite fond of a kind of berry, known as 'sultan blackberry' or 'mountain strawberry' and would drink a sherbert made of this fruit. There is possibility of this sherbet which was known as 'Akhidudu' then changed to 'ahududu'.[37]

Generally after the meal, at the *tekkes*, the meal prayer would be read in either Arabic or Turkish. We have already mentioned some examples of these Turkish prayers. In the Ushshâqî *tekkes*, in addition to these prayers, the Hamd, divine hymn, would also be read. This Turkish divine hymn was written by Muhammad Hamdî Baghdâdî (d. 1723), the Ushshâqî shaykh from Edirne, and began as follows:

All praise be to Allah, All praise be to Allah,
Ya Allah, All praise be to Allah,
There is no deities but Him, there is no god but Allah, Allah.
Allah has favoured us, thank you Allah
He has engulfed us in bounty, thank you Allah

Allah, there is no deities but Allah (chorus)
Let us recognise His favours, praise His mercy
Let us remember Him, thank you Allah
Allah, there is no deities but Allah (chorus). . .[38]

CONCLUSION

The early Sufis who emphasized *zuhd* and eating little, were compelled to identify certain rules that needed to be followed in the *tekkes* (Sufi lodges) as a result of their expansion and the institutionalization of tasawwuf. This also included the identification of the table etiquette (*âdâb al-sufra*) of tasawwuf. This table etiquette of Sufism expanded even more in the Anatolian *tekkes* of the Ottoman period, and was transformed into special ceremonies that took place on particular days and nights in which special meals were prepared accompanied by prayers and *dhikr*. The Sufis loaded many symbolic meanings onto the ingredients used and the methods of preparation of the food. In this way the worldly act of eating was transformed and became a joyous act of worship. On certain religious days and nights, they would offer these meals to the people in their surrounding neighbourhoods so that they too could more easily breathe this spiritual air. In addition, they also made important contributions to our culture and in particular the Turkish cuisine.

NOTES

1. Abû Nasr Sarrâj Tûsî, *al-Luma'*, ed. A. Mahmûd, T.A. Surûr, Cairo, 1960, pp. 242–5; Abû Tâlib Makkî, *Qût al-qulûb*, ed. S.N. Makârim, Beirut, 1995, vol. II, pp. 345–7, 350–3; 'Ali b. 'Uthmân Hujwîri, *Kashf al-mahjûb*, ed. M.H. Tasbîhî, Islamabad, 1995, pp. 504–7; Muhammad Ghazâli, *Ihyâ'ulûm ad-dîn*, Beirut, 1990, vol. II, pp. 46–70; 'Umar Suhrawardî, '*Awârif al-ma'*ârif, Beirut, 1966, pp. 347–52.
2. Muhammad b. Munavvar Mayhanî, *Asrâr al-tawhîdfîmaqâmât al-shaykh Abî Saîd*, ed. Zabîhullah Safâ, Tehran 1332/1953, p. 331.
3. 'Azîz Nasafî, *Kitâb Insân al-kâmil*, ed. M. Mole, Tehran 1362/1983, p. 128.
4. 'Alâuddawla Simnânî, *Musannafât-i Fârsî-yi'Alâ'addawla-iSimnânî*, ed. N.M. Haravî, Tehran 1369/1990, pp. 7–12.
5. Abdülbaki Gölpınarlı, *Tasavvuftan Dilimize Geçen Deyimlerve Atasözleri*, Istanbul 1977, p. 29.
6. Gulbank is a type of prayer in rhyme and is read loudly at the beginning of or during a tasawwuf ritual by the shaykh or by a higher ranking murid. It literally means 'the sound of a rose'.

7. Cemaleddin Server Revnakoğlu, 'Eşrefîlerde Köfteli Çorba', *Tarih Dünyası*, vol. 2, issue 15, April 1954, pp. 631–2; Cemaleddin Server Revnakoğlu, 'Köfteli Çorba Töreni', ibid, vol. 2, issue 16, 1954, pp. 665–6.
8. Abdullah b. Veliyüddin Bursevî, *Menâkıb-ıEşrefzâde: Eşrefoğlu Rumi*, ed. A. Uçman-O.Akıncı, Istanbul, 1976, p. 33–4; Mehmed Şemseddin, *Bursa Dergâhları*: *Yâdigâr-ıŞemsî*, ed. M. Kara-K. Atlansoy, Bursa, 1997, p. 86.
9. A. Turgut Kut, '*İstanbul'da Kâdirîhâne Âsitânesinde 1906 YılıRamazanİftarları', Yemek Kitabı: Tarih-Halkbilimi-Edebiyat*, ed. Sabri Koz, Istanbul, 2002, pp. 116–31.
10. *Muhibban*, year 1, issue 6 (18 Safar 1328/ 1910), p. 47.
11. Ali Eşref Dede, *Yemek Risâlesi*, ed. Feyzi Halıcı, Ankara, 1992, pp. 1–3. I am grateful to Prof. İsmail Kara for giving me a gift of a copy of this work.
12. Ahmed b. Mahmûd Hazînî, *Jawâhir al-abrâr min amwâj al-bihâr*, Istanbul University Library, Turkish Manuscripts, inventory: 3893, f. 27a.
13. A.Turgut Kut, '*İstanbul'daKâdirîhâneÂsitânesinde 1906 YılıRamazanİftarları',* ibid., p. 121.
14. Grace Martin Smith, 'Food Customs at the Kaadirihâne Dergâh in İstanbul', *Journal of Turkish Studies*, vol. VII, 1983, pp. 403–4.
15. Hâmid Zübeyr, 'Mevlevîlikte Matbah Terbiyesi', *Türk Yurdu*, vol. 5, issue 27, March 1927, p. 284; Âsaf Hâlet Çelebi, 'Bazı Mevlevî Âdetleri', *Türk Yurdu,* issue 251, December 1955, pp. 443–4; Abdülbaki Gölpınarlı, *Mevlevî Âdabve Erkânı,* Istanbul, 1963, pp. 126–8; Gölpınarlı, *Mevlânâ'dan Sonra Mevlevîlik*, Istanbul, 1983, pp. 415–16; Mehmed Zeki Pakalın, *Osmanlı Tarih Deyimlerive Terimleri Sözlüğü*, Istanbul, 1993, vol. 2, p. 369.
16. Ateshbaz-i Valî was the *murid* who was the head chef at the dargah of Maulana Jalaluddin Rumi.
17. Gölpınarlı, *Maulana'dan Sonra Mevlevîlik*, p. 417; Gölpınarlı, *Mevlevî Âdâbve Erkânı,* p. 129.
18. Pakalın, ibid, vol. 2, p. 571.
19. Pakalın, ibid., vol. 1, pp. 200–1; Baha Said Bey, *Türkiye'deAlevî-Bektaşî Ahîve Nusayrî Zümreleri*, ed. Ismail Görkem, Ankara, 2000, pp. 138–9.
20. John Kingsley Birge, *Bektaşilik Tarihi* (tr. Reha Çamuroğlu), Istanbul, 1991, p. 188; Pakalın, ibid., vol. 1, p. 200.
21. Musâhipzâde Celâl, *EskiİstanbulYaşayışı*, Istanbul, 1946, p. 45.
22. Himmet Konur, *İbrahim Gülşenî Hayatı Eserleri Tarikatı,* Istanbul, 2000, p. 161.
23. Hazînî, *Jawâhir al-abrâr min amwâj al-bihâr*, ff. 28a-28b.
24. Yahyâ Âgâh b. Sâlih al-Istanbulî, *Tarikat Kıyafetlerinde Sembolizm*, ed. M. S. Tayşi-Ü. Aytekin, Istanbul, 2002, pp. 294–6; Ali Açıkel, 'XIV-XVI. Yüzyıllarda Tokat Zâviyeleri', *Pax Ottomana*, ed. Kemal Çiçek, Ankara, 2001, pp. 231, 233, 236, 238, 240.
25. Muhammad Razawî, *Futuwwatnama: Miftâh al-daqâikfîbayân al-futuwwawa al-haqâiq*,Istanbul, Millet Library, A.E. Shar'iyya, inventory: 902, ff. 63b-66b.
26. Cemaleddin Server Revnakoğlu, 'Kadirhane'de Erbaîn Helvası', *Tarih Dünyası*, vol. 2, issue 11, 1954, pp. 469–70; Cemaleddin Server Revnakoğlu, 'Helvanın Pişirilmesi', ibid., vol. 2, issue 13, 1954, pp. 551–3; G.M. Smith, 'Food Customs at the Kaadirihâne Dergah in Istanbul', pp. 404–5.

27. Gölpınarlı, *Mevlevî Âdâbve Erkânı*, p. 129; Gölpınarlı, *Tasavvuftan Dilimize Geçen Deyimlerve Atasözleri*, pp. 33–4.
28. H. NecdetİşIi, 'Kâdirhâne'de Aşûre', *Yemek Kitabı: Tarih-Halkbilimi-Edebiyat,* ed. M. Sabri Koz, Istanbul, 2002, pp. 719–27.
29. Ayla Algar, 'Food in the Life of Tekke', *The Dervish Lodge,* ed. R. Lifchez, Berkeley, 1992, p. 299.
30. Gölpınarlı, *Tasavvuftan Dilimize Geçen Deyimlerve Atasözleri,* pp. 79–80.
31. *Muhibbân*, year 2, issue 2, 14 Safar 1329/1911, p. 120.
32. G.M. Smith, 'Food Customs at the KaadirihâneDergah in Istanbul', p. 404.
33. For the recipe see: Anonymous, *Ma'jûn-iSunbulî*, Bursa Eski Eserler Library, inventory: Orhan ll9, f. 15b.
34. Âsaf Hâlet Çelebi, 'Bazı Mevlevî Âdetleri', p. 443.
35. Mustafa Mustaqîm Niyâzî, *Suluk-i Qawîmwa Sirât-i Mustaqîm*, (Istanbul), Suleymaniye Library, Es'ad, inventory: 1478, ff. 173b-174a; Necdet Tosun, *Bahâeddin Nakşbend: Hayatı Görüşleri Tarikatı (XII-XVII Asırlar*, Istanbul, 2002, p. 321.
36. Pakalın,*Osmanlı Tarih Deyimlerive Terimleri Sözlüğü*, vol. 1, pp. 191–2.
37. Abdülbaki Gölpınarlı, 'İslam veTürk İllerinde Fütüvvet Teşkilatı', *İstanbul Üniversitesi İktisat Fakültesi Mecmuası*, vol.11, issue 1-4, 1949–1950, p. 102.
38. Abdullah Salâhaddin Uşşâkî, *Uşşâkî Sâliklerinin Âdâbı: Tuhfetü'l-Uşşâkiyye* (tr. Abdurrahman Sami Uşşâkî; prep.) Mahmud E. Kılıç, Istanbul, 1998, pp. 27–8.

BILAL AHMAD KUTTY

Forgotten Contributions of Women in Islamic Architecture

ABSTRACT

Throughout Islamic history, some prominent women significantly contributed to the progress and enhancement of their societies as well as expressed a sincere concern for the welfare of people. Many influencing studies examined women's contribution to many fields of Islamic civilization, such as the spread of the Hadith (sayings) of the prophet Mohammad (PBUH), education, literature, philosophy, poetry, mathematics, and medicine. Also, Muslim women were involved in a wide variety of roles in the media of visual arts, textiles, and weaving carpets. In the field of architecture, many notable women supported and initiated the construction of many remarkable buildings, which changed the image of Muslim cities. They commissioned a range of building types that enriched Islamic architecture and the urban landscape, including mosques, Madrassah (theological schools), tombs, caravansaries, and hospitals. While several studies have investigated the contribution of Muslim women in various fields of classical civilization of Islam, such as in *hadith* transmission, jurisprudence (*fiqh*), literature, and education, until now few sources mention the role of women in the development of science, technology, and medicine in the Islamic tradition.

In scholarship, there are isolated and scattered references to the famous women who had a role in advancing science and who established charitable, educational and religious institutions. Some examples include Zubayda bint Ja'far al-Mansur who pioneered one of the most ambitious projects of digging wells and building service stations all along the pilgrimage route from Baghdad to Makka, Sutayta who was a mathematician and an expert witness in the courts, Dhayfa Khatun

who excelled in management and statesmanship, Fatima al-Fihriyya who founded the Qarawiyin mosque in Fez, Morocco, which is said to be the first university in the world, and the engineer Al-'Ijlia who made astrolabes in Aleppo.

The main objective of this study is to conduct a comprehensive review of the literature on the outstanding role of women in the progress of Islamic architecture during the early centuries of Islam. The primary aim of this research is to provide an overview of women's interaction with these varied categories of buildings, which represented an essential factor in their representation as visible members in their societies.

Key Words: Architecture; Art & Gender; Visual Culture; History; Religion; Cultural Studies

INTRODUCTION

The Islamic law, traditions, and culture of the society defined, to a certain extent, the borders of women's presence and activity. In general, their power related to their social status and place in their communities. It seems that women's powerful identities and responsibilities were significantly influenced by the status of their families and by the environment where they were brought up. Their background as members of royal families helped them to participate actively in many life areas, including social, political, and economical. In recent scholarship, the unique role of women in Islamic civilization began to be uncovered and acknowledged. (Aisha Bewley 2004) extensively examined the role of Muslim women throughout Islamic history and demonstrated that they were successful as scholars in many scientific areas, and their endless efforts had played a significant role in promoting civilization in the Islamic world. (Bewley 2004) For example, Ayesha, daughter of Prince Ahmed in al- Andalus (Muslim Spain), was talented in rhyme and oratory, and Wallada, a princess of the Almohads dynasty, excelled in poetry and rhetoric. In addition, Lubana of Cordoba, secretary of the Caliph of Córdoba, Al-Hakam II, excelled in solving complex geometrical and algebraic problems, and finally, Mariam al-Asturlabiyy, a 10th-century female astronomer, was renowned for the making of astrolabes, a branch of applied science (Charis 1980). Another important

publication, which deals with issues of women's patronage within the Islamic world, is the "Women, Patronage, and Self-Representation in Islamic Societies" by Fairchild Ruggles. The author combined the study of representation, gender theory, and Muslim women from a historical and geographical perspective. He also examined where women have represented themselves in art, architecture, and the written word in the Muslim world (Ruggles 2000). Furthermore, in her master thesis "Female Patronage in Classical Ottoman Architecture", Firuzan Sumertas discussed and illustrated the visibility of women in relation to their contribution to the architecture and cityscape. Unlike Ruggles, Sumertas focused her research on the spatial presence of the Ottoman imperial women patronage in the sixteenth and seventeenth-century Istanbul (Sumertas 2006). Throughout the Islamic dynasties, women were also active in the artistic and cultural sphere as patrons of architecture and showed evidence of a concern to propagate the faith of Islam through their contribution to the construction of religious and civic buildings. The majority of the women under this study enjoyed high social status by being part of the imperial power as a mother, wife, or daughter of the ruler or sultan. For example, the challenging Dayfa Khatun, regent of Aleppo, provided the city with one of its famous monuments, the Madrasa al-Firdaws, the Seljuq princess Safwat al-Mulk, widow of the conqueror of Syria Taj al-Dawla Tutush (1078–95) ordered the construction of an impressive funerary cupola for her son and herself, and Zumurrud Khatun built the Madrasa Khatuniyya in Damascus (Humphereys 1994). Other eminent women such as Rabi'a Khatun, sister of Salah al-Din al-Ayyubi, was known for her patronage of architecture in Damascus, and Nafisa al-Bayda, the wife of Murad Bey, the Ottoman viceroy of Egypt in the late 18th century, employed her vast wealth for building monumental architecture, such as a public water fountain in Cairo (Behrens – Abouseif 1989). This study will focus on women's power and their architectural representation, which became the most visible and appealing form of their wealth, social status, and philanthropy. Also, the study intends to record and document women's ambitious and longstanding contribution to architecture and cityscape to verify their authoritative presence in their societies. There will be no discussion of women's position from the perspective of gender as it is not within the scope of this work. The study aims to represent a

theoretical framework of the broader concerns of women's patronage and self-representation in architecture and aspires to illustrate and recognize their visibility within the context of the Islamic world. It will also include analysis of some buildings in terms of their location, plan, architectural vocabulary, and their impact on urban regeneration. The methodology of the study included extensive archival and library literature review and examination and documentation of several buildings and projects in various regions of the Islamic world, in terms of their physical manifestation. The structure of this research included the classification of different buildings into four categories: religious, civic, funerary, and urban landscape.

WOMEN CONTRIBUTION TO RELIGIOUS BUILDINGS

Religious buildings play an essential role in Islam and Muslim life as well as express their presence and identity. They function as spaces for performing Islamic rituals, education, and community services. However, Women endowed and pioneered many important and outstanding religious buildings that have a crucial impact on the cityscape of Muslim cities. These buildings include Sabil Kuttab, mosque-university, mosque, and madrasa.

Sabil-Kuttab, by Nafisa al-Bayda

Nafisa al-Bayda (d. 1816) was one of the wealthiest women of her time, but nothing is known about her origin (Fay 2012). It is argued that she came from Circassia or Georgia because her name was al-Bayda (the white). In the 18th century, the elite women were wives of powerful Mamluks (slave soldiers), who dominated Egypt in both politics and military. Nafisa al-Bayda was married first to "Ali Bey al-Kabir", one of the powerful people in Egypt, in the mid-18th century. After the death of Ali Bey, Nafisa was married to Murad Bey Mohammed (ca. 1750–1801), a Mamluk of the Qazdughli faction, who assumed power at the end of the 18th century (Williams 2002). Nafisa might be the only woman among the Mamluks known to have played an active and evident political role in her period. During the French occupation of Egypt (1798–1801), Nafisa and her husband Murad Bey acted as

intermediaries between the French community of merchants and the Mamluks, who imposed big levies on them. In addition to her political role and as a powerful and wealthy woman, Nafisa created a patronage network of female slaves to help them marry Mamluks. Nafisa owned many properties, including houses, gardens, and commercial buildings. One of her famous buildings is the Sabil-Kuttab, which is located inside Bab Zuwayla gate on the old Fatimid Cairo. The sabil-kuttab was built in 1796 and was a popular place for the wealthy to provide charitable services to the community. The sabil (fountain) is located on the ground floor to provide free drinking water to the public, while the first floor contained the free Qur'ānic school. The building is also characterized by an imposing rounded facade decorated by an impressive *mashrabiya* (oriel window) (Fay 2012).

Mosque-university, by Fatima al-Fihri

Fatima bint Muhammad Al-Fihriya Al-Qurashiya (800–880), daughter of a wealthy Qayrawani merchant, immigrated with her father, Mohamed al-Fihriyya, from Qayrawan in Tunisia, to Fez in Morocco (DESK 2018). Fatima al-Fihri, along with her sister, Mariam al-Fihri were born to an educated family, where they were taught Fiqh and Hadith (Islam instructions and tradition). After the death of her father, Fatima inherited considerable wealth, which she employed in projects that serve her community. Al-Fihri bought a mosque, which was built in 845 by King Yahya ibn Muhammad. In 859, she rebuilt the mosque and extended its area by adding more facilities, and it was known as the "Mosque of al-Qarawiyyin". Although the architecture design of the mosque was extravagant, Fatima insisted on giving it a modest look, and the construction of the mosque took 18 years to complete. The mosque of al-Qarawiyyin' became a major intellectual center in the medieval Mediterranean as it included several religious madrasas (schools) (Mechell, 1996). Fez city was associated with Islamic Spain politically, economically, and culturally. However, detailed visual references to the religious architecture of Islamic Spain can be traced in the hypostyle plan of the mosque, the carved stucco, wood, and glazed tile, and the decorating style derived from the Alhambra palace in Spain. Between 1134 and 1143, Almoravid ruler, Sultan Ali ben Yusuf, renovated the

mosque and increased its size. Between 1606 and 1623, Sa'did Sultan 'Abdallah ibn al Shaikh, added more architectural features such as the blue and white tile floor of the courtyard, marble ablutions fountain, and fountain pavilions, which express the influence of the Court of the Lions at the Alhambra palace (Michell 1996). Some historians believe that Arabic numbers became known and used in Europe through this university. Nevertheless, this outstanding example, which is considered as one of the oldest universities in the world now, is a testimony of the important role of women in the progress of education in the Islamic world (Kahera et al 2009).

Mosque, by Mariam al-Fihri

The sovereign Idris Al-Azhar Ben Idris Ben Abdellah Al-Kamel (791–828), known as Idris II founded the town of Fez in 789 and encouraged the Muslim Andalusian community to move and settle in the new town. (Mezzine 2001). Thus, on the right bank of the river, a neighborhood was founded and has taken the same name of the community, the "Andalusian Quarter". Mariam bint Muhammad Al-Fihriya Al-Qurashiya, a devout woman and sister of Fatima al-Fihri, initiated and built the Andalusian Mosque in 859 to celebrate their existence in the area and to balance out the Qarawiyyin mosque, which was built on the left bank of the river. The mosque is a modest building, which consisted of seven rows of benches and a small patio planted with trees and irrigated from a nearby canal called the valley of Masmuda. In the tenth century, many impressive features were added to the mosque by the Umayyad of Cordoba, which turned the mosque into the second most important religious buildings in Fez (Mezzine 2001). Undoubtedly, the Andalusian Mosque and the Qarawiyyin University remain the living evidence of the important role of women in shaping the image of Fez city.

Madrasa, by Dhayfa Khatun

Dhayfa Khatun was a powerful woman and an Ayyubid princess during the Ayyubid dynasty in Syria (Ruggles 2000). She was born in Aleppo in 1185 and died in 1242 at the age of 57 and was buried in the citadel

of Aleppo. Khatun's father was al-Malik al-Adil Sayf ad-Din Abu-Bakr Ahmed ibn Najm ad-Din Ayyub, the brother of Salah ad-Din Al-Ayyubi, and her brother was al-Malik al-Kamil Naser ad-Din Abu al-Ma'ali Muhammad (ca. 1177–1238)(Humphereys 1977). In 1212, Khatun was married to the Ayyubid ruler of Aleppo Al-Malik az-Zahir Ghazi ibn Yusuf ibn Ayyub (1172–1216) and became the Queen of Aleppo for six years (1236–1242). During her rule, Khatun helped her people by removing discrimination and unfair taxes throughout Aleppo. She was well known for her charitable foundations to support the poor. Dhayfa was also a prominent architectural patron, where she established many outstanding buildings, including two schools, to support and promote learning in Aleppo (Tabbaa 1997). The first of her charitable projects was al-Firdaus madrasa (paradise school), which was built in 1236 and was specialized in Islamic studies and Islamic law. The other school was the Khankah School, specialized mainly in Sharia (Islam and legal system).

The most important and famous one was Al-Firdaus School, which was located close to Bab al-Makam in Aleppo (Tabbaa 2000). Based on the structure of the educational system at that time, the school accommodated a teacher, an Imam (leader), and twenty scholars. The school consisted of several buildings, including the school, a mosque, and a residential quarter. The layout of the madrasa was a rectangle with a square courtyard in the middle and four entrances. The building featured eleven domes, distributed around its perimeter, which added a tremendous and monumental visual impact. The main portal leads to the courtyard, which is paved with beautiful black-and-white stone patterns and has an octagonal basin at its center. Three sides of the courtyard are surrounded by covered aisles, which are supported by arcades. The forth north side of the courtyard featured a massive large iwan (sitting area), which was used as a classroom (Tabbaa 2000)

WOMEN CONTRIBUTION TO CIVIC BUILDINGS

Although women's contribution to the establishment of religious buildings was immense, they also supported the construction of many different civic buildings, which shaped the identity of Muslim cities, and contributed to the progress of Islamic societies. However, women

were patrons of various types of civic buildings that served diverse societal functions, including Hamami (Bath), Caravanserai (inn), and Darussifa (hospital).

Hamam (Bath), by Hurrem Sultan

Hurrem Sultan (1500–1558) was the official wife of the Ottoman Sultan Suleyman the Magnificent (Suleyman I) (1494–1566), and mother of Mihrimah and Selim II (Yermolenko 2010). It is argued that she was Russian or Polish in origin, and she was nicknamed as Hurrem, but she was known in the West as Roxelana. Hurrem attained a significant role in Ottoman political history and became the most powerful woman in the palace, especially after the death of Suleyman's mother. Hurrem Sultan died in 1558 and was buried in the Suleymaniye complex (Sumertas 2006). Hurrem was known for her passion for sponsoring and commissioning buildings and complexes. She was the first royal woman in the Ottoman court to patronage charitable structure not only in Anatolia but also in all around the empire. These buildings included a mosque complex in Istanbul, the Haseki Kulliye complex, two schools, and a women's hospital. Also, she ordered the building of four schools in Mecca and a mosque in Jerusalem. (Prymak 1995). One of Hurrem Sultan's impressive commissioned buildings is the Hurrem Sultan Hamamı (Bath), established in 1557 in Istanbul by the great Ottoman court architect Sinan. The bath was intended to be a facility serving the nearby Aya Sofya Mosque (Hagia Sophia). The bath is a rectangular building, which included two back-to-back sections for men and women with two separate entrances. The bath is well integrated within its context and still represents a living evidence of Hurrem Sultan's contribution to the welfare of her community.

Caravanserai, by Mama Hatun

Melike Mama Hatun was the ruler of the Saltukid dynasty from 1191 to 1200 (Sinclair 1989). During her reign, Mama Hatun commissioned many significant buildings that affected the image of the city of Tercan, located midway between Erzincan and the capital Erzurum in Turkey. These buildings included a caravanserai, a mosque, a bridge, and

a hammam, which are still existing and named after her. One of her impressive work is a caravanserai (a roadside inn), which was intended to serve the travelers to have rest and recover from their journeys (Sinclair 1989). The typical caravanserai comprises an open rectangular courtyard surrounded by a two-story building. It has one wide and high portal to allow camels and horses to enter. There are also many identical animal stalls, and rooms to accommodate merchants and their servants, and stores for their merchandise (Sims., 1978).

Hospital of Divrigi, by Turan Melek Sultan Turan Melek Sultan's father was the Mengujek ruler of Erzincan, Fahreddin Behram Shah (1162–1225), and her mother was Ismeti Hatun, who was known for her charitable foundations (Aslanapa 1971). She was married to Emir Ahmed Shah, son of Suleyman Shah II and Fatima Hatun, the ruler of the Divrigi branch of Mengucekogulları. Turan Melek Sultan and her husband are the grandchildren of Emir Mengucek Gazi, the fifth generation of one of the four commanders whom Sultan Alparslan was assigned to conquer Anatolia. Turan Melek Sultan was famous for her generosity and philanthropy. She used all her wealth in the construction of the masterpiece darussifa (hospital), which is part of the complex of the Great Mosque and Hospital of Divrigi. The construction of the mosque began first by her husband Ahmet Shah in 1228, while Turhan Melek followed him and commissioned the hospital almost at the same time (Aslanapa 1971).

In Ottoman times, the hospital at Divriği was used as a madrasa, where religious knowledge and instructions were imparted. The hospital adjoined the mosque to the south, and it has a rectangular plan with an east-west orientation, a manner of the Central Asian Turks. It was built of stone blocks and featured an enclosed courtyard, which is divided into nine sections by ornamented columns and double vaults. The west wing has two-story and three iwans (sitting areas), while the central section is emphasized by an octagonal spire of wrought iron and glass with vaults on either side. The central entrance of the hospital is a small door placed within an impressive archedportal, which dominates the western façade. The portal is projecting from the wall of the hospital and adorned by intricate decorative details. The complex is a unique masterpiece in Anatolia in terms of its architecture, art, and medical

history. It exceeded the outstanding and complicated stonework of this period with its exceptional decorations and distinctive architectural style. Also, it represents strong evidence of the social prosperity level, which the Anatolian Turkish civilization has reached. The complex was included in the UNESCO Cultural Heritage List in 1985 as it represents the most original examples of Anatolian Seljuk mosques and hospitals (Erturk and Karakul 2016).

WOMEN CONTRIBUTION TO FUNERARY ARCHITECTURE

According to the Islamic worldview, death is not considered a negative thing, but it is seen as the path to the Hereafter and the way to go back to God. Although Islam firmly forbids building edifices over graves to prevent Muslims from using them as places for worship, many outstanding tombs and mausoleums were built, almost in the entire Islamic world. Women contributed many significant tombs to honor the death of their relatives. For example, the Greek mother of Abbasid Caliph al-Muntasir bi-llah (837–862) built a mausoleum for him in Iraq in 862, Sah Selime Hatun, wife of Emir (prince) Bayindir ibn Rustem, built a tomb for him in Ahlat, Turkey in 1491. Nur Jahan, the wife of Emperor Jahangir, commissioned a mausoleum for her father, I'timad al-Daula, in 1622 in Agra, India. Bega Begum (ca. 1511–1582) the wife of the second Mughal Emperor Nasir-ud-Din Muhammad, known as Humayun (1508–1556), was a charitable and a devout Muslim (Murshed 2004). Between 1565 and 1572, Begum commissioned and built a remarkable tomb for her husband, Humayun in Delhi, nine years after his death. The tomb is considered one of the best and well-preserved monuments of the Mughal dynasty and the first garden-tomb on the Indian subcontinent. Also, it can be considered an early masterpiece that influenced the design of the Taj Mahal, the epitome of Mughal architecture (Bandarin 2004). The landscape of the tomb is influenced by the Persian garden style, which is reflected in the Chahar bagh (four parts) garden with quadrilateral form. The garden consists of four parts, which are divided by walkways and provided with flowing water fountains to resemble the garden of paradise mentioned in the Quran. The tomb is constructed from red sandstone and crowned with one white Persian style marble dome. Bega Begum died in 1582 and

was buried at Humayun's Tomb in Agra, after the death of Humayun, and the tomb remained a powerful testimony to her authority as an imperial woman. (Findly 1993).

WOMEN CONTRIBUTION TO URBAN LANDSCAPE

Women's contribution to Islamic architecture was not limited to commissioning all these different types of architectural buildings but also extended to include various public projects in the urban context. They were involved in many urban and landscape projects, which became an essential means of expressing their power and underlining their presence in society.

Darb Zubaydah by Zubaydah bint Abu Ja'far al-Mansur (766-831)

Zubaydah bint Abu Ja'far al-Mansur was born in 766 and died in 831 in Baghdad, Iraq (Verde 2016). Her grandfather was the Abbasid caliph Abu Ja'far al-Mansur (the second Abbasid Caliph), and her husband was the caliph Harun al-Rashid (the fifth Abbasid Caliph). Zubaydah's name was Amatul Aziz, and it was her grandfather, al-Mansur, who gave her the nickname "Zubaydah", which means "Little Butter Ball" "on account of her plumpness" as a child, according to the 13th-century biographer Ibn Khalikhan (Verde 2016). Zubaydah was the wealthiest and most influential woman worldwide in her time. She was a noblewoman of great philanthropy and was a patron of arts and poetry. Although she developed many significant buildings in different cities, Zubaydah was well known to have initiated a massive project to build service stations with multiple water wells all along the Pilgrimage route from Baghdad to Mecca. The origin of the pilgrimage route dates back to the pre-Islamic era, but its importance significantly increased with the dawn of Islam. During the time of the early caliphates, the route flourished and reached its zenith and prosperity during the Abbasid Caliphate (750–1258). It was initiated and constructed by Abdallah Abul'Abbas, the first Abbasid Caliph in 751, and was known at that time as "Darb Heerah". He ordered the establishment of milestones, flags, and lighthouses along the trail from Kufa to Makkah in order to facilitate the trip of pilgrims and merchants (Rashid 1960). Darb

Zubayda was developed to include 27 stations, wells, pools, dams, palaces, houses, and pavement. Certainly, the enormous efforts of Zubaydah to undertake this massive upgrading project to ease the dangerous trip to Makkah were remembered, and the road was renamed from Darb Heerah to Darb Zubaydah (Figure 13(a,b)) and still carries her name until today. (UNESCO 2015).

Gardens, by Nur Jahan

The Mughal Empire was one of the remarkable central states in the history of the world. By the late 16th century, their empire encompassed most of the Indian subcontinent. The Mughal Empire demonstrated highly management skills, visionary strategies, and a centralized system that affected the social life of people in all their regions and unified the Indian subcontinent. TheMughal rulers were known for their talents and artistic and architectural achievements (Rechards 1995). During the reign of the Mughal dynasties, noblewomen invested their wealth in many different areas, including art and architecture, and carried out their projects. Of these women was Empress Nur Jahn (1577–1645), wife of the third Mughal Emperors Nur-ud-din Muhammad Salim, known as Jahangir (1569–1627), and daughter of "Wazir" (minister) Mirza Ghiyas Beg, known as Itimaduddaula (.c. mid 16th century-1622) (Richards 1995). Nur Jahn was renowned for her passion for art, making jewelry, and fashion design. She also showed a great interest in architecture and landscape, where she and her husband had undertaking the construction of many impressive and breathtaking buildings and royal gardens. The Mughal gardens were not only places of private pleasure, but also provided the public access to the Emperor to mediate issues of local concern. There is no doubt that Nur Jahan's vision and energy had an outstanding impact on the imperial aesthetical taste in general (Findaly 1993). Nur Jahan shared in the creation of almost eleven imperial gardens, which featured running water, palaces, pavilions for shade and rest, orchards of fruiting trees and brightly colored flowers. For example, the Zanana garden for the women of the harem, which was characterized by its black marble pavilion and the elaborate waterworks; the gardens of the Ram Bagh (Garden of Repose) overlooking the Yamuna River in Agra; and the Moti Bagh that also

lies on the eastern bank of the Yamuna River. An outstanding example of the work of Nur Jahan is the royal garden of Achabal in Kashmir. This garden dates back to the 15th century at the time of the Sultans of Kashmir. It was built around a powerful mountain spring at the base of a forested mountain. In 1620, Nur Jahan laid out new gardens on the same site. The Achabal gardens consisted of four ascending terraces in the Charbagh style, which was a Parisian garden style . The Charbagh is a garden divided into four parts by two water channels, which intersect in the middle to form a pool or a fountain. The Achabal included a spring, pavilions, pools with fountains, and many walks shaded by fruit trees. In 1627, Emperor Jahangir died, and Nur Jahan lost her power in the next reign. She was exiled to Lahore, where she lived in isolation with her daughter until her death in 1645. Nur Jahan still remembered for her wide range of unparalleled contributions to the Mughal heritage and the Indian culture (Findly 1993).

CONCLUSION

After the introduction of Islam, the Islamic codes were integrated into the traditions of the different Muslim regions and societies and played a significant role in presenting the Islamic world as a unified entity. Islam also allowed women to be visible, deal with public issues, and exercise power in many different societal aspects. The study has shown that women became more acknowledged and publicly visible through their charity and architectural patronage. In addition, the previous discussion of the architectural work and urban regeneration projects are evident manifestations of female power and significant means that made Muslim female identity visible on a large scale. Over the last few decades, arts and architectural historians began to be aware of the vital role of women in developing the architecture and urban landscape of the Islamic world. Women had a significant role in the history of Islam in general and in the history of Islamic architecture in specific, where they commissioned buildings that are ambitious and influential. What made the contribution of women patronage to Islamic architecture significant was the massive scale of some of the buildings. These buildings, which were named and remembered after women, established their power, identity as well as their image in the city. Although this study could be

somehow problematic because of the limited available resources about the essential role of women in Islamic societies, it succeeded at showing that women were actively involved in patronage throughout the periods and regions discussed.

Although the presence of women in terms of architecture can be traced all over the Islamic world, the relationship between them and the architect is still a debated issue in Islamic architecture. There is no evidence in the available literature review whether, the female patrons were involved in the choice of the architectural style of their buildings, had any recognizable consequences on architecture, or had any impact on the building process. It seems that the main role of the wealthy patrons might be focusing on providing social services for the society as well as consolidating their presence and power. Nevertheless, the study represented a piece of strong evidence that women held a significant position as patrons of art and architecture and history should acknowledge them in the manner they deserve. Now by the beginning of the 21st century, the role of women in Islamic architecture should receive more attention that is more scholarly, and their contribution should have more publicity.

REFERENCES

Aslanpa, O. 1971, Turkish art and architecture. Praeger Publishers.

Bandarin, F. (2004) . Humayun's Tomb, Delhi (India). World Heritage Properties© UNESCO.

Behrens-Abouseif, D. (1989). Doris Behrens-Abouseif, Islamic architecture in Cairo: An introduction. Leiden.

Bewley, A. A. (2004). Muslim women: A biographical dictionary. University of Michigan: Ta-Ha Publishers.

Charis, W. (1980) Women in Muslim history. Longman.

DESK, S. (2018) . World's First University Was Founded by a Muslim Woman. The Islamic Information. Retrieved September 2019, from https://theislamicinformation.com/worlds-first-university-founded-muslim-woman/.

Ertürk, N., & Karakul, Ö. (2016). UNESCO world heritage in Turkey 2016. Grafiker.

Fay, M. A. (2012). unveiling the harem: Elite women and the paradox of seclusion in Eighteenth-century Cairo. Syracuse Syracuse University Press.

Findly, E. B. (1993). Nur Jahan, empress of Mughal India. Oxford University Press.

Humphreys, R. S. (1977). From saladin to the mongols: The Ayyubids of Damascus, 1193–1260. SUNY Press.

Humphreys, R. S. (1994). Women as patrons of religious architecture in ayyubid damascus. Muqarnas, Brill, vol. 11, 35–54. https://doi.org/10.2307/1523208

Kahera, A., Abdulmalik, L., & Anz, C. (2009). Design criteria for mosques and Islamic centres. Routledge.

Merah, S., Ramdane, T., Khan, M. S., & Al-Fihrīand, F. (2017). Religious Fraternity in Al-Qarawiyyin university: A case study. International Journal of Humanities and Social Science, 7(10), 177–183. Retrieved August 2019, from http://irep.iium.edu.my/60386

Mezzine, M. (2001). A day in the Life of a Taleb in Fez, in Andalusian Morocco: A discovery in living art. Ministry of Cultural Affairs of the Kingdom of Morocco.

Michell, G. (1996). Architecture of the Islamic world. London.

Murshed, Y. (2004). The Humayun Nama: Gulbadan Begum's forgotten chronicle. The Daily Star, 5(31), pp. 1. Retrieved August 2019, from archive.thedailystar. net/2004/06/27/d406271502101.htm

Prymak, T. M. (1995). Roxolana: wife of Suleiman the magnificent. Nashe zhyttia/Our Life, LII(10), 15–20.

Rashid, S. (1980). Darb Zubaydah: The pilgrim road from Kufa to Mecca. Riyadh University Libraries.

Richards, J. F. (1995). The Mughal Empire. Cambridge University Press.

Ruggles, F. (2000). Women, patronage, and self representation in Islamic Societies. SUNY Press.

Sims, E. (1978). Trade and travel: Markets and caravansary. In G. Michell (Ed.), Architecture of the Islamic World-Its History and social meaning. Thames and Hudson Ltd.

Sinclair, T. A.(1989). Eastern Turkey: An architectural & archaeological survey, II. Pindar Press.

Sümertaş, F. M. (2006). Female patronage in classical ottoman architecture: Five case studies in Istanbul complex. Middle East Technical University.

Tabbaa, Y. (1997). Constructions of Power and Piety in Medieval Aleppo. The Pennsylvania State University Press.

Tabbaa, Y. (2000) Dayfa Khatun: Fairchild regent Queen and architectural patron in ruggles, women, patronage, and self-representation. State University of New York Press.

UNESCO. (2015). Darb Zubayda (Pilgrim Road from Kufa to Makkah).

World Heritage Review. Retrieved September 25 2019, from https://whc.unesco.org/en/ tentativelists/6025/.

Verde, T. (2016). Malik I: Khayzuran & Zubayda. Saudi Aramco World, 67(1), 44–45. Retrieved August 2019, from https://www.aramcoworld.com/Articles/ January-2016/Malika-I-Khayzuran-Zubayda

Williams, C. (2002). Islamic monuments of Cairo: The practical guide. American University of Cairo Press.

Yermolenko, G. I. (2010). Roxolana in European literature, history and culture. Ashgate Publishing, Ltd. El-Shorbagy, Cogent Arts & Humanities (2020), 7: 1741984 https://doi.org/10.1080/23311983.2020.1741984

ZAINAB RIZWANUL HAQUE

Colonialism and Islam in India: Representations of Indian 'Musalmans' in British Writings

INTRODUCTION

By late nineteenth century, the British had been consolidating their military and political power over a hundred years – what remained was to gain legitimacy, for which the British had to devise exceptional theories of governance[1]. To this end, it served the colonial interests to mark the line between the rulers, and the ruled.

The genre of the Indian novel became a tool for the spread and justification of imperial rule in the post 1857 era, this became even more important as memories of the Revolt were still fresh and the fear of another needed to be assuaged. Authors like Kipling were instrumental in ascribing the economic and political exercise of colonialism with a more welfare driven character.

"Now, this is the cup the White Men drink
When they go to right a wrong,
And that is the cup of the old world's hate-
Cruel and strained and strong."[2]

These imperialist writings underwent different phases, from Orientalism to Utilitarianism, with certain unchanged characteristics – such as the depiction of the native as naïve, yet cunning. This narrative was useful to the colonial discourse as the native was dishonest and comfortable in his backwardness, the very opposite of the White man who was honest and whose aim was to bring civilisation to the uncivilised.

"…Your new caught, sullen peoples,
half devil and half child"[3]

This dichotomy in the characterisation of the British and the natives was essential in forming an "Us" and a "They"[4]. Lines were drawn between a powerful and articulate Europe and a defeated and distant Asia[5]. These authors presented the empire as secure, with a common faith in the value of British civilisation – and it was from this faith that all writing on India was derived[6]. To many British writers India was Europe's past, a land of Teutonic 'republics', the old 'heathen world' of classical antiquity, and an ancient land forged by despotism[7].

These writings heavily generalised Indians with distinctions in their portrayal of Muslims, and the 'Hindus'[8] – due to Europe's early encounter with Islam, which was historically antagonistic. Unlike the far-east, the Arab world was geographically, to put it colloquially, right next door.

Islam, viewed as a fraudulent new version of Christianity, garnered a conservative response in the early Middle Ages; and by the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries it became a lasting trauma[9]. The memory of this encounter remained deeply embedded, and informed the tone for British writings on Indian Muslims. Flora Annie Steel's *India (1905)* followed this progression.

FLORA ANNIE STEEL AND INDIA

Steel asserted on the onset of her chapter '*Mohammadanism*', that apart from the forced converts, Muslims in India were alien to the soil, much like the British[10]. The British preoccupation with projecting Indian Muslims alien to the land was certainly a part of the effort to establish legitimacy in a space previously governed by Muslims for centuries – which would establish the British as the true successors to Mughal rule.

India's Muslim conquerors were made to share with the Aryans the task of revitalising a decadent society[11]. The British saw themselves as liberators who freed India from the dark age of 'oriental despots'[12]. In 1770, much before British rule had been wholly established in India, Alexander Dow wrote that the climate contributed to produce the native Hindu was ineffectual and submissive which contributed to an almost ideal environment for despotism[13], and it was this despotism from which the British believed themselves to save India.

Steel reproduced racial stereotypes which had been influencing European thought since its encounter with Islam. She made note of "the hawk-nosed, eagle-eyed descendent of the Arab' or the 'broad-faced, massive-featured Balooch' who could never be confused with his 'taller, slender neighbour, the Jat'[14]. Talking about literature of India, Steel believed that writing in Sanskrit required 'real culture', while the later 'Mahommedan authors are over ornate'. She did however concede that a literature which can give to the world the Rubaiyat, and Babar's memoirs 'may well be content with itself'[15].

As Muslims and conquerors, the community's perceived role in shaping Indian history was markedly different from that of the indigenous Hindus and for the Europeans, Muslims were a worthy adversary[16]. Many found themselves torn between condemnation and admiration. Sir Richard Temple acknowledged 'there remains something grandeur about it' and it had not 'the many absurdities about it, which Hinduism has'[17].This faith and its adherents, were inevitably set apart with Christianity, from the 'vast swamp', as Lyall called it, of Indian religious belief[18]. Even the Mughal dynasty was accorded with an exceptional status, for it contained 'liberal and humane' rulers such as Akbar[19]. Aurangzeb[20] was however not always accorded with the same praise of religious tolerance; Alfred Lyall believed that because Jehangir and Shahjahan were born to Hindu Rajput mothers 'the strain of Hindu blood softened their fanaticism and mitigated their foreign contempt for the natives of India'. However, Aurangzeb 'was a Mahomedan by full parentage, and a bigoted Islamite by temper'[21].

British writers saw their own countrymen in terms of 'racial characteristics', and this method was adapted into their writings on Indians. They remarked that there is no such thing as an 'Indian race', but rather, numerous 'Indian races' – Hindu, Muslim, and Sikh; Bengali, Rajput, or Pathan. While they distinguished carefully between the 'racial characteristics' of these groups, they still went on to make generalisations under which all Indians were grouped[22]. Padamsee also pointed this out in Steel's chapterisation commenting that Steel's narrative of Indian society as a series of discrete, fragmented 'little Indians', divided into impermeable linguistic, regional, religious, and social formations, is very much a product of that rupture in the British

mode of apprehending India which characterises the later nineteenth century[23].

Writing in the post-1857 era, Steel noted that the 'Mahommedan is not at his best in India…his position wars with his religion…and the friction shows itself in a lower moral standard in the many'[24]. Steel's analysis of the Mohammedans rested heavily on their degrading positions in the aftermath of the Revolt. As a community, she found them among the 'poorest and most debased'[25], clinging on to their lost glory as rulers of the land.

What makes Steel's analysis of Muslims particularly useful is her chapter on Hindus which is almost the complete opposite to her chapter on Muslims in content. Steel extensively tried to explain Hindu rituals and customs[26] and wherein lies the crux of the issue: Steel carefully analysed the rituals, customs, and traditions of Hindus, which made her chapter on Muslims particularly glaring in its absence of such an analysis.

Metcalf stated that in India, two different Orientalist discourses met – one derived from the European encounter with Muslim Middle East; the other an attempt to describe distant Asian lands. As many of India's pre-colonial states were Islamic polities, with a dominant Muslim elite, it was easy to project the stereotypes constructed in the Middle East upon Indian Muslims. In so doing, Muslims were inevitably distinguished sharply from their Hindu neighbours[27].

Steel's chapter on the 'Mahommedans' focused on 'the now and here' rather than a critical study of the community's history in India. The presence of native Muslims was attributed to forced conversions, particularly from the Jat and Rajput communities. Steel dedicated an entire chapter to 'The Great Moghuls', where her observations of its descendants began and ended with the vision of a community which had a 'certain sadness of decay, a clinging to past traditions, a feeling that they have come down in the world'[28]. Even when speaking about a Muslim woman from a good family, she resigned in making her a 'compendium of all the most Christian values', with infinite wisdom, that she 'is content to take the lowest place in this life and the next'[29].

Steel analysed the position and status of women in India as a separate chapter on '*The Women of India*' where she largely generalised the position and duties of the 'Eastern girl'. Commenting on the power

of women within the realm of their control – the household – in her chapter on Hinduism, she stated that 'once married, a Hindu almost invariably becomes a perfect prey to his women folk…'[30]. In her chapter on women, she extended this to Muslim men as well. She used the phrase 'the general form of Home Rule is feminine despotism veiled by a slavish subserviency in trivial details'[31] as she described the workings of Muslim households. Steel, much like other authors of her time, believed that 'despotism' was inherent in Islam. This notion of 'despotism' was not only limited to the political and administrative realm of empires, but permeated the inner sphere of the home[32].

There are however, contradictions in Steel's understanding of this domestic sphere. While discussing Muslim homes, she noted that there was no one more 'pitiable than an old Turk, having his beard dyed blue by his female relations!'[33]. However, previously she said that 'the male pensioner is apt to be a terror, whether he takes the form of an old Turk with red dyed beard and an infinite distrust of womenkind'[34]. On one hand the 'old Turk' is a 'terror' to the women folk of his household, when asserting the subservient position of Muslim women; on the other, they were 'helpless' within the domain of the home.

Steel betrayed her biases in her refusal to treat Muslims in India as a religious community. Throughout her chapter on Muslims, Steel spoke of type and status and circumstances, refraining from a deeper engagement with customs and practices, unlike her chapter on Hinduism. In discussing Muslim festivals, she stated that 'there are many fewer festivals for the Mahommedan than for the Hindu, and they are mostly of rather a funereal character'[35] and that '[Muslims] are very pious, often depraved, and their very festivals are solemn'[36].

Steel's analysis of the Muslims of India strips the discussion of the most important aspect – religion – and refuses to go beyond narrow categorisations. This is especially problematic as the whole premise of her book rested on explaining India and its communities in terms of religion – '*Hinduism*', '*Mahommedanism*', '*Buddhism, Jainism, Parseeism, Animism*'. Examining her writing in the light of this disjuncture, it can be assumed that this marks the change in British thinking. The one time 'formidable adversaries' had now become the most depressed community in British India. As she put it – 'they are not at their best in India'[37].

Alex Padamsee notes that Steel's binding of 'Parsee' and 'Hindu' within the conception of Indian history in *India* appears anomalous only if we ignore its consequent separation of the 'Mahommedan' not just from the rubric of 'unalterable' belief that produces contemporary Indian society, but also from the shared role within that society of subjection to an invading power. We can see that the location of 'Mahommedanism' in *India* on the faultline of the diachronic and synchronic categories of census and religion, on the spatio-temporal divide of 'Hither' and 'Farther' Asia, and in the Romantic conception of an ancient civilisation resistant to Muslim conquest, is part of a relentless, undisclosed process of what can be thought of as the deconstruction of the very denomination, Indian 'Mahommedan'. Padamsee argues that if we now situate the text in its specifically late colonial context, the absence of religion [in Steel's chapter on Indian Muslims] becomes an implicitly political argument[38].

FICTION AND THE MUSLIM VILLAIN

Literary representations of 'despots' can be abundantly found in colonial writings. Indrani Sen used Katheryn Castle's study of children's literature to point out that frequently enough, many of these 'tyrants' found their way in children's books, as 'natural oppressors'. Siraj-ud-Daula was among the famous "evildoers". Sen used P. M. Taylor's *Ralph Darnell* for this analysis, a widely read historical romance written in 1865[39].

Taylor's novel described Siraj as cruel, vindictive and tyrannical, a stereotypically weak debauchee controlled by his female favourites. Steel made a similar remark in *On the Face of the Waters* (1896), a fictional novel based on the Revolt of 1857. She described Prince Abool Bukr (based on Prince Mirza Abu Bakr, son of Bahadur Shah Zafar) as having 'bright, dark, cruel' eyes, and being needlessly cruel to an animal[40].

A very dominant trend in writings about India and its inhabitants was the trope of the white woman, target of the lust of the native man. In Taylor's novel, Julia Wharton whose past life in England has hints of sexual 'indiscretions'[41], catches the fancy of Siraj-ud-Daula who tries to persuade her to join the royal harem. But although herself a 'fallen woman', Julia rejects harem life as 'not pure', and displaying admirable

'English' courage, refuses to capitulate to the *nawab*[42]. The fall of Siraj is depicted as a deliverance for the people and the middle-class colonials are hailed as liberators. When Ralph frees the long-suffering begum Noor-ool-Nissa and Sozun, he enacts what Gayatri Spivak has termed as the colonial trope of 'white men saving brown women from brown men'[43].

First Love and Last Love was also a very popular metropolitan novel written by James Grant in 1868. In Grant's novel, the villain is not a relatively minor prince but the far more symbolically significant scions of the Mughal dynasty – thereby seeking to strike at the very heart of the old, pre-colonial, feudal, political order[44]. It projected the Mughal princes, Mirza Mogul and 'Abubeker'[45], as 'cruel and sordid' 'Indian voluptuaries', typically 'blasé Oriental sensualists'[46] who for long had been lusting after Dr. Weston's three daughters. When the Revolt breaks out, Mirza Moghul, who covets the older two girls offers money for their capture while Mirza Abubeker targets the youngest, 'little Polly'[47]. While the Prince tries to woo Polly with riches and silks, she remains unmoved and repelled by him, and strikes him, in spirited British defiance. The prince then has her abandoned to the ruffians of the city[48]. Polly, in her death, becomes a martyr to the cause of English honour. The text then follows the historical narrative where Captain William Hodson captures and shoots the princes but fails to mention Hodson's promise of safe conduct if they surrendered. Hodson then orders the princes bodies to be stripped and put on public display in the marketplace, as a bizarre re-enactment of the public display of Polly's violated, naked dead body:

> 'The crimson light of the setting sun was giving way to the shadows of night… there might be seen in the kotwally, or mayor's court, in the Street of Silver, hung by the neck upon a common gibbet, naked to the girdle, and defiled with dust and gore, the remains of the three last descendants of the Great Mogul of Timour, he who, after conquering Persia and Transoxiana made himself Emperor of all India. Three days and nights they hung there, ere the task of Nemesis was complete.'[49]

Sen states that the narration resonates at this point with a profound sense of the historic extinction of the House of Timur and the 'native' feudal order. British colonial fascination for the Great Mughals

coloured their perception of themselves as competitors and, in a sense, replacements of the imperial Mughals as empire builders. Part of the strategy was to underline the moral degeneration of the Mughals[50].

W. W. HUNTER AND HIS BOOK *THE INDIAN MUSALMANS*

In 1876, Sir William Wilson Hunter published *The Indian Musalmans: Are They Bound in Conscience to Rebel Against the Queen?* Hunter's book was a 'demi-official' attempt to understand the contemporary scene, in the post-Revolt era, where the idea of a 'Muslim conspiracy' had already taken hold. In its dedication, Hunter expressed his purpose behind the book and stated:

> 'The greatest wrong that the English can do to their Asiatic subjects is not to understand them. The chronic peril which environs the British Power in India is the gap between the Rulers and the Ruled. In these pages, I have tried to bring out in clear relief the past history and present requirements of a persistently belligerent class – of a class whom successive Governments have declared to be a source of permanent danger to the Indian Empire.'[51]

Hunter's report attempted to analyse the unrest that followed the Revolt of 1857, in Bengal. Hunter perceived the Muslims of India as a 'chronic source of danger to the British Power in India' and noted that 'for some reason or other they hold aloof from our system, and the changes which the more flexible Hindus have cheerfully acquiesced, are regarded by them as deep personal wrongs'[52]. This chronic danger was caused by a spirit of unrest, which Hunter showed in three forms; firstly, in the formation of a Rebel Colony in the North-Western frontier; Secondly, in the organisation of Muslims in rebellious and treasonable groups within interior districts; and the religious-legal discussions which arose during the Revolt.

He attempted to understand his titular question in light of the developments of the *Wahhabi* and *Faraizi* movements that occurred in that region. He divided his writing in four chapters, the first three of which analysed the growth of rebel camps, rebellious organisations, and the decisions undertaken by Muslim 'Law Doctors'. In the last chapter, Hunter attempted to understand the grievances of the Muslims in the area and offered his take on their resolution.

Hunter believed that in India, the two main sects of Islam, the Sunnis and the Shias have proved to be the most orthodox. The remaining 'tribes of Musalmans', whether they belonged to the *Wahhabi* or the *Faraizi* sects, had steered off the 'right path and cannot be trusted'[53]. To point out the treacherous nature of the frontier rebel camps, Hunter provided the translation of their prophecies and their 'most popular song', the *Risala Jihad*[54]. Hunter used these translations to state that 'the (Wahhabi) sect has developed a copious literature filled with prophecies of the downfall of the British Power, and devoted to the duty of Religious Rebellion'[55].

Aside from talking about the issue of religiously ordained rebellion, Hunter also tried to understand the deeper issues regarding Muslim disaffection in Bengal, calling these charges of the Indian Musalmans against the British government[56]. Summarising these accusations and he went on further asking the reader to pay attention to these issues instead of dismissing them, stating that he does not know how far these are true or valid, but they beg investigation.

However, while trying to address these issues, Hunter also called into question the earlier Muslim government of Bengal and saying that 'the truth is that under the Muhammadans, government was an engine for enriching the few, not for protecting the many'[57]. Hunter referred to the Cornwallis Code which ended 'Muslim monopoly' over official records which were earlier written in Persian, which was changed to the vernacular instead of the 'foreign patios of its former Muhammadan conquerors'[58]—which led to the enlistment of Hindus into every grade of official life[59].

Hunter considered, like his contemporaries in the British government, that the ruling class had been rightly disposed to enable better governance. Hunter, providing figures, stated that in one extensive study of a government department, it emerged that no one could read the 'Musalman dialect', and that in fact, there is scarcely any department left which has Muslims in any positions of power[60]—an analysis that completely disregarded the presence of many Bengali speaking Muslims in the area, who considered Bengali as their mother-tongue.

He believed that this slow decline of Muslims from official posts was the calculated and well-thought-out method of the East India

Company's servants which averted the many 'mutinies' which would have arisen if this process was hastened, far more serious than the one in 1857. They would have occurred in a single decade if they had hastened their assumption of formal sovereignty[61]. Hunter asserted that *Muslim's* creed demands an absolute, a living, and an even intolerant belief; nor will any system of Public Instruction, which leaves the religious principle out of sight, ever satisfy the devout followers of Islam'[62].

Hunter's analysis however, had one fundamental flaw—he based his understanding and analysis of the region of Lower Bengal to the whole of India. Hunter's examination of his titular question lay in his generalisation of all Muslims across India. He left no space for any regional variation in the formation of 'rebel' groups, or Muslim society in India.

Hunter's work also exhibited a more casual racism. Similar to Steel's belief that the Muslim community in India was in a state of decay due to its lackadaisical nature, he attributed this phenomenon to the inability of Muslims to adapt to an environment where they were not in charge. He said that 'The Bengal Muhammadans refused a system which gave them no advantage over the people whom they have so long ruled…'[63]. Hunter believed that the Hindus had the ability to adjust to any rule and circumstance, but the Muslims on the other hand could only prosper in their own rule. Further on, Hunter says:

> 'We should thus at length have the Muhammadan youth educated upon our own plan. Without interfering in any way with their religion, and in the very process of enabling them to learn their religious duties, we should render that religion perhaps less sincere, but certainly less fanatical. The rising generation of Muhammadans would tread the steps which have conducted the Hindus, not long ago the most bigoted nation on earth, into their present state of easy tolerance. Such a tolerance implies a less earnest belief than their fathers have; but it has 'freed them, as it would liberate the Musalmans, from the cruelties which they inflicted, the crimes which they perpetrated, and the miseries which they endured, in the name of a mistaken religion.'[64]

Hunter's suggestion closely follows along Steel's writing; their only salvation, and the only way for the community to move forward and 'develop' is by the dilution, or rather separation from religion. Steel's writing was subtle in its separation of the religion and the community, where the absence of religion and customs was an outcome of the British

preoccupation with the 'creation and ordering of difference[65]'. Hunter on the other hand offered a more overt declaration, which closely mirrored the contemporary official British view which continued to view Islam with suspicion and fear. Post-1857, the old European paranoia[66] regarding Islam reached its peak. With the stronghold of the 'Muslim Conspiracy' theory, the British attempted to neutralise this threat by attacking it at its root—religion.

SIR ALFRED LYALL AND SIR WILLIAM MUIR: NON-FICTION AND OFFICIAL WRITING

In 1882, Sir Alfred C. Lyall published *Asiatic Studies: Religious and Social*, around the same time as he was made the Lieutenant-Governor of Oudh. In his chapter on '*Islam*', Lyall analysed Hunter's *Indian Musalmans* and criticised Hunter for using his understanding of the issue in Lower Bengal and applying all over India. However, the bulk of Lyall's critique followed Hunter's validation of the grievances of Muslims against British governance. Lyall believes that:

> 'The Mahomedans of India in the present day are very good Oriental politicians, with fair knowledge of the world and of Asiatic history, and with some traditional experience of what bad governments really are; they know much better than Dr. Hunter the real meaning of the strong words which he so lightly puts into their mouths; they could not possibly so misunderstand our antecedents and their own, and their present circumstances, as to regard themselves as persecuted, or as reduced, the whole community, to contempt and beggary… but many of the charges alleged by Dr. Hunter seem too profoundly unreasonable and far-fetched to be entertained, even as popular delusions, by the mass of Mahomedans; while [his] words appear to me as selected by an English orator as likely to have a striking effect upon an English audience, if it can be persuaded that this is how the natives of India actually think and speak.'[67]

Lyall's criticism did not emerged from a desire to condemn the generalisations and stereotypes which dictated Hunter's work; instead, as an imperialist, he took exception to Hunter's argument that all Muslim grievances make the ruling British power out at fault. He believed that while the causes of disaffection and disloyalty existed, they were gravely exaggerated by Dr. Hunter. Lyall pointed out that while the Muslims of

the country have 'not altogether grown out of the sore feelings and the heart-burning' which came from their loss of power and the 'descent of a despotically dominant class to fair equality with all others before a firm law'[68]; this always occurs when a ruling class is displaced. Lyall further asserted that the Muslim empire was already falling by the time the British took over India. While he conceded that the British had not been light-handed in handling the 'Oriental mind disease', they were not responsible for this 'disease' itself[69].

He also criticised Hunter's claim of the fanatic Mahomedan hatred which provoked the Ambala campaign in 1863, concluding that in active military service Muslims have been 'loyal enough', and have helped office contentedly so long as the native system of civil administration was kept up, and surveillance was lax, the standard of education low, and officials were more powerful than ever because they represented an irresistible government[70].

On one hand Lyall dismissed Hunter's claim of an all-community encompassing hatred for the British, on the other he also ascribed to the stereotype of the lazy Muslim who cannot compete in a stringent system with surveillance and proper education. For him, this Muslim will only serve 'loyally enough' is his position of power vis-à-vis the general society remains unchanged. Lyall states elsewhere that:

> 'The Mahomedans, with their tenets distinctly aggressive and spiritually despotic, must always be a source for disquietude to us so long as their theologic notions are still in that uncompromising and intolerant stage when they openly encourage the natural predilection of all devout believers for the doctrine that their first duty is to prevail and, if need be, to persecute'[71].

He concluded this by saying that the Christians in India are free from the old spirit which commanded them to crusade. Lyall asserted was the maturity of Christianity, which evolved past the stage where it needed to 'prevail and persecute'. In such an argument, Islam assumes the role of a religion still in the stage of infancy, which needs an aggressive and proselytising fervour to increase its influence. However, since the Muslim empire in India was in a state of decline when the British took over, Lyall's argument can be interpreted as trying to convey that stagnation and resultant decay has taken over in Islam, especially in India.

He believed that 'the institutions of Islam are, after all, barbarous through their very simplicity; while its intolerant monotheism is a peculiar production of Western Asia'[72]. Lyall used this statement to talk about China, which was untouched by Islam, and which could be used to examine the relations of civil government to religion in a country where creeds and rituals preserve their primitive multiformity[73].

Further along, he also stated:

'In European States, wherever uniformity of belief can no longer be preserved, the State usually finds it impossible to identify itself with several rival creeds, and very inconvenient to remain on good terms with one particular creed, whereupon it withdraws as much as possible from connection with any of them. In Mahomedan countries this difficulty is forestalled by diligently stamping out all creeds but one, wherever this is possible'[74].

To Lyall, like to many other European scholars who undertook the study of the Orient, China was the epitome of a great Far Eastern civilisation that had been untouched by the ravages of Islam. While many regarded ancient works in Sanskrit in high esteem as classics and thought of native Hindu Indians as their 'spiritual cousins', the period of Indian civilisation which achieved these was degraded with the invasion of the Muslims.

Lyall believed that if Islam had taken hold in China, it would have 'stamped out' all the other creeds – an argument which disregarded the co-existence between the native Hindus and the Muslims in India, despite a ruling Muslim class. It, however, was useful for establishing the legitimacy of the British government as the rightful successors of the Mughals who would ensure protection to all communities. Lyall, as an Imperial Civil servant, was an active part of the mission to legitimise the British Empire.

He pointed out that only one region in India managed to retain its indigenous political institutions, and that too with interventions from the British – Rajputana[75]:

'On the other hand, where indigenous political institutions of long standing do still exist, it is the English who have saved them from destruction; and this may best be illustrated by giving some description of the only considerable region of India in which institutions still practically survive, having resisted for centuries the incessant attacks of the Mahomedan invaders, and the crushing

weight of the Moghal empire. That these institutions did not at last topple over and disappear toward to end of that long storm of anarchy which swept the length and breadth of India for a hundred years after the death of Emperor Aurungzeb in 1707, is mainly due to their protection at the last moment by the English, who may thus claim at least the credit of having rescued the only ancient political structures in Northern India which their predecessors had been unable to demolish.'[76]

By the time Lyall wrote his book, the doctrine of 'martial races'[77] had already been popularised under Frederick Roberts. Lyall's narrative of the Rajputs and their institutions rested on the British admiration of such a 'Aryan martial brother', who had put up such a staunch resistance to the invading Muslim power for centuries. While he conceded that the Mughal were mostly born of Rajput mothers because of Akbar's strong political alliance with the Rajputs which included inter-marriage, Lyall also played the argument into the trope of 'white saviour' – who protected his Aryan brother from the onslaught of Islamic destruction. Steel also discussed Rajput-Muslim relations however, her writing was based on the fictional story of Padmavat, which drew Allauddin Khilji in the colours of the stereotypical Muslim villain, consumed by lust, pitted against Rajput valour and sacrifice[78].

Alfred Lyall was two years into his service in India when the Mutiny broke out. He wrote '[the] whole insurrection is a great Mahometan conspiracy, and the sepoys are merely tools in the hands of the Mussulmans'[79]. Differentiating the behaviour between Hindu and Muslim rebels, he wrote:

'[For Hindus] 'plunder always seems to be their chief object, to attain which they will perform any villainy, whereas the Mahometans only seem to care about murdering their opponents, and are altogether far more bloody minded.'[80]

The Muslims, he insisted 'hate us with a fanatical hate that we never suspected to exist[81].

These colonial stereotypes of Muslims found very strong representation in the official writings of the British empire as well. Many of these writings came out as a result of the Revolt of 1857 as intelligence reports and letters. T. R. Metcalf believed that British attitudes in the aftermath of the Revolt believed that the first sparks of disaffection were kindled among the Hindu sepoys who feared an attack

upon their caste, but the Muslims then fanned the flames of discontent and placed themselves at the head of the movement, for they saw in these religious grievances the stepping stone to political power – it was Muslim intrigue and Muslim leadership that converted a sepoy mutiny into a political conspiracy, aimed at the extinction of the British Raj[82].

Biswamoy Pati stated that the colonial perspective located the Revolt as a 'sepoy mutiny', a projection which aimed as erasing the problems posed by colonial expansion and exploitation and provide comfort to the colonial bureaucracy and those at 'home'. Colonial sources depicted the Great Rebellion as a 'sepoy mutiny' that developed into a 'rebellion'. The issue regarding the Enfield rifles formed the basis of the construct that saw 1857 as a religious conflict, and initially viewed it as a plot of the Dharma Sabha of Calcutta. This idea of a 'religious plot' soon shifted and came to be identified as a 'Muslim conspiracy'. Taken holistically, it is visible how these components were incorporated into imperialist historiography and served to reinforce the dominant idea of a "clash of cultures/civilisations". Occasioned by such 'encounters', developed over the nineteenth century, the Great Rebellion of 1857 formed a major milestone in the germination of this idea[83].

Sir William Muir's work, *Life of Mahomet* was initially published in 1861, in four volumes; and *The Caliphate: Its Rise, Decline, and Fall* in 1891. These books helped foster the myth of the Muslim as always armed with the sword in one hand and the Quran in the other[84]. While Muir's work was one the most complete works on Muhammad in English, and that it placed facts of Muhammad's life before both Muslims and Christian readers, Muir also wanted to convince Muslims that their prophet was not worth their allegiance; and thus, he combined scholarly and evangelical or missionary purposes[85].

As a colonial administrator, Muir works also entail official reports, which read similarly in his portrayal of Indian Muslims. In the October of 1857, William Muir wrote to his brother:

'The Musulmans, while they thought their cause had a fair chance of final success have frequently compromised themselves by flagrantly traitorous acts. At Allygurh (Aligarh), for instance, the Mussulmans were for a considerable time dominant; they forcibly converted many Hindoos; they defied our Government in the most insolent manner; all the ancient feelings of warring for the Faith, reminding one of the days of the first Caliphs, were resuscitated.'[86]

'That the proclamation of the King of Delhi's reign should unsettle the allegiance of the Moslems was to be expected from the singularly close combination of the political and religious elements in the system of Islam.'[87]

Muir's writing came at a time when the 'Muslim character' of the Revolt was being formed and disseminated. Writing about the clearly Muslim character of the uprising, Muir wrote that:

'The Mahomedan villages in the Doab and the people in the neighbourhood of [Aligarh] were by far the worst in the district. They seem to have risen as if by signal and certainly committed the greatest depredations… [In Aligarh] the fanatical lower Mussalmans, Jooluhas [weavers] raised the cry of "Deen Deen."'[88]

Muir's *Records of the Intelligence Department*, ideologically, remained on the same end of the spectrum as his work on Muslims and Islam in the 'Near East'; they were riddled with the same anxieties, stereotypes, and misjudgements. Muir's work also went along with the narrative of forced conversion of Hindus to Islam, and the narrative of the historical rivalry between Muslims in Arabia and Christians in Europe, which has repeatedly characterised the writings of British officials and writers on Islam in India.

While these rivalries existed since the encounter between the two religions, British rule in India and the experiences of the Revolt amplified and intensified the animosity and suspicion of Muslims. John Lawrence, who was serving in Punjab, on the 14th of June 1857 wrote to the Governor-General Lord Canning, 'The Mahommedans of the Regular Cavalry when they have broken out have displayed a more active, vindictive and fanatic spirit than the Hindoos – but these traits are characteristics of the race.'[89] Charles Raikes, the Collector at Agra, writing while passions were still raging, saw the Muslims as innately hostile to the British:

'The green flag of Mahomed too had been unfurled, the mass of the followers of the false prophet rejoicing to believe that under the auspices of the Great Mogal of Delhi their lost ascendancy was to be recovered, their deep hatred to the Christian got vent, and they rushed forth to kill and destroy.'[90]

Peter Hardy says that most Britons emerged from the events of 1857 with the conviction that Muslims were required by their religion to

be antipathetic if not actively hostile to British rule, despite the active military assistance of the Muslims from Punjab and loyal service of Muslim officials. The *mujahidin* on the frontier seemed to express the real spirit of militant Islam and the presence of many *ulema* among the rebels in 1857–58 merely confirmed a belief that those who devoted their lives to studying the Faith knew what it demanded when opportunity offered. In the embittered and distrustful atmosphere which now prevailed, the British were constantly on the watch for 'rustles in the Muhammadan community', for an outbreak of that fanaticism and bigotry 'characteristic of the race'[91].

CONCLUSION

These selected examples of British writing have been used to reflect the larger British image construction of Indian Muslims. This image was a result of the hundreds of years of interactions between Europe and Arabia, which predated British conquest of the Indian subcontinent; and eventually came to reflect in the interactions and confrontations between the British and the Indian Muslims.

The essential character of these images however, tended to be racist and stereotypical. The post-1857 era saw an intensification of this type of image construction in the light of empire trying to face the credible threat which it believed that the Muslims of India represented.

This was also an empire which had realised the precariousness of its position, in the context of the Revolt of 1857, and resolved to legitimise itself as the real ruler of a foreign land. The battle for this legitimisation was limited to the military and administrative, but the political and social realm as well – a goal served by these writings.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Bennet, Clinton. 1998. *In Search of Muhammad.* New York: Continuum International Publishing Group.

Biswamoy, Pati, ed. 2010. *The Great Rebellion 1857 in India: Exploring Transgressioms, Contests and Diversities.* Abingdon, Oxforshire: Routledge.

Greenburg, Allan J. 1969. *The British Image of India: A Study in the Literature of Imperialism 1880-1960.* London: Oxford University Press.

Hardy, Peter. 1972. *The Muslims of British India.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Hunter, W. W. 1876. *The Indian Musalmans: Are They Bound in Conscience to Rebel Against the Queen.* London: Trubner and Company.
Kipling, Rudyard. 1899. "The White Man's Burden."
—. 1899. "The White Man's Song."
Lyall, Alfred C. 1884. *Asiatic Studies: Religious and Social.* London: Bradbury, Agnew, & Co.
Metcalf, Thomas R. 1964. *The Aftermath of the Revolt: India 1857-1870.* Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
—. 2007. *The New Cambridge History of India: Ideologies of the Raj.* Vol. III.4. New York: Cambridge University Press.
Padamsee, Alex. 2005. *Representations of Indian Muslims in British Colonial Discourse.* New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
Said, Edward. 2003. *Orientalism.* London: Penguin Books.
Sen, Indrani. 2007. *India's Princely States: People, Princes and Colonialism.* Edited by Waltraud Ernst and Biswamoy Pati. New York: Routledge.
Steel, Flora Annie. 1905. *India.* London: Adam and Charles.
—. 1897. "On the Face of the Waters: A Tale of the Mutiny." New York: The Macmillan Company.

NOTES

1. Metcalf, Thomas R. 2007. *Preface* in *The New Cambridge History of India: Ideologies of the Raj III.4.* New York: Cambridge University Press. p. ix.
2. Kipling, Rudyard. 1899. *The White Man's Song.*
3. Kipling, Rudyard. 1899. *The White Man's Burden.*
4. Said, Edward. 2003. *Orientalism.* London: Penguin Books. p. 45.
5. Said, Edward. 2003. *Orientalism*. London: Penguin Books. p. 57.
6. J Greenberger, Allen. 1969. *The British Image of India: A Study in the Literature of Imperialism 1880-1960.* London: Oxford University Press. p. 5..
7. Metcalf, Thomas R. 2007. *Preface* in *The New Cambridge History of India: Ideologies of the Raj III.4.* New York: Cambridge University Press. p. 67.
8. A loose term encapsulating Jains, Buddhists, and many other sects within one-fold.
9. Said, Edward. 2003. *Orientalism.* London: Penguin Books. p. 59.
10. Steele, Flora Annie. 1905. *India.* London: Adam and Charles Black. p. 73.
11. Metcalf, Thomas R. 2007. *Preface* in *The New Cambridge History of India: Ideologies of the Raj III.4.* New York: Cambridge University Press. p. 88.

12. Metcalf, Thomas R. 2007. *Preface* in *The New Cambridge History of India: Ideologies of the Raj III.4.* New York: Cambridge University Press. p. 89.
13. Metcalf. Thomas R. 2007. Alexander Dow's *History of India* in the Preface in *The New Cambridge History of India: Ideologies of the Raj III.4.* New York: Cambridge University Press. p. 8.
14. Steele, Flora Annie. 1905. *India.* London: Adam and Charles Black. p. 74.
15. Steele, Flora Annie. 1905. *India.* London: Adam and Charles Black. p. 115.
16. Metcalf. Thomas R. 2007. *The New Cambridge History of India: Ideologies of the Raj III.4.* New York: Cambridge University Press. p. 89.
17. Metcalf. Thomas R. 2007. Citing Richard Temple's *Oriental Experience* (London, 1883, p. 147, 315 in *The New Cambridge History of India: Ideologies of the Raj III.4.* New York: Cambridge University Press. p. 144.
18. Metcalf. Thomas R. 2007. *The New Cambridge History of India: Ideologies of the Raj III.4.* New York: Cambridge University Press. p. 144.
19. Metcalf. Thomas R. 2007. *The New Cambridge History of India: Ideologies of the Raj III.4.* New York: Cambridge University Press. p. 89.
20. Haider Ali and Tipu Sultan were the archetypical representation of Islam in this period. For further information see T. R. Metcalf's *The New Cambridge History of India: Ideologies of the Raj III.4.* New York: Cambridge University Press. p. 139.
21. C. Lyall, Alfred. 1884. *Asiatic Studies: Religious and Social*. London: Bradbury, Agnew, & Co. p. 188.
22. J Greenberger, Allen. 1969. *The British Image of India: A Study in the Literature of Imperialism 1880-1960.* London: Oxford University Press, p. 42.
23. Padamsee, Alex. 2005. *Representations of Indian Muslims in British Colonial Discourse.* New York: Palgrave Macmillan. p. 14.
24. Steele, Flora Annie. 1905. *India.* London: Adam and Charles Black. p. 80.
25. Steele, Flora Annie. 1905. *India.* London: Adam and Charles Black. p. 75.
26. Steel also lauded the sacredness of Hindu marriages where divorce was "unknown" (p. 66) which would have greatly appealed to Victorian sensibilities.
27. Metcalf. Thomas R. 2007. *The New Cambridge History of India: Ideologies of the Raj III.4.* New York: Cambridge University Press. p. 138.
28. Steele, Flora Annie. 1905. *India.* London: Adam and Charles Black. p. 75.
29. Steele, Flora Annie. 1905. *India.* London: Adam and Charles Black. p. 78.
30. Steele, Flora Annie. 1905. *India.* London: Adam and Charles Black. p. 66.
31. Steele, Flora Annie. 1905. *India.* London: Adam and Charles Black. p. 164.

32. This concept of the 'inner sphere' and an 'outer sphere' has been derived from Partha Chatterjee's Colonialism, Nationalism, and Colonised Women: The Contest in India.
33. Steele, Flora Annie. 1905. *India.* London: Adam and Charles Black. p. 164.
34. Steele, Flora Annie. 1905. *India.* London: Adam and Charles Black. p. 77.
35. Steele, Flora Annie. 1905. *India.* London: Adam and Charles Black. p. 79.
36. Steele, Flora Annie. 1905. *India.* London: Adam and Charles Black. p. 76–77.
37. Steele, Flora Annie. 1905. *India.* London: Adam and Charles Black. p. 79.
38. Padamsee, Alex. 2005. *Representations of Indian Muslims in British Colonial Discourse.* New York: Palgrave Macmillan. pp. 20–21.
39. Sen, Indrani. 2007. In *India's Princely States: People, Princes and Colonialism,* edited by Waltraud Ernst and Biswamoy Pati. New York: Routledge. p. 31-33.
40. Steel, Flora Annie. 1897. *On the Face of the Waters.* New York: The Macmillan Company. pp. 152–153.
41. Sen, Indrani. 2007. P.M. Taylor's *Ralph Darnell* (1865). p. 222 in *India's Princely States: People, Princes and Colonialism,* edited by Waltraud Ernst and Biswamoy Pati. New York: Routledge. p. 34.
42. Sen, Indrani. 2007. P.M. Taylor's *Ralph Darnell* (1865). p. 305 in *India's Princely States: People, Princes and Colonialism,* edited by Waltraud Ernst and Biswamoy Pati. New York: Routledge. p. 34.
43. Sen, Indrani. 2007. In *India's Princely States: People, Princes and Colonialism,* edited by Waltraud Ernst and Biswamoy Pati. New York: Routledge. p. 35.
44. Sen, Indrani. 2007. In *India's Princely States: People, Princes and Colonialism,* edited by Waltraud Ernst and Biswamoy Pati. New York: Routledge. p. 37.
45. An anglicised spelling of Prince Abu Bakr's name.
46. Sen, Indrani. 2007. Citing James Grant's *First Love and Last Love* (1868). p. 410, 114 in *India's Princely States: People, Princes and Colonialism,* edited by Waltraud Ernst and Biswamoy Pati. New York: Routledge. p. 37.
47. Sen, Indrani. 2007. Citing James Grant's *First Love and Last Love* (1868). p. 378, 114 in *India's Princely States: People, Princes and Colonialism,* edited by Waltraud Ernst and Biswamoy Pati. New York: Routledge. p. 38.
48. Sen, Indrani. 2007. Citing James Grant's *First Love and Last Love* (1868). p. 542 in *India's Princely States: People, Princes and Colonialism,* edited by Waltraud Ernst and Biswamoy Pati. New York: Routledge. p. 38.
49. Sen, Indrani. 2007. Citing James Grant's *First Love and Last Love* (1868).

p. 569 in *India's Princely States: People, Princes and Colonialism,* edited by Waltraud Ernst and Biswamoy Pati. New York: Routledge. p. 39.

50. Sen, Indrani. 2007. Analysis of *First Love and Last Love* (1868) by James Grant in *India's Princely States: People, Princes and Colonialism,* edited by Waltraud Ernst and Biswamoy Pati. New York: Routledge. pp. 37–39.
51. Hunter, W. W. 1876. The Dedication in *The Indian Musalmans: Are They Bound in Conscience to Rebel Against the Queen*. London: Trubner and Company. p. 1.
52. Hunter, W. W. 1876. *The Indian Musalmans: Are They Bound in Conscience to Rebel Against the Queen*. London: Trubner and Company. p. 2.
53. Hunter, W. W. 1876. *The Indian Musalmans: Are They Bound in Conscience to Rebel Against the Queen*. London: Trubner and Company. p. 70.
54. *Risala Jihad*, or Wahhabi War Song. *Calcutta Review*, vol. cii. p. 396. *Et seq* as produced in Hunter, W. W. 1876. *The Indian Musalmans: Are They Bound in Conscience to Rebel Against the Queen*. London: Trubner and Company. pp. 36–37.
55. Hunter, W. W. 1876. *The Indian Musalmans: Are They Bound in Conscience to Rebel Against the Queen*. London: Trubner and Company. p. 37.
56. For a more detailed reading of Hunter's analysis read *The Indian Musalmans: Are they Bound in Conscience to Rebel Against the Queen.*
57. Hunter, W. W. 1876. *The Indian Musalmans: Are They Bound in Conscience to Rebel Against the Queen*. London: Trubner and Company. p. 98.
58. Hunter, W. W. 1876. *The Indian Musalmans: Are They Bound in Conscience to Rebel Against the Queen*. London: Trubner and Company. p. 100.
59. This aspect of the disaffection has also been discussed by Asoka Mehta and Achyut Patwardhan in their book *The Communal Triangle in India.*
60. Hunter, W. W. 1876. *The Indian Musalmans: Are They Bound in Conscience to Rebel Against the Queen*. London: Trubner and Company. p. 102.
61. Hunter, W. W. 1876. *The Indian Musalmans: Are They Bound in Conscience to Rebel Against the Queen*. London: Trubner and Company. p. 82.
62. Hunter, W. W. 1876. *The Indian Musalmans: Are They Bound in Conscience to Rebel Against the Queen*. London: Trubner and Company. p. 110.
63. Hunter, W. W. 1876. *The Indian Musalmans: Are They Bound in Conscience to Rebel Against the Queen*. London: Trubner and Company. pp. 106–107.
64. Hunter, W. W. 1876. *The Indian Musalmans: Are They Bound in Conscience to Rebel Against the Queen*. London: Trubner and Company. p. 128.
65. Metcalf. Thomas R. 2007. *Ch. 3, The Creation of Difference* and *Ch. 4, The Ordering of Difference* In *The New Cambridge History of India: Ideologies of the Raj III.4.* New York: Cambridge University Press. pp. 66–159.
66. Said, Edward. 2003. *Orientalism.* London: Penguin Books. p. 73.

67. C. Lyall, Alfred. 1884. *Asiatic Studies: Religious and Social*. London: Bradbury, Agnew, & Co. p. 233.
68. C. Lyall, Alfred. 1884. *Asiatic Studies: Religious and Social*. London: Bradbury, Agnew, & Co. p. 235.
69. C. Lyall, Alfred. 1884. *Asiatic Studies: Religious and Social*. London: Bradbury, Agnew, & Co. p. 235.
70. C. Lyall, Alfred. 1884. *Asiatic Studies: Religious and Social*. London: Bradbury, Agnew, & Co. p. 238.
71. C. Lyall, Alfred. 1884. *Asiatic Studies: Religious and Social*. London: Bradbury, Agnew, & Co. p. 242.
72. C. Lyall, Alfred. 1884. *Asiatic Studies: Religious and Social*. London: Bradbury, Agnew, & Co. p. 126.
73. C. Lyall, Alfred. 1884. *Asiatic Studies: Religious and Social*. London: Bradbury, Agnew, & Co. p. 127.
74. C. Lyall, Alfred. 1884. *Asiatic Studies: Religious and Social*. London: Bradbury, Agnew, & Co. p. 128.
75. C. Lyall, Alfred. 1884. *Asiatic Studies: Religious and Social*. London: Bradbury, Agnew, & Co. p. 182.
76. C. Lyall, Alfred. 1884. *Asiatic Studies: Religious and Social*. London: Bradbury, Agnew, & Co. p. 182.
77. For further reading read Stephen Cohen's -.
78. Steele, Flora Annie. 1905. *India.* London: Adam and Charles Black. p. 34.
79. Metcalf. Thomas R. 2007. Citing Alfred Lyall's letters to his father, dated 11th July 1957 in *The New Cambridge History of India: Ideologies of the Raj III.4.* New York: Cambridge University Press. p. 139.
80. Metcalf. Thomas R. 2007. Citing Alfred Lyall's letters to his father, dated 30th August 1957 in *The New Cambridge History of India: Ideologies of the Raj III.4.* New York: Cambridge University Press. p. 140.
81. Metcalf. Thomas R. 2007. Citing Alfred Lyall's letters to his father, dated 30th August 1957 in *The New Cambridge History of India: Ideologies of the Raj III.4.* New York: Cambridge University Press. p. 140.
82. Metcalf, Thomas R. 1965. *The Aftermath of Revolt: India 1857-1870*. Princeton, N.J: Princeton University Press. p. 298.
83. Pati, Biswamoy, ed. 2010. Introduction in *The Great Rebellion 1857 in India: Exploring Transgressions, Contests and Diversities*. Abingdon, Oxfordshire: Routledge. pp. 1-2.
84. Metcalf, Thomas R. 1965. *The Aftermath of Revolt: India 1857-1870*. Princeton, N.J: Princeton University Press. p. 62.
85. Bennett, Clinton. 1998. *In Search of* Muhammad. New York: Continuum International Publishing Group. p. 111.

86. Hardy, Peter. 1972. Citating William Muir's *Records of the Intelligence Department of the North West Provinces of India during the Mutiny of 1857*, vol 1, p. 46 (Edinburgh, 1902) in *The Muslims of British India*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. pp. 62-63.
87. Hardy, Peter. 1972. Citating William Muir's *Records of the Intelligence Department of the North West Provinces of India during the Mutiny of 1857*, vol 2, p. 258 (Edinburgh, 1902) in *The Muslims of British India*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. p. 63.
88. Hardy, Peter. 1972. Citating William Muir's *Records of the Intelligence Department of the North West Provinces of India during the Mutiny of 1857*, vol 2, p. 6 (Edinburgh, 1902) in *The Muslims of British India*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. p. 64.
89. Hardy, Peter. 1972. Citing Letter no. 61 of *Letters from Chief Commissioner Punjab*, *Canning Papers* (formerly in the Harewood Estate record office now in the City Library, Leeds) in *The Muslims of British India*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. p. 63.
90. Hardy, Peter. 1972. Citating Charles Raikes' *Notes on the Revolt in the North-Western Provinces of India* (London, 1858) in *The Muslims of British India*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. p. 63.
91. Hardy, Peter. 1972. *The Muslims of British India*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. p. 81

SAMEER AHMAD SHALLA

Islamic Banking as a Tool for Financial Inclusion: A Study of Islamic Investment Products

ABSTRACT

India is one of the most rapidly developing countries in the world. This is unarguably the direct consequence of the economic reforms initiated primarily during the time of major macro-economic crisis witnessed by the country in 1991. On account of economic reforms the country has experienced a continuous rise in GDP growth rates barring certain exceptions. During this entire period the employment rate, per-capita income, wages and investment etc. have also shown improvement. However, this growth story has also led to a skewed distribution of the benefits thereby accentuating the perennial problem of poor-rich divide. The problem gets murkier with the inability of majority of people in the country to participate in the financial system in various ways. This problem is partly on account of non-availability of assets , savings, inappropriate design of products but also a great proportion of people stay away from the current system on account of the religious reservations. This paper tries to position Islamic investment products as a potential tool for supplementing & complimenting the current financial system in overcoming the problem of financial exclusion in India and other developing countries.

Key Words: Economic Reforms, Islamic Banking, Financial inclusion, Islamic investment products, Employment

INTRODUCTION

India is one of the most rapidly developing countries in the world. This is unarguably the direct consequence of the economic reforms initiated

primarily during the time of major macro-economic crisis witnessed by the country in 1991. The GDP figures have been continuously rising. With recent last few years been exception, employment, per-capita income, wages etc. have also been continuously improving. However, this growth story has also led to a skewed distribution of the benefits thereby accentuating the perennial problem of poor-rich divide. The problem gets murkier with the inability of majority of people in the country to participate in the financial system in various ways. This problem is partly on account of non-availability of savings, inappropriate design of products but also a great proportion of people stay away from the current system on account of the religious reservations. This non-participation by people on account of all the above mentioned factors perpetuates the problem of poor-rich divide, breeds complacency, kills entrepreneurial instinct of people and the end result is that the country fails in achieving the objective of " Inclusive Growth", which is the main focus of all the major macro-economic policies. The problem of non-participation in the conventional financial system on account of religious restrictions is with Muslims in India. Surprisingly they (Muslims) constitute around 14.2% of the total population in India *(Census, 2011)*. The Sachar committee report also attributes the appalling conditions of Muslims in India on various economic fronts to their non-participation in the current financial system. The demands from various quarters notably from the Minorities Commission of India for implementation of Islamic banking will be a great enabler for this deprived community. The implementation of Islamic Banking Model in India has also been supported by the committees constituted by RBI but the current laws act as a big deterrent. However, the potential scope of Islamic investment products to bring about financial inclusion without any interference in mainstream conventional banking needs a rethinking by the policy makers. This study tries to develop a case for the introduction of Islamic investment products without any way interfering with the conventional financial model in India.

OBJECTIVES

1) To identify and study the causes of financial exclusion in India. This includes,

a) the purpose to see both supply side factors as well as demand side factors responsible for financial exclusion of people.

2) To study the role of mortgages and interest in financial exclusion. This includes,
   a) Identification of the impact of collateral or mortgage on financial participation of people.
   b) Identification of the role of interest in financial participation of people.
3) To study the potential of Islamic financial products in promoting financial inclusion. The study focuses more on Kashmir.

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The methodology followed in this study is descriptive. The data collection has been exclusively done through secondary sources and major insights of subject experts have also been cited for developing a case for the application of Islamic investment products as a tool for overcoming financial exclusion in India. The purposive sampling method has been employed for achieving the objectives of the study.

NEED AND SCOPE OF THE STUDY

India is one of the fastest growing economies in the world. However, to ensure inclusive & sustainable economic growth drastic measures at macro level needs to be taken. In India, almost half the country is unbanked. Only 55 per cent of the population have deposit accounts and 9 per cent have credit accounts with banks. India has the highest number of households (145million) excluded from Banking. The aim of this research study is to explore the potential of Islamic Banking from the perspective of financial inclusion in order to address the grave problem of financial exclusion. There have hardly been any scientific efforts by researchers or academia to explore this dimension of Islamic Banking.

The study will have a great significance primarily on account of the extent of financial exclusion experienced in India. Besides, it is realised that the economic growth should be inclusive and balanced. The achievement of these objectives will receive a major thrust only after the

introduction of Islamic financial products particularly Muzarabah and Musharakah.

FINANCIAL EXCLUSION IN THE INDIAN CONTEXT

Financial inclusion may be defined as the process of ensuring access to financial services and timely and adequate credit where needed by vulnerable groups such as weaker sections and low income groups at an affordable cost *(RBI).*This concept may also be defined as the process of ensuring access to appropriate financial products and services needed by all sections of the society in general and vulnerable groups such as weaker sections and low income groups in particular at an affordable cost in a fair and transparent manner by mainstream institutional players. In advanced economies, Financial Inclusion is more about the knowledge of fair and transparent financial products and a focus on financial literacy. In emerging economies, it is a question of both access to financial products and knowledge about their fairness and transparency. The inability of poor sections of people and low income groups to participate in the banking system primarily stems from the current economic and finance models. The contemporary finance models assume everyone to be holding assets as for accessing banking system one needs to have assets to mortgage loans. The massive extent of economic deprivation in India in the form of staggering proportion of poor people combined with malnutrition and the huge number of starvation deaths is a direct consequence of these poor models which exclude a huge number of people from partaking in the financial system. In India, 51.4% of farmer households are financially excluded from both formal / informal sources, out of the total farmer households, only 27% access formal sources of credit; one third of this group also borrows from non-formal sources. In aggregate numbers, 73% of farmer households have no access to formal sources of credit *(NSSO Survey 59th round).* As per CMIE (March 2006), there are 11.56 crore land holdings. 5.91 Crore KCCs have been issued at the end of March 2006, which translated into a credit coverage of more than 51% of land holdings by formal sources. Further data with NABARD on the doubling of agricultural credit indicates that agricultural loan disbursements during 2006-07 covered 3.97 crore accounts.

The strategy for overcoming the problem of financial exclusion in India has been focussed on the supply side factors of enhancing the supply of financial services, through increased outreach by existing institutions, enhancing their incentives to serve the excluded and adding new distribution channels *(RBI).* The strategy followed included following measures; Co-operative Movement, setting up of State Bank of India, nationalisation of banks, Lead Bank Scheme, RRBs, Service Area Approach, Self Help Groups. However, the Committee constituted on Financial Inclusion in 2008 by RBI is also of the view that, demand side factors are greatly responsible for financial exclusion in India. The committee has identified investment in human development, access to work, developing market linkages among others as being the most significant demand side factors. But, the committee did not mention the inherent problem with the economic and finance model followed by India, which excludes the poor at the very outset as the accessing to finance comes with the conditions of Mortgage & interest payment. This is something that most Indians can't come up with as India suffers from massive economic deprivation.

It is quite evident that this inherent "Model Fault" with capitalist economy which Islamic Investment models and products are seeking to capture by giving a window of opportunity & hope to those who don't find any takers in the contemporary western designed finance & economic models.

COLLATERAL OR MORTGAGE: A DETERRENT FOR FINANCIAL INCLUSION

India suffers from chronic poverty across regions. However, the problem of poverty and deprivation is more severe in rural areas. This is due to low per capita income levels and low resource base of the people. The access to credit is badly affected by not only the low density or coverage of the banks in India *(RBI)* but also the inability of people to provide the mortgage or guarantees for availing the credit facility. The access to credit in India is at dismally low levels, less than 10% *(CMIE), something* which reveals that a majority of Indian population doesn't benefit from the current investment products. The solution for this lies

in introducing innovative products which cater to the needs of the poor and deprived people.

Interest: A Roadblock for Financial Inclusion

The problem of financial exclusion also stems from the fact that even if some people manage to get collateral for accessing credit, the sheer small scale of their business and low cash flows coupled with high interest rates dent, the profitability and credit repayment capacity of these people. It again reinforces the cycle of financial exclusion & consequently poverty levels continuously go unabated. The interest repayment has to be made irrespective of whether your enterprise is making profits or losses. This further accentuates the problem of financial exclusion.

ISLAMIC INVESTMENT PRODUCTS: AN INNOVATIVE SOLUTION FOR FINANCIAL INCLUSION

Mudaraba is a mode of financing through which the bank provides capital finance for a specific venture indicated by the customer. The bank, called *rabb-al-mal* is the owner of the capital and the customer-entrepreneur, called *mudarib*, is responsible for the management of the business and provides professional, managerial and technical expertise for initiating and operating the business enterprise or project. The profit is shared according to a pre-agreed ratio. The losses, if any, are entirely absorbed by the capital provider – the bank. *Mudaraba* may be of two types – restricted or unrestricted. In a restricted *mudaraba* (*mudaraba* al-*muqayyada*), the bank or the financier may specify a particular business in which investments may be undertaken. *Mudaraba* may also be an unrestricted (*mudaraba al-mutlaqa*), in which the case of the *mudarib* may invest the capital provided in any business he deems fit.

Musharaka involves a partnership in which both the bank and its customer-client contribute to entrepreneurship and capital. It is an agreement whereby the customer and the bank agree to combine financial resources to undertake any type of business venture, and agree to manage the same according to the terms of the agreement. Profits are shared between the bank and the customer in the pre-agreed

ratio. Losses are shared strictly in proportion to their respective capital contributions.

RISK AND RETURN

Mudaraba and *musharaka* are equity-based products that involve sharing of returns and risks. Returns may accrue in the form of periodic profits and change in the value of the assets. An important feature of *mudaraba* is a pre-agreed ratio in which profits are to be distributed between the financier bank and the entrepreneur-client. It rules out any allocation of profits in absolute terms other than as per the agreed ratio. The same holds good for *musharaka* as well. Losses in a *mudaraba* are completely absorbed by the financier-bank. The client-entrepreneur is liable to bear losses, if such losses are the outcome of his managerial negligence or misconduct. In *musharaka* however, both the bank and the client share in the losses in the ratio of their investment in the project. *Mudaraba* also provides for limited liability for the financier in line with the modern equity contract. The liability of the bank is limited to its investment in the project. This is quite rational and fair, since the bank does not participate in the managerial decision-making and cannot be held responsible for the risks created by the entrepreneur-client. *Musharaka* on the other hand, involves unlimited liability of the partners, as both the bank and its client are decision-makers in the business. Therefore, if the liabilities of the business exceed its assets and the business goes into liquidation, all the exceeding liabilities shall be borne *pro rata* by the partners. Regarding change in the value of assets created under *mudaraba*, the client-entrepreneur can neither benefit nor lose because of such change. Such gains or losses accrue solely to the financier-bank. In *musharaka*, however, such gains or losses in the value of assets financed by the joint pool of funds rightly accrue to both the bank-financier and client-entrepreneur.

A feature of the classical *mudaraba* and *musharaka* is that either of the parties to the agreement have an option to terminate the agreement or withdraw from the venture any time they deem fit. Liquidity of investments is thus ensured for the partners. On the date of termination, profits are determined as the excess of the liquidated value of all assets

over investment. Once profits are so determined, these are distributed between the parties according to the agreed ratio.

CONCLUSION

The financial exclusion is a major problem in India not only in terms of opening of accounts but also in terms of accessing credit, it is even a bigger problem. The complete insulatedness of the economies which have adopted Islamic investment products gives further fillip to the potential of this innovative financing model. The argument developed in this paper is to promote and implement Islamic investment model in India as supplementary and complementary tool for bringing an end to the chronic problem of financial exclusion.

REFERENCES

RBI Circular No. RBI/2005-06/233 RPCD.RF.BC.54/07.38.01/2005-06 dated 13.12.2005.http://www.iibf.org.in/financeq/docs/RBI_circular_13.12.2005_Fin_Inclusion.doc Accessed on 8.5.15

World Bank (2005). "Measuring Financial Access: Outlining the Scope of Current Data Collection Efforts." The World Bank Financial Sector Vice Presidency.

Report of the Committee on Financial Inclusion, Chaired by Dr. C. Rangarajan, January 2008, Retrieved from: http://www.nabard.org/report_comfinancial.asp

Report of the Committee for Financial Sector Reforms, Chaired by Dr. Raghuram Rajan, Planning Commission, Government of India, Retrieved from: http://planningcommission.nic.in/reports/genrep/rep_fr/cfsr_all.pdf

Department of statistics, Financial Access Survey, IMF http://fas.imf.org/ as assessed on 8/8/2013.

Census Survey 2011, Government of India.

Contributors

PROFESSOR WAHEED AKHTAR
Former Chairperson and Professor, Department of Philosophy, Aligarh Muslim University, Aligarh

PROFESSOR MOHAMMED ZAKIR
Former Professor, Department of Urdu, Jamia Millia Islamia New Delhi 110025

DR NECDET TOSUN
Professor, Department of Theology (Ilahiyat), Marmara University, Istanbul, Turkey
Email: ntosun@hotmail.com

DR BILAL AHMAD KUTTY
Associate Professor, Department of Islamic Studies, Aligarh Muslim University, Aligarh
Email: ahmad.bilal881@gmail.com

ZAINAB RIZWANUL HAQUE
Research Scholar, Department of History and Culture, Jamia Millia Islamia, New Delhi
Email: zainab.r.h@gmail.com

SAMEER AHMAD SHALLA
Research Scholar, School of Business Studies, Islamic University of Sci & Tech, Awantipora J&K
Email: sopore.sameer@gmail.com